

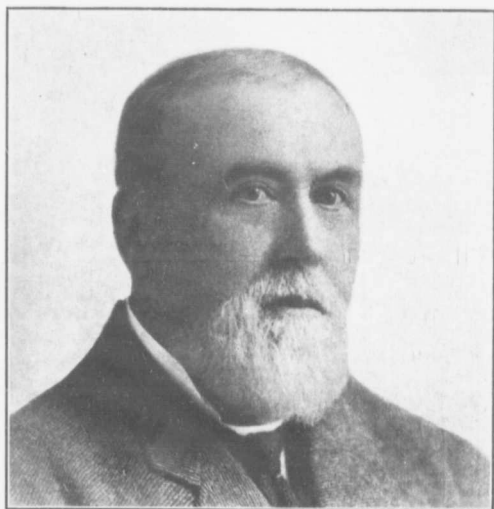
JOHN SEATH
AND THE
School System of Ontario

BY
JOHN SQUAIR

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PREFATORY NOTE.

My personal intercourse with Dr John Seath began in 1885 after his appointment as High School Inspector. We became pretty well acquainted during the years that followed. We differed on a good many points, but we always remained friends, and he was a good friend to me. Since his death several gentlemen who knew us both have suggested that I might be considered a suitable person to write an account of his life, and I undertook the task.

Upon beginning the work I soon came to the conclusion that, in order to give a clear view of the man, it was necessary to discuss somewhat fully the system in which he was for so long an important factor. So I may have been led, in the opinion of some, to wander far afield. Whether I have succeeded in my enterprise I leave to my readers to judge. At all events I have spent many interesting hours in living over again the days of the past. I have tried to be fair to the subject of my memoir and to all the others of whom I speak. I hope too that I have succeeded in making a slight sketch of our school system, during fifty-seven years, which may have some value for future students of history.

I must express my thanks to Mr John Seath, son of Dr Seath, for his courtesy in lending me certain letters and other documents which have been of great service to me.

J. SQUAIR.

Toronto, March 15, 1920.

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NOTE.—The Reader will observe that, in order to secure greater clearness in the discussion of certain topics, such for example as, "The Ontario Educational Association" (pp. 66-67), "Agriculture" (pp. 69-70), "Bilingualism" (pp. 70-83), "The Training of Teachers" (pp. 86-89), etc., there has been some sacrifice of chronological sequence to the demands of topical continuity.

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The Church is the body of Christ, which is the Son of God, who has taken human form and lived and died for the redemption of the world. The Church is the community of believers, who are united to Christ by faith and love. The Church is the instrument of God's grace, which is the power of the Holy Spirit, who dwells in the hearts of believers and works in them to bring about their sanctification and salvation. The Church is the kingdom of God on earth, which is the realm of peace, justice, and love, where God's will is done and His glory is manifested. The Church is the hope of the world, which is the light and life of the world, and the power of God's love, which is the strength and comfort of the world.

JOHN SEATH AND THE SCHOOL SYSTEM OF ONTARIO.

BY JOHN SQUAIR.

CHAPTER I

SCHOOL AND COLLEGE YEARS ¹⁸⁴⁹

John Seath was born on Jan. 6, 1844, at Auchtermuchty, a small town in Fifeshire, Scotland. His father, John Seath, was an engineer. His mother, to whom he owed more than to his father, was Isabel Herkless and belonged to the same family as the present distinguished Principal of the University of St Andrews, the Very Rev. Sir John Herkless. On account of the removal of the family to Monaghan, Ireland, the son was sent to the Corlatt School of that place and thence matriculated into the University of Glasgow in the autumn of 1858.

In this academic year (1858-1859), he took lectures in Greek, Mathematics, Logic, and doubtless also in Humanity (Latin), although the "ticket" for this last is lacking. In the autumn of 1859 he passed over to Belfast and was admitted as a Second Year student, *ad eundem*, into "The Queen's University in Ireland."¹ For the academic year, 1859-1860, there remain to attest his attendance and faithful work "certificates" for

¹Now called "The Queen's University of Belfast."

Latin, Greek, German, Natural History, Chemistry and Logic, and for the following year, 1860-1861, there exist "certificates" for History and English Literature, Physical Geography, Jurisprudence and Political Economy, Mineralogy and Geology, and Natural Philosophy. He was granted his degree of "Bachelor in Arts" in September, 1861, and at the same time received a gold medal bearing on the obverse the head of Queen Victoria with the words "The Queen's University in Ireland, 1850, Prize Medal," and on the reverse the University's arms with the words "John Seath, B.A., 1861. First in Natural Science."

Although Seath received his medal for proficiency in Natural Science we know from "certificates" of the President and members of the staff that he took "a high standing in classics" and was noted for "the diligence and punctuality" with which he did his work in all the subjects of his course. He evidently took a good, sound, general course of study which had a solid basis in Latin and Greek. Belfast was not an ancient university,¹ nor did it have a famous staff, but it had one man at least whose name has been placed in the "Dictionary of National Biography," *viz.*, George Lillie Craik who filled the chair of "History and English Literature" from 1850 till his death in 1866. One of Craik's books, "A Manual of English Literature," was long used by students in the University of Toronto.

¹Founded 1849.

Other academic degrees received by Seath during his long career were: in 1864, B.A., *ad eundem*, from the University of Toronto; in 1882 the Honorary M.A. from Belfast; in 1902, LL.D. from Queen's University, Kingston; and in 1905, LL.D. from Toronto. He was a man who set no great store by such things and we will not dwell on them. *Non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda e passa.*

CHAPTER II

ARRIVAL IN CANADA

At Brampton; education in 1862; Ryerson; University; Council of Public Instruction; Book Depository; George Brown; Edward Blake; Oliver Mowat; Normal School; Model Grammar School; G. R. R. Cockburn; J. McCaul; D. Wilson; G. P. Young; Teachers' Association; Military Drill.

Having received his degree the young graduate departed for Canada and after arriving was appointed Master of Brampton Grammar School¹ where, in the beginning of 1862, at eighteen years of age, he began his long pedagogical career of fifty-seven years. Brampton was an incorporated village with a population, in 1861, of 1,627. The number of pupils on the Roll of the Common School was 356 and on the Roll of the Grammar School 57. The Master's salary was \$600 and he had no Assistant in the Grammar School. The total Grammar School expenditure for the year was \$748.35. In 1918 Seath's successor, the Principal of the Brampton High School, received \$2,050 and he had four Assistants who together received \$6,450, making a total for salaries of \$8,500. The pupils on the Roll had increased to 136, and the population of Brampton, in 1911, stood at 3,412. In 1862 there were in the Brampton school 34 pupils taking Latin, 4 were taking

¹Brampton had a Union School.

Greek, 12 were taking French, of whom 8 were reading Voltaire's *Charles XII*. And in addition to all this the Master gave the whole instruction in the English subjects, Mathematics and Natural Science. Nevertheless according to the High School Inspectors his work was well done. He certainly did not eat the bread of idleness.

A further look into the official reports of the Education Department will help us to understand how school affairs stood in 1862. At that time there were in the Province of Upper Canada 91 Grammar Schools whilst in 1917 there were 162 High Schools (and Collegiate Institutes) plus 137 Continuation Schools, or a total of 299 Secondary Schools, *i.e.*, three times as many Secondary Schools for a total population twice as large.¹ In these 91 Grammar Schools of 1862 there were 131 Masters who received,—the Head Masters an average annual salary of \$710 and the Assistants an average salary of \$406.² The total receipts for the year are put at \$90,090. In 1917 the number of High School, and Collegiate Institute, teachers is 1,051 and the number in Continuation Schools is 241 or a total of 1,292 teachers in Secondary Schools, or between nine and ten times as many as in 1862. In 1917 the salaries paid to High School teachers amounted to \$1,554,049 and to Continuation School teachers \$228,362 or a total of \$1,782,411 to teachers of Secondary

¹1861, pop. 1,396,091—1911, pop. 2,523,274.

²Some of the Assistants may have been ladies, but if so the fact is not mentioned.

Schools. Thus a population twice as great in 1917 as it was in 1862 paid a sum for Secondary School teachers' salaries nearly twenty times as great as in 1862. It must be observed also that the number of pupils attending Grammar Schools in 1862 was 4,982, whilst in 1917 the whole number attending all classes of Secondary Schools was 38,128 or about eight times as many in a population twice as large. This seems almost incredible when we bear in mind that the whole school population was put at 403,302 in 1862 and at 628,996 in 1917, or only somewhat over one-and-a-half times as many.

There are also certain striking additional features as for example: (1) in 1862 there were few if any women teachers in the Secondary Schools whilst in Jan., 1919, women were over 51 per cent. of the whole number of High School teachers, and (2) the salaries paid in 1918 to Principals of High Schools and Collegiate Institutes averaged \$1,954 and those to Assistants \$1,496. That is to say Principals now receive between two and three times as much as in 1862 and Assistants between three and four times as much.

The Common Schools of 1862 have also, in passing into the Public Schools of to-day, been transformed. In 1867 the total sum spent on the Public and Separate Schools of Ontario was \$1,473,189 whilst in 1917 the sum was \$14,111,835. In 1862 the highest salary paid a teacher was \$1,300, in 1917 it was \$2,500. In 1862 the average rural school male teacher's salary was

\$265, in 1917 it was \$686, for females in 1862 it was \$170 and in 1917 it was \$580. As regards the relations of the sexes, in 1861 there were 3,115 male teachers and 1,291 females, whilst in 1917 there were 1,337 males and 10,526 females.

Nor must we overlook the fact of the drift from the land. The debate as to whether it is due to faults of our system of education, to low natality, to the humdrum nature of country life, to the lure of the glaring city, to the attractions of cheap land farther west, or to some other economic fact, or set of facts, has been long carried on by journalists, preachers and politicians. The theories are uncertain, but the fact remains that the majority of our rural districts have been thinned of their population and many a country school section finds itself to-day with a mere handful of children compared with the full schoolhouse of 1860 or thereabouts. Many are the results of this, one of the most obvious being the raising of the per capita expenditure which has gone up from some \$3.67 per Public School pupil in 1867 to some \$27.96 in 1917.

It is interesting to cast a glance at some of the other features of the situation into which this sturdy young Scot entered in 1862. It was a troubled and anxious period. Canada had not recovered from the commercial and financial depression which followed the "boom" caused by the Crimean War and Grand Trunk construction. Wheat was low,—less than a dollar a bushel, and

wages were low. The American Civil War which was then raging had not yet, as had been expected, brought to Canada a revival of trade. On the contrary the shock caused by the Trent Affair in the end of 1861 was an additional disturbing factor in the business situation of the time. There was a feeling of fear in the community that sooner or later we should be at war with our American neighbours, an anxiety which, for one reason or another, was not dissipated for a decade. Our internal politics were also turbulent. Elections and changes of government were frequent and trade was unsettled thereby.

When we turn to educational affairs we find that Rev. Dr Egerton Ryerson (1803-1882), Chief Superintendent, considered himself justified, in his Report for 1861,¹ in saying, "that, while there has been a decline and depression in almost every branch of business and of the Public Revenue, there has been a steady advancement in the progress of the schools." But we are not to suppose from this that there were no disquieting factors operating in the educational arena. For instance there was the agitation on the part of the Denominational Colleges² for a change in the constitution of the Provincial University which would permit the Denominational Colleges to participate in the Provincial University's endowment. Many petitions regarding this matter were sent

¹Dated June, 1862.

²Queen's, Victoria, Trinity and Regiopolis.

in to Parliament and a special committee to investigate was appointed at the session of 1860. Ryerson himself was one of the leaders in the attack against the Provincial University and from that time on was considered by men like Daniel Wilson as one of the chief enemies of that institution.

In 1861 a Royal Commission consisting of the Hon. James Patton, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Toronto, Dr John Beatty of Cobourg, and Mr John Paton of Kingston was appointed to enquire into the state of its financial affairs. The Commission rendered its Report on May 30, 1862. It is a document of 205 pages and seems to contain a thorough examination of the finances of the University. The finding of the Commission was severe and its severity may be judged from the following passage: "it will readily be seen that a reform in the management of the finances of the University is absolutely imperative, and that vigilance should be exercised to prevent expenditure for any purpose in excess of income." Ryerson may have felt gratified.

But the Report went still further and made recommendations regarding the constitution of the University and the disposition of the income of such a character as alarmed very deeply the Alumni. Meetings were held, a vigorous protest was made and the recommendations were not acted upon, except to the extent of increasing somewhat the annual grant by the Government to the Denominational Colleges. This grant was

however abolished by Sandfield Macdonald's Government in 1868.

It was during this agitation in 1862 that Edward Blake began to come into prominence as a public man. One outcome of the affair was an estrangement between the University and the Department of Education which was not healed for many a day, and did harm to the cause of education in Ontario.

Let us now turn our attention to some of the important offices and institutions of our educational system as they existed in 1862 or thereabouts. At the head of the Common and Grammar Schools stood the "Chief Superintendent of Education," Egerton Ryerson. Ryerson was born in the County of Norfolk, Ontario, of United Empire Loyalist stock. He entered the Methodist ministry in 1825 and became editor of the *Christian Guardian* in 1829. In 1841 he was made first President of Victoria College at Cobourg. He remained in this position till Oct. 18, 1844, when he was appointed by the Governor-General, Sir Charles Metcalfe, Assistant, later Chief, Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada. So he had been in office eighteen years when Seath arrived in the country, and was well established in his position.

Ryerson had to aid him a very important body of men, first called, in 1846, when it was organised, the Provincial Board of Education, a name which was changed in 1850 to the Council of Public Instruction. This body retained this name

until it came to an end in 1876. The Council was made up of leading clergymen, judges, university men, etc., appointed by the Government and nominated no doubt generally by Ryerson himself. It had control of the most important matters in connection with the system of education outside of the University of Toronto and Upper Canada College, that is, it controlled the Normal School, fixed the courses of study in the Grammar and Common Schools, authorised the Text-Books, appointed Grammar School Inspectors, etc., etc.

The task which had faced Ryerson in 1844 was truly herculean. The school system was in a chaotic condition. Schoolhouses were poor and inadequate. Teachers were badly paid and inefficient. The whole affair needed a new organisation and new life. He himself said in a farewell letter to what is now called the Ontario Educational Association at its midsummer meeting in 1876: "In devising a system of public instruction for our country, the first thing needful was to exalt the office of the teacher. To do this two things were necessary, first, to elevate the qualifications and character of teachers, secondly, to provide better and more certain remuneration for their services. I need not say, what so many of you know, how low a generation since, were the qualifications of by far the greater number of teachers, and how lower still was their moral character, and how poor and uncertain was their remuneration, and how wretched the places in

which they taught. There were noble exceptions in all these respects—but they were exceptions to the general prevalence of ignorance, vice and neglect.”

There was probably undue harshness here. But that was natural. The reformer of abuses will seldom be *laudator temporis acti*. But after due allowance is made we must admit that there was much that needed changing. And to change, the consent and help of Government and taxpayer were needed. Fortunately the governmental mind was at the time somewhat inattentive as regards school matters and Ryerson got his own way more easily than he might at other times. Moreover he was shrewd. He determined to be no partisan and he almost succeeded. He could be all things to all men for the sake of his cause. He was not an importation like many of his contemporaries, but a son of the soil and knew the Canadian mind and heart better than most men. With a capacity for vehement abuse when aroused, he was eloquently persuasive for the most part and played well the friendly *rôle*. He could even play well the paternal *rôle* and attached a number of young and able men to him and his cause.

But he did not escape criticism. He provoked the hostility of George Brown, an energetic and eloquent antagonist. Ryerson said that Brown was the only man with whom he was not on speaking terms. Ryerson, to his credit be it said, on his sixty-fifth birthday wrote a conciliatory note to Brown, which was repulsed and it is prob-

able that their estrangement lasted to the end.¹ Brown died in 1880 two years before Ryerson.

Probably Brown's most notable charge against Ryerson was the one made in the *Globe* on Dec. 8, 1858, and elaborated and augmented with much eloquently abusive detail in subsequent numbers to the effect that Ryerson was a man who would betray the most sacred principles for private advantage.

One of the points was that Ryerson had been appointed Chief Superintendent as a reward for his defence of Lord Metcalfe in the latter's contest with his ministers over the question of ministerial responsibility. Another was that Ryerson had profited by allowing his private bank account to become confused with the public account of the Chief Superintendent. It would be out of place to discuss these questions here. Whatever the truth was regarding them, the battle between the two was bitter and prolonged and did harm by confusing the public mind as to the real merits of educational subjects. Education tended to become a field of partisan strife, the effects of which Ryerson often felt later on, particularly after the Liberals came into power in Ontario. The relations between Ryerson and Edward Blake were decidedly unpleasant in 1872, and between Ryerson and Oliver Mowat in 1875.²

¹See Alex. Mackenzie, *Life and Speeches of George Brown*, p. 110.

²See Blake's letter to Ryerson, Feb. 12, 1872, in Hodgins's *Documentary History*, Vol. XXIV., p. 10 and Mowat's letters to Ryerson, *Sessional Papers, Prov. of Ont. Session 1877*, Vol. IX. Part III. pp. 78, 79.

The disagreeable relations between Ryerson and Mowat arose in connection with the Book Depository, an institution established about 1850 by Ryerson for the purpose of supplying the schools with Maps, Libraries, Prizes and the like. It was an institution which had done much good in its time. It was of great convenience particularly to rural schools. The writer has a distinct recollection of purchasing books from it for school prizes to the great satisfaction of teacher and people in a little country school in the early part of his career. But good and useful though it was, it became a thorn in Ryerson's side from the newspaper criticisms levelled at him and particularly on account of the attacks made on him by the members of the book trade whose business was hurt by his enterprise. In 1876, after Ryerson's resignation, Adam Crooks Minister of Education appointed James Brown, an accountant, as a Commissioner to investigate the accounts of the Depository and he reported that everything was in a satisfactory financial condition. Thus were finally dissipated the charges and insinuations of scandalous doings within the Book Depository. It came to an end in 1881.

But it was necessary for the Chief Superintendent to win the consent and help of the people as well as of the Government. And it was not an easy task. Every advance or improvement meant the spending of more money, and this not by the Government alone but also by the people directly. So the people had to be convinced and Ryerson

himself had to do the convincing. He used the printing press, as all Ministers have done since his time, but he did what he alone has ever had the courage to do in a systematic way. He went out and met the people in their towns and villages and spoke to them of their duty to their children and the State in providing suitable means of education. He did not always succeed in convincing them that they should make the desired changes in the law by which they would be saddled with heavier taxes, but his eloquence and persuasiveness were great and did wonders. Sometimes he waited patiently for years before he thought public opinion ripe for the passing of a law. A good example of this is seen in the matter of the Free School. For long years the ratepayers of a School Section could impose a limited fee on all pupils attending the Common Schools. But Ryerson never ceased to recommend the Free School as the right system. In the year 1855 he reports that there are 1,211 Free Schools. In 1865 he reports that there are 3,595 where no fees are imposed, but it is not till the law of 1870 is passed that Free Schools are made obligatory.

The manner adopted by Ryerson in conducting his periodical consultations of the people is well exemplified in his Report for the year 1865.¹ His tour lasted from Jan. 15 to March 8, 1866. In all he held forty meetings in the county centres. At each meeting he would introduce and discuss the changes which he thought should be made in the

¹Dated July, 1866.

School Law. Then the meeting was invited to continue the discussion of the same topics, and to pass resolutions on the various matters involved. On this particular tour some of the important subjects brought forward were Township Boards of Education and the Treatment of Truant and Vagrant Children. The speeches made and the resolutions adopted showed that although unanimity did not exist, there was a rather strong feeling in favour of the establishment of Township Boards by law and of punishing parents and guardians who allowed their children to grow up in ignorance and vagrancy. But no stringent enactments were adopted. Even Ryerson could not solve these questions and to-day they both stand on the list of things enacted but not well enforced.

It may be permitted here to make the reflection that if Ryerson's successors, including the subject of this memoir, had adopted more frequently his methods of keeping in touch with the people, more good would have been done and the hearts of teachers and pupils would have warmed more fervently to the Department and its officials.

One of the first large matters to which Ryerson turned his attention after his appointment was the foundation of the Normal School in 1847. Under the Principalship of Thomas Jaffray Robertson it acquired a good reputation. Robertson's Chief Assistant in 1862 was John Herbert Sangster, an able teacher, whose name was known all over Canada as an author of mathematical

text-books. He became Principal in 1866 on the death of Robertson. Through his ability as Master in the Normal School and the wide use of his books, particularly his Arithmetic, he was a somewhat influential person in the educational world. But in due time dissatisfaction with his methods arose and in the Report of 1871 the High School Inspector, J. A. McLellan, expresses his pleasure at the disappearance of rule and formula from the teaching of Arithmetic and the introduction of the more intellectual and more fruitful methods of analysis. In 1870 Sangster retired from the Normal School and was succeeded by Rev. H. W. Davies, author of an English Grammar long used in the schools of Ontario. Davies, however, never attained the influence exercised by Sangster, and the reputation of the Normal School declined.

A very interesting thing in connection with Ryerson's administration was his attempt to found a Model Grammar School which should bear the same relation to the Grammar Schools as the Normal School bore to the Common Schools. The Model Grammar School was established in August 1858. Its Rector was G. R. R. Cockburn, a young and vigorous Scotsman, whom Ryerson had brought to Canada specially for the position. Ryerson in his evidence before a Select Committee of the Ontario Legislature appointed on Nov. 16, 1868,¹ thus speaks of his intentions in founding the institution: "In connection with the

¹See Hodgins's Documentary History, Vol. XXI., p. 26.

Rector we established the Model Grammar School, with Mr Ambery as Classical Master, Mr Fitch as English Master, and Mr Checkley as Mathematical Master; and when a vacancy occurred in Upper Canada College my view was to assimilate the two, and make Upper Canada College the Model Grammar School of the country. But the Rector of the Grammar School obtained the appointment, using my name, without my authority. This entirely defeated my arrangements."

This defection of Cockburn occurred in 1861 and he was succeeded as Rector by Ambery. But the institution, without much official explanation, came to an end in 1863 and no further attempt to provide pedagogical training for teachers of Secondary Schools was made until 1885 when the so-called Training Institutes were established by G. W. Ross.

Perhaps it was not surprising that Cockburn should have left Ryerson's new and untried venture to become Principal of Upper Canada College which had had the longest and most brilliant history of any school of Upper Canada. It had been founded in 1829 by Sir John Colborne and was well endowed. It had had distinguished Masters and on its Roll of pupils appeared the names of the "best" people of Canada. Its Staff was well paid and to become a member of it was to acquire one of the few prizes that were open to ambitious young teachers. Cockburn took the place and filled it with success for twenty years.

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But the educational institution of greatest note in Toronto was the Provincial University which, as King's College, had commenced its career as a teaching body in 1843. After the lapse of a decade filled with angry discussion and parliamentary action it had become the University of Toronto and another phase of its interesting existence began. Its Staff was reorganised in 1853 and some new men were added of whom the most striking figure was the eloquent Edinburgh man, Daniel Wilson (1816-1892), Professor of History and English Literature in University College. An earlier member of the Staff was John McCaul (1807-1887), graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, Professor of Classics, of Rhetoric and Logic in King's College and later in University College, as well as President of the latter.

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These two, in 1862, were amongst the most distinguished citizens of Toronto and indeed of the whole Province. On critical occasions when the city desired to be worthily represented they were often called on to be the spokesmen of the public. We have an example of this in the case of a meeting that was held on New Year's Eve 1861, in St Lawrence Hall, Toronto, for the purpose of expressing the loyal and sympathetic attachment of the people to their Sovereign, Queen Victoria. The tension of public anxiety, caused by the so-called Trent Affair, had just been relieved by the action of the American Government in announcing the surrender of Mason and Slidell, whilst almost simultaneously the saddening news had

been received that Prince Albert, the Queen's Consort, had suddenly died. The speakers at the meeting were men like John Hillyard Cameron, Matthew Crooks Cameron, Oliver Mowat, John McCaul and Daniel Wilson, of whom the academical men were not the least eloquent.

Seath's mastership at Brampton was, according to the testimony of pupils and inspectors, very successful. For two years he seems to have had no Assistant but the work was well done. Many of his pupils were older than he himself, but they did not question his authority. His energy and enthusiasm carried everything along. It is interesting to remember, in the light of his later life, that some of his best teaching was in the Classics. His teaching of English also was especially good and is still gratefully remembered. The Inspectors who visited his school were particularly complimentary. He received testimonials from them as follows: From (Rev.) W. F. Checkley, Feb. 27, 1864; from (Rev.) George Paxton Young, May 20, 1865; from (Rev.) John Ambery, March 23, 1868; from (Rev.) J. G. D. Mackenzie, June 26, 1869; from (Rev.) William Ormiston, Feb. 20, 1873; and one from the Chief Superintendent himself dated Aug. 31, 1871, which runs as follows: "In the opinion of Professor Young, late Inspector of Grammar Schools, Mr Seath (present Head-Master of Oshawa High School) stands at the head of the Head-Masters of High Schools in this Province. I have formed a very high opinion of Mr Seath's general liter-

ary attainments, apart from his technical knowledge and great skill and ability as a Teacher and had I found it necessary to request and obtain Mr Inspector McLellan's services in the Normal School after the resignation of Dr Sangster, I should have recommended Mr Seath to succeed him as Inspector of High Schools."

Doubts may arise regarding the complete sincerity of the Chief Superintendent when one remembers that in 1873 Seath was passed over and two other gentlemen were chosen as High School Inspectors. Nevertheless the testimonial is good evidence of Seath's solid reputation as a teacher before 1871.

Of these Inspectors the one who has left behind him the highest reputation in the educational world of Ontario is unquestionably George Paxton Young (1818-1889). Let us quote his testimonial regarding Seath: "I have a very high opinion of Mr John Seath's qualifications as a teacher. He is an excellent scholar, and his method of conveying instruction is admirable. As Grammar School Master of Brampton he has been eminently successful; and, from what I saw when I inspected the school, I do not wonder at it. Any Grammar School will be fortunate for which his services can be secured."

Young filled the position of Inspector of Grammar Schools during the years 1864-1867 and presented each year to the Chief Superintendent a Report on the state of the schools with suggestions for their improvement. They are very im-

portant documents for the comprehension of the schools of the period and attest the ability and enthusiasm of their author. But it may fairly be said that sometimes they are unnecessarily cruel. Surely such a man as Crowle of Bowmanville did not deserve to be pilloried as he was in the Report of 1866. At times, too, one would almost think that Young chuckled with glee when he remembered how bad the teaching was, as for instance in the Report of 1864 where he speaks of the way certain performances in Algebra "would make Cherriman laugh." It looks like a case of *Schadenfreude*.

But the Reports are in the main above personalities and trivialities. He discusses important questions in a suitable manner. The main topic is the low quality of the teaching done in many of the schools and the causes of this inferiority. Generally he is merciful to the teachers and puts the blame on the laws and regulations which permitted the schools so often to be filled with pupils who could not profit by the instruction given. The most potent cause was the law (1865) which apportioned the Government grant to Grammar Schools on the basis of the number of pupils in each school who were taking Latin. This led to the adoption of a low standard of admission as well as to undue pressure on pupils to enter the Latin class, irrespective of taste or fitness. One of the interesting features of the situation was the fact that the number of girls attending the Grammar Schools and taking Latin therein was

increased.¹ And this raised the embarrassing question as to the suitability of co-education. Young's opinion was that girls could do Latin as well as boys, but that taking all the circumstances into account it was not a desirable subject for girls in the average Grammar School of Ontario.

What he would have liked to see was a set of separate English High Schools for girls with studies suited to their needs. In the second place he would have changed the majority of the Grammar Schools into English High Schools for boys in which little attention should be paid to Latin or Greek and a great deal of attention to English and Elementary Science and in which the ordinary citizen might obtain a preparation for life. And in the third place he would have established a small number of superior classical schools in the larger cities for boys who were preparing for matriculation into the universities and learned professions. His model in the case of this third class would have been Upper Canada College which was then a Classical School of a very different type from the Upper Canada College of today.²

How different from this logically conceived plan has been the real evolution of the system of Secondary Schools in Ontario! No Girls' Schools have been evolved except those due to the churches or to private enterprise. Girls on the benches of the Secondary Schools and women behind the teacher's desk have more than held their own in

¹Girls were counted after 1868.

²See Young's Presidential Address at meeting of Ontario Teachers' Association, Aug. 8, 1871.

numbers and distinction. Even Young himself lived to see them entering the classes of his own university and carrying off scholarships and medals.

No schools which could properly be called superior classical schools have been developed. One would think from the Act of 1871 that the Legislature thought it was creating such a type of school in the Collegiate Institutes of that date, with their minima of four masters and sixty pupils in Latin or Greek, but as a matter of fact there never has been any important difference between High Schools and Collegiate Institutes except that the latter are larger than the former and by reason of that difference are able to offer instruction in a larger number of subjects.

There is a rather curious fact to be noted in connection with the study of Latin in our schools, and it is this, that in spite of the protests of Inspectors and others from the time of Young down a very considerable proportion of the pupils persist in taking the subject. It does not seem to matter much whether you make Latin the basis of the Government grant, or make it an almost obligatory subject for teachers' certificates or leave it almost optional for such purposes, the percentage of pupils taking Latin remains pretty high. And at present it seems to manifest no signs of diminution. In the official Report for 1918 the figures show that in the Collegiate Institutes 73 per cent. of the pupils took Latin, in the High Schools there were 72 per cent. of such

pupils, and in the Continuation Schools no fewer than 83 per cent. took Latin. What would Young have said had any one predicted to him such a state of affairs?

It is sometimes asserted that to Young we owe the written Entrance Examination which came into full operation in 1873 and fostered by the Department still exists, and the Intermediate Examination which began in 1876 and lasted for a few years only. If we consult the four Reports we shall see that no such Examinations are there advocated. The great remedies which Young proposed were the appointment of a Chief High School Inspector with three Assistants who were to oversee the schools thoroughly and judge of their efficiency and the establishment of a manner of apportioning the Government grant which should be based not on attendance alone, but on attendance plus efficiency. He may have thought that uniform written examinations would be necessary but he does not speak of them. Doubtless he at least gave his consent to them for he was an influential member of the Council of Public Instruction as early as 1871 and in it, or closely in touch with it, afterwards.

The arrival of Seath almost coincided with the organisation in 1861 of a union of teachers which is now known as The Ontario Educational Association. The early volumes of the Proceedings of the Association are very meagre as well as difficult to find, hence it is not easy to know with certainty all that went on at the early meetings. But

Seath belonged to it as early as 1865 and during his seven years at Brampton his name is mentioned several times as taking part in the business. Such topics as the apportionment of the Government grant, suitable text-books, co-education, etc., were discussed but it is not easy from the record to say what Seath's views were regarding them. In 1868 he is made a Vice-President of the Association, and in his capacity as a member of the Executive he with others made a number of recommendations to the Government regarding amendments to the School Law then under discussion. This was probably Seath's initiation into the *rôle* of lawmaker for the schools in which he played so large a part in later years.

In Ryerson's Report for 1863 our attention is called to the question of military drill in the schools of Upper Canada. The outbreak of war in the United States in 1861 and such incidents as the Trent Affair had brought home to the minds of the people the possibility of war, a taste of which they had at Ridgeway in June 1866. Ryerson promptly after the Trent Affair introduced drill into the Normal and Model Schools and advocated its introduction generally into the schools throughout the country. He mentions that the School Boards of Toronto, Port Hope and London followed his suggestions. It is likely that Seath did the same in Brampton for we find that he attended the School of Military Instruction at Toronto and obtained on July 31, 1867, a Second-Class Certificate which qualified him to command

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SEATH'S SOLDIERLY QUALITIES

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a company and on July 23rd of the following year (1868), he received a First-Class Certificate qualifying him to command a battalion. There is a tradition that at this period he was a very handsome, well set-up man able to command others and doubtless he made a good officer.

CHAPTER III

OSHAWA AND DUNDAS PERIOD

School Act of 1871; important changes; Common Schools and Grammar Schools disappear; Entrance Examinations.

Seath taught the Brampton school from January 1862 until the summer vacation of 1869 and during that period had his salary increased four times. At the end of his incumbency it had reached \$900. He was then appointed Head Master of the Oshawa Grammar School¹ at an advanced salary and remained there two years. His letter of release from the Board is dated Oct. 21, 1871. It is signed by the Chairman, (Dr) Wm McGill M.P.P., and expresses regret at the departure of their teacher for Dundas at a higher salary.

Seath's stay at Oshawa coincides with the period of struggle led by Ryerson in securing the passage of the School Act of 1871. The Bill was introduced by Hon. M. C. Cameron, Provincial Secretary, in the beginning of the Session of 1868-1869 and gave rise to discussion and hostile criticism within the House and without. So many amendments were made in Committee that Ryerson requested Attorney-General Sandfield Macdonald to withdraw the Bill and this was done. Naturally the Bill aroused the deepest interest amongst the teachers and a number of amend-

¹A Union School also.

ments were offered by a committee of the Executive of the Teachers' Association. In all these discussions Seath took an active part. Finally the Bill with many changes in form was re-introduced late in 1870 and became Law in 1871.

Some of the sections of the Act of 1871 are very important. Common Schools become Public Schools, Grammar Schools become High Schools and a higher type of Secondary School called the Collegiate Institute is to be created. Township Superintendents are to disappear and County Inspectors are to be appointed. The Public Schools are to be free and attendance is to be obligatory. More efficient inspection of the High Schools is to be secured so that a proper standard of admission and a high level of work may be maintained. A Board for Entrance to High Schools is to be constituted. A scientific element was to be introduced into the Public School programme, so that, to quote the words of the Speech from the Throne on Dec. 7, 1870, "Our system of public instruction should provide a suitable preparation for agricultural, mechanical, manufacturing and mining pursuits, as is now enjoyed by those who make choice of the professions of law and medicine."

The new law was the expression of high ambitions both with respect to industrial training and classical learning. But for thirty years nothing very serious in the way of industrial training was attempted in our schools nor have we yet in 1920 had any advance in classical learning. How hard it always is to forecast the future! In reading the

debates of the time there is not much evidence that the ablest teachers and statesmen were clear in their understanding of the questions discussed or of the direction affairs were to take.

Seath's stay in Dundas was from October 1871 until the summer holidays of 1874. His immediate predecessor there was J. Howard Hunter, an able and popular teacher, who, on leaving Dundas, was appointed Principal of the St Catharines School. His popularity was so great that a number of the best pupils went with him to his new school, a fact which is said to have had a chilling effect on the zeal of his successor. But Seath soon recovered and his success at Dundas was large, although a rival institution, the Dundas Wesleyan Institute was established hard by and took away a few young men.

In 1873 he was a candidate for the position of High School Inspector but, in spite of the Chief Superintendent's high estimate of his abilities, was passed over and J. M. Buchan of the Hamilton School and S. Arthur Marling of the Whitby School became Inspectors. These two, along with J. A. McLellan who had been appointed in 1871, inspected the High Schools of Ontario until Buchan became Principal of Upper Canada College in 1881. Marling died in 1882 and McLellan became Director of Teachers' Institutes in 1884. Buchan and Marling are remembered with affection by many as two highly cultured, conscientious gentlemen who did their work well. McLellan had many admirers as an able, forceful man but

in his case there were sharp critics as well. On Marling's death J. E. Hodgson was appointed Inspector. But on McLellan's transfer to a new office there was another vacancy and to fill this Seath was appointed.

CHAPTER IV

ST CATHARINES PERIOD

Ryerson's critics; J. H. Sangster and Goldwin Smith; Adam Crooks; Central Committee; Intermediate Examination; examination scandals; *Canada Educational Monthly*; Teachers' Association; Seath as author; School Reader imbroglio; Marmion; Upper Canada College; G. M. Grant; G. W. Ross.

For ten years, then, (1874-1884) Seath was Principal of the important St Catharines School. Hitherto he had been in charge of two-master schools, now he became head of a large school, in a larger town, with a staff of six teachers. The Report of 1884 gives St Catharines as a Collegiate Institute with a staff of nine and paying the Head Master a salary of \$1,800. St Catharines had grown, the school had grown, and the Head Master had grown.

This decade (1874-1884) was a period of important changes. Ryerson in 1874 was approaching the end of his career. He felt power slipping away and in addition he often had the bitter water of criticism held to his lips by his ungrateful contemporaries. He found it necessary to defend what he was proud to have achieved. He was forced to become the apologist of School Prizes and Merit Cards, of the uniform series of Canadian text-books brought into existence by him; there were even those who scoffed at his own "First Lessons in Agriculture" (1870) and "First Lessons in Christian Morals" (1871). He had to

explain and defend his Normal and Model Schools, his Depository with the annexed plan of Free Public Libraries, his Educational Museum and the Superannuation scheme for old and worn-out teachers. Parliamentary Committees had investigated his accounts, and journalists had accused him of enjoying "pickings" and "casual advantages."

With much outcry in favour of the defence of public rights a section of the people demanded that on the Council of Public Instruction there should be placed representatives of the teachers chosen by direct vote and the Government yielded this right. There are some people even now who consider that this was a most salutary thing to do. The writer remembers the contest between J. H. Sangster and Goldwin Smith for the seat of the representative of the Public School teachers regarding which the newspapers were often filled during the summer of 1874. The main points in the discussions seemed to be the domestic infelicities of Sangster and the alleged malthusianism of Goldwin Smith. It was indeed a very "elevating" debate which closed in August by the election of Goldwin Smith. Daniel Wilson at the same time was elected representative of the High School teachers and he and Goldwin Smith took their seats at the Council Board.

Whatever eminence they had as educational authorities, they certainly did not make life any happier for Ryerson. Fortunately there were no more elections for the Council. Its existence

closed when Ryerson resigned. He signed his last Annual Report in October, 1875. Adam Crooks became the first Minister of Education in Ontario in February, 1876. The Council of Public Instruction was replaced by a Committee of the Executive Council of the Province whose right hand, so to speak, was the much-talked-of Central Committee of Examiners. The Chairman of the Central Committee was George Paxton Young, since 1871 Professor of Metaphysics and Ethics in University College. He had much to do with the conduct of Departmental Examinations and other educational matters down till his death in 1889. With him were associated in the work of the Central Committee the three High School Inspectors and four Public School Inspectors.¹

We are now at a very interesting point in the history of the educational system of Ontario. What might be called the bureaucratic period with its two great names of Strachan (1778-1867) and Ryerson has closed, and we are on the threshold of the period of administration by responsible ministers. But a more important thing is the fact that it is the period of expansion of the system of written examinations as the means of determining a variety of points in connection with teachers, pupils and schools. In 1873 the Examination for testing the fitness of pupils to enter the High Schools comes into full operation. In 1876 the Intermediate Examination comes into play, the results of which are to be used as an important

¹J. C. Glashan, J. J. Tilley, G. W. Ross and J. L. Hughes.

factor in apportioning the Government grant to High Schools. In addition to these there were many others in connection with Normal Schools, Universities, learned societies, and so on. And all of them were fixed, uniform, unbending, difficult, written examinations. Great things were expected of the Intermediate and of the system of Payment by Results of which it was to be the corner stone. Few probably anticipated that it would become extremely unpopular and that the Department would look for other ways of determining the basis of payment of the grant.

The first Intermediate was held June 26-28, 1876. The answers were read and the results announced on July 28th. It was found that sixty of the High Schools had passed no candidates, twenty-four had passed one or two each, whilst only four had passed ten or more each. These four were Brantford with twenty successful candidates, Hamilton with twenty, St Catharines with eighteen and Toronto with twelve. Naturally there was a dreadful outcry at the severity of the Examination. But the Department was committed to the policy and there was a second Intermediate in December of the same year and henceforth twice a year for a few years.

On August 8-11, 1876, the Teachers' Association met in the Normal School Buildings, Toronto, and Seath read a long paper on the High School System in which the relations of the High Schools to the Public Schools, the Universities, etc., are discussed with ability and frankness. He asserts

that the Entrance Examination had failed in its object, *i.e.*, of preventing the depletion of the Public Schools in order to swell the numbers in the High Schools. It had been hoped, he says, "that a uniform Entrance Examination and more thorough and frequent High School inspection would effectually counteract this tendency." But these plans were only partially successful and so the Intermediate had been resorted to. The results have just been seen and the tendency will be to degrade rather than elevate the standing of the High Schools. The country will reap no benefit from the large outlay of probably \$13,200 which the various new ventures of the Department will cost.

Coincident with this multiplication and intensification of Examinations, or perhaps dependent on them, there happened a number of scandalous incidents connected with the conduct of the Departmental Examinations. There were cases of stealing papers and other forms of fraud and the Minister was obliged to institute investigations which resulted in several cases in various parts of the Province in the cancelling of certificates. And graver still, charges and insinuations were made in the newspapers and elsewhere that there were improper relations between high officials of the Department and outsiders. The rumours became so insistent and specific that on Sept. 24, 1877, the Government appointed Hon. C. S. Patterson, a Judge of the High Court, as a commissioner to investigate the charges. He reported on Dec. 31,

1877, that he had investigated two charges: (1) that there is within the Central Committee a "ring" the members of which have dishonourable relations with the publishing house of Adam Miller and Company of Toronto, and (2) that in the preparation of Examination papers in connection with the Public and High Schools there has been collusion between members of the Central Committee and other parties interested in the work or result of the examinations.

Some of the accusations were based on an Examination paper prepared by J. A. McLellan in June, 1874. Again in 1876 a lady candidate thought she detected resemblances between Thos Kirkland's Normal School lectures and questions on an Examination paper made by McLellan. Witnesses were called, examined and cross-examined by counsel: J. F. Edgar for the Minister and N. F. Davin for the *Mail* newspaper. Among the witnesses were George Dickson, Head Master of the Hamilton School, and W. J. Robertson of the St Catharines staff. After the evidence was taken and counsel heard the Judge pronounced as follows: "The clear result of the whole evidence, in my judgment, is, that neither charge has any support from affirmative proof; that the charges have not been allowed to be disposed of as simply unproved but that both have been conclusively rebutted."

Nevertheless much talk went on. Some said "completely exonerated", others said "merely whitewashed," and it was soon evident that there

were parties and partisanship in the educational world: a party taking the Minister's side and another in opposition. And rumour asserted that some of the leaders of the latter were men like George Dickson, Archibald MacMurchy, Head Master of the Toronto School, and John Seath.

Before long a new organ appeared, *The Canada Educational Monthly*, which was intended to represent this opposition party. Its first number was dated January, 1879, its editor being G. Mercer Adam. There is no definite statement from the editor as to the policy of the new journal but, from the first number, it is evident that the *Monthly* belongs to the opposition party. The editor speaks sharply of "payment by results" and of the impropriety of having School Manuals produced by members of the board of High School Inspectors. Adam Purslow, of Port Hope, in a scornful tone speaks of the evils of Departmental Examinations. And Seath in an article "On the Training of First-Class Teachers" deplores the lack of suitable arrangements for the preparation of such, and recommends that a larger share of this work should be done by the High Schools and a smaller share by the Normal Schools. In subsequent numbers the note of criticism becomes sharper and at times is very sharp, particularly as regards the Senior High School Inspector of the period, J. A. McLellan. In the February number MacMurchy is mentioned as Mathematical Editor and later on, in 1882, Seath became Modern Language Editor, a position which he

resigned in 1884 when he was made High School Inspector. There was an honest attempt made to furnish a good journal to the teaching profession, in spite of a tendency to acrimony, but as a financial enterprise it did not succeed. Perhaps it was too good to succeed in Ontario.

Adam continued to be editor until September 1883, when Geo. H. Robinson took over the editorship. During the period 1884-1889 no editor is mentioned on the title page. Then from 1889 till 1902 Archibald MacMurchy was editor and during 1903-1905 John C. Saul, at which last mentioned date publication ceased.

The success of the St Catharines school under Seath's guidance from 1874 to 1884 was considerable. One of the High School Inspectors, J. M. Buchan, in his Report of 1879, speaks of it in a vein too frequent in Ontario as one of the "schools which are immensely superior to the best schools to be found in places of the same size in the neighbouring states of New York and Michigan."

In addition to his regular work in the school he attended faithfully to his duties as a member of the Teachers' Association. In 1875 he was a Vice-President of the General Association and Chairman of the High School Section. In 1876 he read an important paper on the High School System which has been already mentioned. In 1877 he was very active in urging reforms regarding the proper recognition of Natural Science by the University of Toronto and regarding defects in the conduct of the Intermediate Examination.

In 1878 he is still a Vice-President and member of the Executive. Always practical, he discusses anomalies in the distribution of the Government grant to High Schools and is appointed a member of a committee to urge remedies on the Government. In 1879 he is still on the Executive and takes part in a discussion regarding improvement of the questions set for candidates in Natural Science, so that they might be less mathematical than hitherto. As Chairman of the High School Section he sends (Aug. 27) an important communication to the Department regarding resolutions adopted and, on Sept. 12, receives a reply from the Chairman of the Central Committee, G. P. Young.

Shortly thereafter, on Oct. 4, the Department issued new regulations respecting the Intermediate, to the effect that the Intermediate would be assimilated in the future with certain Teachers' Examinations. This was a clear sign that the Department had changed its view regarding the purpose of the Intermediate. It was no longer to have much influence in the distribution of the grant. In 1880 the questions of the Government grant and of increased representation of High School teachers on the Senate of the University of Toronto were discussed, with Seath participating. At subsequent sessions of the Association up till 1884 he is generally present and active in discussion. But the Association did not confer on him the honour of the presidency until 1902.

The strenuous "grinding" life led by the High School teachers of Ontario has always made it very difficult for them to make books. But Seath managed in the midst of his other duties to produce a few and several of them lie in this St Catharines period. In 1878 he published "Milton's Paradise Lost, Books I and II with Biographical and Critical Introduction and Notes explanatory, grammatical, and etymological." He was accustomed in later years to laugh at this production, but there was no good reason for his being ashamed of it. It is a collection of useful information regarding Milton and the Paradise Lost, particularly Books I and II, and its chief defect is that it is too thorough and complete for the students for whom it was prepared, when we remember the use many of them were inclined to make of such "helps." In the notes he insists too much on some of the cast-off garments of the mediæval rhetorician, such for example as "enallage" or "antanaclasis," or on the subtle discoveries of the comparative philologer. But it was fashionable to do such things and we must not expect a man in matters of fashion to rise above his fellows.

In 1881 Copp, Clark & Co. published Exercises in Latin Prose: a Companion to Harkness's Latin Grammar, for the use of Intermediate and University Classes, by John Seath and John Henderson. A reviewer in *The Canada Educational Monthly* says of it, "This, so far as we can recollect, is the first work on Latin Grammar or Latin Prose by

Canadian authors, and, although a compilation, and avowedly of low range, is nevertheless a work of much merit." The fact that Seath was a pioneer in the making of language books is of some importance and should not be forgotten.

In 1882 there was much excitement in the educational world of Ontario on account of the struggle between three publishing houses which had been allowed authorisation for three series of School Readers. Seath, with the help of a group of teachers, prepared the "Royal Canadian Readers" for the Canada Publishing Co. The "Advanced Reader" of the set, whose preface is dated October, 1883, is the work of Seath. The object of the book is to develop a taste for literature as well, of course, as to teach Reading and Composition. The arrangement of the extracts is curious but sensible, in that the chronological order followed is from the present backwards. The first extract in the book is from the pen of Daniel Wilson and the last is the "Trial Scene" from the *Merchant of Venice*. The extracts are preceded by an Introduction which contains, in a concise and well-written way, the principles of rhetoric. There are useful biographical and critical notices to the extracts and explanatory notes of value at the back of the book. Such thoroughly made books are seldom seen any more, but it, on account of the imbroglio already hinted at, had but a short life. The "Royal Canadian Readers" were pronounced inferior to the other two rival series and were not authorised.

But the School Reader imbroglio was not the only cause of excitement in 1882. There was also what was called the "Marmion controversy." Shortly previous to this the University of Toronto had prescribed Scott's Marmion for the matriculation examination of 1883 and the Department, according to the usual practice, had prescribed it also for Teachers' examinations. Then the Department withdrew the poem and there was a protest from teachers, pupils and press, particularly that part of the press which assumes the duty of the guardianship of Protestantism; for it was asserted that the Department had obeyed the suggestion of the Roman Catholic Archbishop to remove the poem because it contained passages which might be interpreted as offensive to the Catholic Church. It was one of those periods of moral exhilaration which seem to be necessary occasionally to the good people of Ontario. But it did not add anything to the comfort or reputation of Mr Crooks.

There was also agitation regarding Upper Canada College, which indeed was no new thing. For years this institution had been a target for the hostile criticism of High School men. They asked why this school, which they claimed was only a secondary school, should enjoy special financial and other advantages, and some went so far as to advocate its abolition. The Minister, himself an Old Head Boy, seems to have become alarmed, and it occurred to him, as a means of saving the school, that the plan conceived by

Ryerson more than twenty years before, of turning the institution into a Model High School for the Provincial system would fit the case admirably.

But Upper Canada College and its Old Boys did not accept the plan as a good one. Principal Cockburn resigned in September, 1881. A new Principal was appointed, J. M. Buchan, one of the High School Inspectors. Buchan was chosen, according to the Report of the Minister, because he had had much experience of High Schools and would be able to start the old school on its new career of usefulness. But nothing came of the Minister's plan except dissatisfaction on the part of the friends of Upper Canada College. Buchan fitted into the old order of things, although the institution had to endure the indignity of inspection and of being considered for years a sister institution to the High Schools and Collegiate Institutes. It was not until Dec. 14, 1900, that it was granted independence of direct government control and had its own Board of Governors.

The Minister's reputation had suffered. He was charged with meddlesomeness and indecision. Nor did he escape the charge of political partisanship, as for instance, when Seath was passed over for the Inspectorship of High Schools on the resignation of Buchan in 1881. But the career of the unfortunate Minister came to a close on account of a complete nervous breakdown in the end of 1882. His colleague, A. S. Hardy, became Interim Minister in January 1883 and Premier Mowat

had to look for a new Minister. No doubt he fully realised that he had a somewhat vulnerable office to bestow for which a strong occupant would be difficult to find.

He may have rapped at more doors than one. It is not easy to say. But we know that in the autumn of 1883 he invited (Rev.) G. M. Grant (1835-1902) Principal of Queen's College to accept the portfolio of Education.¹ After due reflection Grant, probably wisely for him, declined the offer, and shortly afterwards Mowat invited G. W. Ross (1841-1914) to the same position. Ross accepted with some alacrity. About a year later the Premier sent to Grant a second letter asking him to be ready to take the position of President of University College whenever the place should be vacant. These two offers helped to make of Grant the influential man he was in educational affairs. One wonders whether G. W. Ross, Edward Blake and James Loudon knew these offers had been made. If they did know, there were subsequent events whose piquancy must have been considerably heightened by this knowledge.

However, Ross became Minister of Education on Nov. 23, 1883, and remained in the post till 1899, the last annual Report he signed being that of 1898. Ross's appointment was looked on as a good one. He had had a long and varied experience with schools as teacher, inspector and examiner, he had been a member of the Dominion Parliament for some ten years and was also a very

¹See *Principal Grant* by Grant and Hamilton, p. 261.

effective public speaker. Moreover no man ever took his duties more seriously, or was ever more anxious to improve and reform, which, regarded superficially, might be considered a commendation, but in Ross's case this quality was one of the causes of his undoing. Taking oneself and one's work too seriously is sometimes treated by ungrateful men as the unpardonable sin.

CHAPTER V

CAREER AS INSPECTOR

Faults of Education Department; Co-education; Industrial Education; Mulock; Grant; Loudon; University Federation; Ross Bible; Examinations; Arbor Day; Patriotic Recitations; Training Institutes; Seath's critics; Educational Association; Temperance; Agriculture; Bilingualism; Seath's visits to United States; Professional Training; Joint Board; University Senate; Manual Training; changes in school programme; Whitney defeats Ross.

Ross found on his assumption of office that one of the important things he had to do was to appoint a High School Inspector. There were many able High School men fit to take the position but there was a general feeling that Seath had the strongest claim to the place. But he had been prominent in the opposition party and many wondered whether Ross would rise above all smaller considerations and appoint for merit alone. He chose Seath and the Order-in-council is dated Oct. 15, 1884. On the same day J. A. McLellan was appointed Director of Teachers' Institutes, whereby he was relieved of all his duties in connection with the Inspectorship of High Schools, and was entrusted with the duties of inspecting the two Normal Schools with their annexed Model Schools, a part of the County Model Schools and of directing the Teachers' Institutes, and became

in 1890 Principal of the School of Pedagogy. This separation of Seath and McLellan was perhaps not altogether an accident. Ross was shrewd; he knew that they did not love each other and that they both had masterful ways. The mutual antipathy of these two men grew out of differences of temperament, for which neither was responsible. Seath was sometimes very severe as regards McLellan. But it would have been better for Seath and his work as Inspector and Superintendent if he had possessed some of the qualities which he criticised McLellan for using, such for instance as his facility in moving popular audiences.

Seath's colleague in the Inspection of High Schools was J. E. Hodgson (appointed 1881) and the two worked together in peace, if not in complete mutual respect, till 1906. On Seath's appointment he received many flattering expressions of opinion from the press, amongst others from the *Canada Educational Monthly*. In the number for September, 1884, the editor speaks thus: "The appointment of Mr Seath to the vacant High School Inspectorship has given much satisfaction to the teaching profession and, we believe, to the country. The Minister of Education is to be commended for the wisdom of his choice and for the signal proof he has given in filling the appointment of the honesty of his expressed determination to know no party politics in the administration of his Department. If the recognition of Mr Seath's claim to the position has been somewhat

tardy, and if hitherto ministerial eyes have too often been open only to party merit, the High School Masters will console themselves by the fact that Mr Seath, by remaining longer in harness, brings to the work of inspection so much the larger experience and deeper sympathy."

The editor goes on to speak of Seath's great fitness for the place and makes the following estimate of his bent of mind and prediction as to what he will not do, which make interesting reading now: "While the bent of his mind is towards 'the humanites' he will not, we feel confident, be disposed to ride hobbies or flout knowledge unfamiliar to him."

And as the editor proceeds he pays additional compliments to Seath and lays the lash on McLellan's shoulders in the following fashion: "The pernicious dogma of 'Payment by Results' and the unspeakable 'Intermediate,' against which he (Seath) laboured in *THE MONTHLY* to subvert, are passing away, the craze for mathematical subtleties and quibbles is beginning to subside, the revolt against formalism is in full progress, the galling tyranny of the examination system is now understood, and Mr Seath comes at a time when the schools, instinct with a new spirit, are ready for a change, and desirous of being led on to the pursuit of right methods, calm work, and useful knowledge." Five years later *The Monthly* speaks in a very different way of both Seath and McLellan. The change constitutes a quite pretty case of journalistic somersaulting.

As we read the official Report for 1884 we are struck by an early example of one of the faults of our Education Department, *viz.*, a proneness to make elaborately detailed syllabuses for the guidance of teachers and pupils in all grades of institutions. The one in question is a set of regulations regarding County Model Schools covering more than twenty pages (pp. 92-113) which descends so far at times into the obvious and trivial as to be almost comical. This one is not due to Seath, although during the period of his dominance the fault was never cured. Bureaucracy seems to tend to develop lack of faith in human intelligence and also in Providential oversight.

The tendency to lay undue stress on uniformity is also exemplified in the part of the Report due to Hodgson in which he complains of the lack of uniformity in marking Entrance papers in different counties and of the presence of Preparatory Forms in certain schools. He recommends that these last be utterly abolished.

The same fault is also seen in the Report of 1883 where McLellan complains that in the Toronto Collegiate Institute and in the Provincial Model School girls and boys are taught in separate classes. In his opinion it is a horrible practice based on a "pernicious fourteenth century theory," and if abolished would raise the discipline and efficiency of the Model School. One feels like thanking Heaven for *one* piece at least of mediævalism in our system due to a prejudice of

Ryerson. McLellan's protest may have worked a change in the case of the Collegiate Institute but the Model School, except for its kindergarten, still stands firm in its obscurantism.

Another point of interest in 1884 is the paper of James L. Hughes on Industrial Education at the meeting of the Ontario Teachers' Association in August. Before this time the phrase Industrial Education was used in Ontario in reference to the operations of the Mechanics' Institutes or in speaking of charitable institutions founded for the care of neglected children. The author of this paper applied it to the training of the hand. It is one of the earliest public utterances in advocacy of that phase of education, although it does not go so far as many papers written since. It still regards schools as places for training the intelligence and not as places where children may learn how to earn a living.

. There are also other interesting debates of the time less closely connected with the Inspectorship of High Schools but which are worth mentioning by reason of their bearing on the general educational situation. One of these was the question of the admission of ladies to the classes of University College.

For a number of years girls had written at the Matriculation Examination of the University of Toronto and several had passed. Some of these had gone on with their work, reading with the help of tutors the courses prescribed in the curriculum and passing the regular examinations of

the University. Application to enter University College was made by some of them, but refused by the College Council. Meanwhile the discussion of the questions of the higher education of women and of co-education were continued in the press and in teachers' meetings and finally a resolution was passed in March, 1884, by the Provincial Legislature expressing the opinion that provision should be made for the admission of women into University College. It was followed on October 1st by an Order-in-council which gave effect to the above mentioned resolution.

In his Convocation address, delivered some days later, President Wilson said: "I can only say for my colleagues, as for myself, that so long as co-education is the authorised system in University College it will be our earnest endeavour to make it accomplish for our fair undergraduates every advantage that the plan is capable of. That it is the best system few indeed have the hardihood to affirm."

Some days after the address, the *Canada Educational Monthly* spoke as follows: "The champions of co-education have in a manner forced the doors of University College." The *Monthly* considered that the scheme could never succeed for "the idea of co-education is foreign to our soil." But again the prophet failed to predict correctly. Foreign to our soil or not, the scheme has been maintained and to-day the number of women undergraduates in Arts is large, and may soon be as large as the number of men.

Another University matter was also the cause of noisy discussion. In his June Commencement address for 1883, William Mulock, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Toronto, had explained the needs of the University and made a claim upon the Government of the Province for financial aid. Principal Grant of Queen's University replied, in his October Convocation address, recommending the University of Toronto not to look to the Government for help but to its own graduates and stated that if the Government should give additional sums to the University of Toronto his view was that it should also help Queen's and the other universities such as Victoria and Trinity.

The challenge to battle was at once accepted by the friends of Toronto. Wilson however stood aloof. He thought it a mistake to agitate for increase of Government support. He would have been content to accept the common view that the University of Toronto could get on with its once sufficient endowment. To ask for more was dangerous. Such action would lead no one knew where. Perhaps he foresaw the possibility of Federation, and that was something he scarcely desired. The leader in the fight was James Loudon. He gathered about him a group, of whom the writer was one, and the newspapers were supplied with "copy" in the shape of articles and letters. The fight was extended into the new year. Later in 1884 (July 8) the Minister of Education invited the leaders of the various Uni-

versities to a conference and in due time a scheme of University Federation was evolved which became law in 1887.

Another cause of perturbation in the seldom tranquil waters of the educational sea of Ontario was the production of the so-called "Ross Bible." According to the account of the affair given by Ross himself, in 1886, a deputation of Protestant clergymen and laymen had waited on Premier Mowat on Oct. 23, 1882, with the request that the Education Department should prescribe passages of the Bible to be read each day in the schools. The Ontario Teachers' Association, too, had asked the Department to make a suitable selection of Scripture Readings for the schools. Acting on these suggestions Ross made the Scripture selections and referred them to a committee of Protestant clergymen who approved of them. It appears that they were also submitted to the Roman Catholic Archbishop Lynch who made one suggestion only, and that was that the word "which" in the Lord's Prayer should be changed to "who." The change was made. Then, in 1885, the Scripture Readings were printed, authorised and distributed free to the schools.

Even before the volume appeared a moderate critic writing in the *Canada Educational Monthly* for March, 1885, says: "I hope that the Minister will leave the whole Bible in the school. I mean the whole book. If need be, let the Department say what portions are to be read. But I hope that there will be no attempt to publish any par-

ticular portions of the Bible by themselves as a separate volume." This was the main objection put in a moderate form but there was after the appearance of the book in many quarters a riot of extravagant criticism involving such points as Papal authority in our schools. The Minister and his colleagues were frightened, particularly since a general election was impending which came off in the autumn of 1886. However, the Government was successful at the election and was none the worse for its scare. Even at the last session of the House before the election the Minister succeeded in getting his regulations respecting religious instruction approved by the whole House without a single objection from either side. And in addition the people of Ontario had another occasion for receiving that moral tonic so useful for the satisfaction of the deepest needs and holiest aspirations of many.

Seath's first annual Report as Inspector of High Schools is dated December, 1885. It is a document of some twenty large pages and describes what he saw in the schools and makes recommendations where he thinks they are needed. He had inspected about seventy of the hundred and five schools, chiefly those to the west of Toronto. There was offered in this year a new curriculum for High Schools and the Inspector found that there was very little grumbling on account of it. One of the notable points in connection with it was a certain amount of assimilation between the Teachers' courses and Matricula-

tion courses which was to be a feature of the High School work for some twenty years afterwards.

The Inspector lays great stress on the influence of Examinations upon school work. He regrets that it is so, but would fall back upon this influence as a means of strengthening teaching where a subject has been neglected, as for instance in the case of English. He thinks that the high grade of mathematical teaching prevailing in the schools is largely due to the "plucking" of candidates in that group of subjects. Also a stimulus has been applied to the study of Classics and Moderns by making Latin, French and German count at the examinations for Teachers' Certificates.

His attitude to the Entrance Examination is to be noted. He advocated that it should be held only once in a year, instead of twice, as had been the case since 1873. He did not think that it should be made less difficult to pass. He thought pupils now entered the High School at an early enough age. The plea, he thought, that there was not time to do the work in foreign languages was unfounded. If a pupil began Latin at fifteen it was not too late. This was an opinion he held to the end of his life, in spite of the mass of opposed competent opinion.

In fact this Report of 1885 shows that in the main features his views on educational matters did not change much during the last thirty years of his life. He insisted on the improvement of school buildings and equipment, on the teaching

of English and Science, looked on the recently introduced pedagogical training of High School teachers as extremely important, and set store by Examinations as guides to the work of the school. There was only one large question on which he changed: in his later life he insisted more and more on the idea that the school should be a place where the scholar prepares himself for life, not merely by the culture of the mind, but also by the training of the hand for specific callings.

In addition to Inspection an important duty performed by Inspectors was the making of Examination papers. The two High School men were assisted in this by a group of five or six Public School Inspectors, for the work was heavy. For instance in the year, 1886, Seath set more than twenty papers. These were mostly in English and Natural Science. The writer has a good recollection of the warmth of criticism provoked by some of Seath's papers on English at the 1886 meeting of the Ontario Teachers' Association, when a committee was appointed to wait on the Minister regarding the unsuitable character of papers. Seath's papers in English subjects were different from what teachers had expected from the annotator Seath and they were heartily condemned by several.

The year, 1885, is interesting on account of the new features introduced by the Minister in the conduct of his Department. Arbor Day is instituted and to celebrate it properly the Minister himself drew up a syllabus and ultimately pre-

pared and published in 1893 a volume of Patriotic Recitations and Arbor Day Exercises. He prepared also his Scripture Readings with which he rather burnt his fingers as has been seen. Kindergartens, first introduced in 1882, are now recognised by law. A futile attempt is made to give another turn of the screw in the matter of compulsory attendance. Canadian History is made obligatory for the Entrance Examination, but its course has been erratic,—sometimes on, sometimes off. Teachers are to be “uplifted” by prescribing a course of Reading for them. A commercial Department is added to High School equipment. Contributions to the teachers’ Superannuation Fund are made optional, etc., etc.

The most important perhaps of all these new features was the establishment of the Training Institutes, already mentioned. A small grant was given to two Collegiate Institutes (Hamilton and Kingston) for permission to send to them those students who were desirous of qualifying for High School positions. The Training Institutes afforded the students instruction in pedagogical theory as well as the opportunity of learning teaching by instructing the pupils of the schools. At the end of three months the students-in-training passed regular examinations set by the Department and were qualified to teach in High Schools. In 1886 the number of Training Institutes was increased to four, Guelph and Strathroy being added to the two of 1885.

It is a little remarkable that the *Canada Educational Monthly* of which Seath had been one of the editors and which had applauded his appointment as Inspector in the autumn of 1884 should have become an organ of criticism as early as January 1886. But so it was. In that month a correspondent signing himself "Master" speaks harshly of Inspectors but without mentioning names. In the March number an editorial article complains of an undue amount of fatherly oversight exercised by the Minister and his subordinates. And in the April number Arnoldus Miller of Vienna, like a sane man, wonders why there should be so much inspecting. He even thinks that there is no need for as many as two High School Inspectors. And in the November number the editor speaks of "all the heart-burning complaints that appear periodically in the public press from pupils, teachers and parents," due to the severity of examinations in which Inspectors play too large a part. There can be no doubt that, although in these articles the Minister is the chief object of criticism, his Junior Inspector of High Schools (Seath) is also levelled at.

Late in the year, on Dec. 29, there occurred an event of some importance in which the writer had a share. There was organised a group of educational people called The Modern Language Association of Ontario of which Daniel Wilson and John Seath became honorary members. These two were not as honorary members often are,—inactive and detached; they were active, took

part in discussions, read papers and held office. Wilson was elected Honorary President at the first meeting and Seath became one of the Councillors.

The second meeting was held on Dec. 28, 1887, (and two following days) and at it Seath was elected President of the Association and took an active part in all the discussions. He presided at the next meeting which opened on Jan. 2, 1889, and read a paper on "The Relation of the Modern Languages to Culture."

The organisation of the Modern Language Association was the beginning of a movement which had very important results in relation to the Ontario Teachers' Association. Up till 1890 the organisation of the latter had been: The General Association, with three sections, Public School Section, High School Section and Public School Inspectors' Section. The meetings were generally held in August. By 1892, in imitation of the Modern Language Association, the Classical, the Mathematical and the Natural Science Associations had been formed, one outcome of which was that the High School Section was broken into fragments which were meeting at different times and places. It was felt that a change in the constitution of the larger Association was desirable by which the various small Associations might become parts of the large one. In 1893 the new constitution is on its feet and the new Ontario Educational Association meets at Easter with many Departments and Sections in

operation. Such it stands to-day with several new parts added at various times, making of it altogether a very complex institution.

It has sometimes been called the Teachers' Parliament, which it is in one respect, namely, a place where much talking is done. But it is a body quite unsuited for taking legislative action, or for recommending definite measures of a legal or administrative kind. It has so little solidarity or continuity that its pronouncements can hardly be considered as the expression of public opinion. Seath said of it that its Resolutions could not be taken very seriously for the reason that a Resolution passed at one meeting might be negated at the next.

But it is none the less a useful institution. A certain proportion of its papers are valuable as contributions to knowledge or as inspiration to the younger teachers. There are however dangers connected with it. It easily becomes an arena for sensationalism. The Executive of the Association has the habit of looking for "taking" personalities and occasionally fantastic theories are propagated. But taking everything into account a pretty high level of discussion has been maintained. The writer does not regret that his Modern Language Association of 1886 was originated and that it helped to influence in the manner it did the subsequent history of the Ontario Educational Association.

In the official Report for 1887 there are some important things to notice. The question of the

Bible and religious teaching in the schools gives the Minister some worry. He has some changes made in his volume of Scripture Readings and is pleased to know that the Bible in 1886 was read in some fifty per cent. more schools than in 1884. But teachers cannot yet be permitted to comment on the text of the Scriptures. The Trustees may however make arrangements with the Clergy in each locality whereby religious instruction may be given.

Another point of interest is the anxiety of the Minister to have Temperance and Agriculture taught in the Public Schools. A text-book on the former subject by Dr Richardson of London, England, has been authorised and now the Minister is sure that the subject will be taught not by propagandists as mere sentiment but by scientific investigators. The subject of Temperance has had a good deal of buffeting; sometimes it is regarded as a valuable scientific subject, as in the Report of 1887, sometimes, as in the Report of 1904, it is considered as a subject beyond the capacities of young children when regarded from the scientific standpoint. Hence there is a good deal of hesitation as to what place it should have on the course of study: at one time we find it prescribed for the Entrance Examination, at another it is left off. If it were not for the influence of fanaticism, it might be possible to follow the advice of A. P. Knight given at p. xxvii of the Report of 1904 and make Temperance a thing for the exercise of good example and not for supposed

scientific investigation by young children. The insincerity of the Department regarding the lack of propagandism and the desire to encourage scientific investigation in the matter of Temperance is a serious blot upon the history of education in Ontario, hardly to be atoned for by the passing of prohibitory measures.

In the matter of Agriculture the Report informs us that James Mills is engaged in the making of a text-book which the Minister hopes will be suitable for authorisation. And it was not the first attempt to make a suitable agricultural text-book for our schools, nor was it to be the last. The history of the teaching of Agriculture in Ontario has been peculiar. A professor of Agriculture had a place on the staff of 1853 in University College. But Buckland had few if any students. No progress in the teaching of the subject was made until 1874 when the College at Guelph began its operations. Under James Mills, after 1879, the college went ahead and under George Creelman that progress has been maintained.

But in Public and High Schools no start was made. A good deal was said about the shameful neglect meted out to Agriculture, our primal industry, a neglect which drove young men from the farm into the overcrowded professions or out of the country altogether. Even Ryerson, although he wrote a text-book on Agriculture himself in 1870, could not change the course of events. And so in spite of the press, of papers read at

teachers' associations, and of all sorts of admonitions nothing of any account was done with Agriculture as a school subject until a few years ago.

In 1899 Agriculture was made a regular subject of instruction for Fourth and Fifth Classes in rural Public Schools. But even then not much was done. However, in 1907 six High Schools were chosen as centres for agricultural education and in each was placed a graduate of the Ontario Agricultural College to give instruction. In 1909 there are eleven centres for agricultural instruction and in 1911 there are eighteen and in the latter year a Director of Elementary Agricultural Education is appointed. In 1912 new branches of work are added and a new degree of Bachelor of Science in Agriculture is established in the universities.

In the years after 1912 up to the present the activity has been continued, although difficulties are reported by the Inspectors, such as lack of interest amongst the people, and the scarcity of men qualified to teach the group of subjects included under the heading of Agriculture. In order to encourage the subject still more it has been recommended that it should be recognised by the universities for Matriculation into Arts and Science. Some share of the increased attention bestowed by the Department on Agricultural Education is doubtless due to the fostering care of Seath for all forms of Technical Training.

The Bilingual Question is also referred to in the

Minister's Report for 1887,¹ and is treated in such a way as to show that the subject has assumed considerable importance. At pages lix-lxi a brief history of the treatment of the subject by the Department is given, from which it appears that down to 1885 the Department had on several occasions taken action for the purpose of aiding the learning of French and German in localities where these languages were spoken. In 1885, *i.e.* under G. W. Ross himself, attention is paid for the first time to means whereby English shall be better taught in these localities. As the Report says "the regulations of the Department (Reg. 24 of 1885) required that 'in French and German schools the authorised Readers should be used in addition to any of the text-books in either of the languages aforesaid'. Instructions were also given to Inspectors of Separate Schools to see that English was taught and a syllabus of an English course for French schools prescribed." In 1886 an attempt was made to found a bilingual Model School in Eastern Ontario for the express purpose of training French teachers how to teach English, but the scheme fell through because no competent Principal could be found to teach both languages.

In 1886 an investigation was conducted in the counties of Prescott and Russell by means of which the Department discovered that, out of 128 schools with 145 departments, English was taught in all except 27 departments. In 1887 this state of affairs was improved with the result that the

¹Dated Jan., 1888.

number of purely French departments was reduced from 27 to 6, and the French-speaking Inspector, Mr Dufort, hoped that soon these 6 departments would also fall into line. Mr White, the Roman Catholic Separate School Inspector, was able to report also, in 1887, that English was taught in every French Separate School in the Province.

But we shall fail to understand this aspect of educational affairs in Ontario at this point of time unless we take a look at general events in other parts of Canada. Ever since the second Riel rebellion in 1885, and the execution of the leader on November 16 of that year, the political skies of Quebec were dark and lowering for Ontario's leaders. A storm raged in the sister Province throughout 1886, and in January, 1887, the Nationalist party, with Honoré Mercier at its head, defeated the Conservative Government at the polls and assumed office.

Inside Ontario, too, agitation is observable. Various things occur. On March 16, 1887, Messrs Evanturel and Robillard move in the Legislature for the correspondence between the Department and the Inspectors regarding English-French Schools in Prescott and Russell. It is laid on the Table by the Government. G. W. Ross on April 18 met the (Protestant) Ministerial Association of Toronto and explained how he had taken action in 1885 to secure the teaching of English in all schools in the Province. Newspapers like the *Mail* maintained a hostile criticism of the Depart-

ment for slackness in protecting the interests of English. A protest also comes from the village of Hawkesbury against "the regulations compelling the teaching of English."¹

English-speaking, Protestant Ontario is evidently about to have another period of "moral exhilaration." And her temperature is considerably increased, in 1888, by the action of the Quebec Legislature in passing the so-called Jesuits' Estates Act. There was strong opposition to this measure in Ontario and, on March 26, 1889, a resolution was moved by W. E. O'Brien, M.P. in the Dominion House in favour of disallowing the Act. For three days an exciting debate was kept up, but in the end only thirteen members voted for the resolution. Following upon this the Equal Rights Association was formed and Dalton McCarthy, the parliamentary leader, and others went up and down the country making eloquent and inflammatory addresses whose influence did not soon disappear.

A few days before O'Brien's motion was discussed at Ottawa, *i.e.*, on March 8, 1889, T. D. Craig, M.P.P. moved in the Ontario Legislature for a Return on all schools in the Province in which any other language than English was used in the work of teaching. The Return was brought down on Feb. 4, 1890. It seems to have been in connection with the debate on Craig's motion that W. R. Meredith, Leader of the Opposition, com-

¹Aug. 15, 1887.

mitted the Conservative party of Ontario to an attitude *vis-à-vis* French-speaking Canadians which differed materially from that maintained so long by John A. Macdonald.

By this time the Minister of Education concluded that something further had to be done and on May 13, 1889, he appointed John J. Tilley, (Rev.) Alfred H. Reynar and (Rev.) D. D. McLeod, a Commission to visit the Public Schools of the Counties of Prescott, Russell, Essex, Kent and Simcoe, and enquire into the teaching of English in the localities where French was spoken in those counties. The Commission proceeded at once to do its work and reported on Aug. 22, 1889. It may be said here, parenthetically, that the above-mentioned Commission was on Sept. 9, 1889, directed to inspect the Public Schools in German-speaking localities and reported on Oct. 30, 1889. Also that the same Commission was re-appointed in 1893 to inspect the French Schools once more, in order to ascertain the progress made since 1889.

Although the Report of the Commissioners is of great interest, it is impossible here to give any analysis of it. We shall content ourselves with noting the recommendations made to the Department by the Commission:

"I. That a special school be established for the training of French teachers in the English language.

II. That special Institutes be held for the immediate benefit of the teachers now employed in the French Schools.

III. That the attention of the teachers be called at once to the necessity of making greater use of the oral or conversational method in teaching English.

IV. That a bilingual series of readers—French and English—be provided for the French Schools in Ontario.

V. That the use of unauthorised text-books in these schools be discontinued.

VI. That the attention of trustees and teachers be called to the provisions of the law governing religious instruction in Public Schools as there seems to be a general lack of information on this subject."

These Recommendations were adopted by the Department and put into force with no undue delay. A special English-French Model School was established at Plantagenet in January, 1890, with Mr Chenay as Principal, and according to John J. Tilley, Inspector of Model Schools, it "more than fulfilled the expectations of its friends." A new set of Regulations regarding bilingual schools was issued on Feb. 10, 1890. Unauthorised books imported from Quebec were also forbidden to be used and in due time a set of bilingual readers borrowed from New Brunswick was made ready for Ontario.

The Inspectors of the French districts, Messrs Girardot (Essex), Dufort and Summerby

(Prescott and Russell), all reported their satisfaction with the work of the Commission and hoped for great advantage from the new features introduced. Mr Girardot, a fine old gentleman, born in France, was particularly complimentary to the gentlemen who composed the Commission. The Commissioners seemed to have been well fitted for their task. The French people received them with cordiality and they in turn lavished upon the French encomiums of praise and recommendations to gentle treatment at the hands of the Department. "If the schools, said they, are dealt with justly, and with due consideration for the feelings of the people, and if the recommendations made in this Report are adopted, we believe these schools, within a reasonable time, will be raised to a degree of efficiency that will be satisfactory to both the English and the French people." Everybody seemed pleased with the results. Teachers and pupils were reported as all attacking the study of English with zeal and success. And to crown all, on June 11, 1890, at the general election the Government of Oliver Mowat, along with its Minister of Education, received the approval of the people of Ontario.

The ship had weathered the storm. Not that there were no more storms—far from it—but the storm centre was transferred to Manitoba, and there it blew so hard that people seemed to forget for a little the bilingual problem as far as Ontario was concerned. In this same year, 1890, the Manitoba Government wiped out its Separate School

system and replaced it by a single uniform system of schools for all its people. Then followed the years of dispute in Parliaments and Courts which culminated in the attempt on the part of the Ottawa Government to pass the famous Remedial Bill in 1896. The *dénouement* of the play was the defeat of the Bowell Government by Laurier.

Although not quite accurate it may suffice for present purposes to say that during the period, 1890-1910, there was calm regarding bilingual matters in the Schools of Ontario. There were indeed murmurings amongst the people, and officials of the Department expressed occasional dissatisfaction, but consoled themselves as Donald McDiarmid did in a special report on French Public Schools in Prescott and Russell, in 1890, by reflecting that "As good progress is made in English as could be expected." The Department is anxious to improve matters by the establishment of model schools, the appointment of Inspectors, the making of new text-books and the like, and there is a disposition on the part of the people to accept suggestions and to ask for guidance, as we see in the case of E. G. Quesnel, Reeve of Hawkesbury, who in 1907, came to the meeting of the Ontario Educational Association to discuss "Methods of imparting Education to our French rural School Children."

From 1910 to the present important changes are noticeable. We hear of disagreements between English-speaking and French-speaking

supporters of Separate Schools, of investigations by officials, of resistance to law and regulation, of coercitive measures, of litigation, of declamatory public discussion in meetings and in the press, all indicating a state of feeling amongst the people quite detrimental to the proper working of educational institutions.

The disagreements between English-speaking and French-speaking Separate School people is not new. It goes back at least as far as 1889, as may be seen from a correspondence carried on in that year between Rev. T. Fitzpatrick, P.P., of St Raphael, and G. W. Ross regarding the teaching of French and English in the Separate School of St Raphael. Again in 1906 there is a protest from English-speaking Separate School ratepayers of the city of Ottawa against the management of the Separate School Board of that place. But the most striking instance is contained in a letter dated "Sarnia, Ont., May 23, 1910," to Hon. Dr R. A. Pyne from his colleague W. J. Hanna, Provincial Secretary, setting forth the attitude of Mgr Fallon, Bishop of London, to the bilingual schools of the western part of the Province.

As regards official investigations the most notable is that conducted by F. W. Merchant, Departmental Inspector, who examined the English-French Schools of the Province between Nov. 2, 1910 and Feb. 8, 1912, and presented his Report to the Minister of Education on Feb. 24, 1912. In all, 269 schools, with a teaching personnel of 538, were visited. Of these the Commissioner

found that 22 had not sufficient command of English to speak the language with freedom, and 18 others, although better than these, were not strong enough in English to make good teachers of that language. In addition many others spoke English with a French accent. He found that English was a subject of study in all the schools he visited, but that there was pretty generally a lack of efficiency. The methods employed were mostly good and the teachers showed special zeal and earnestness in their work. To increase the efficiency in teaching English he recommended that a more adequate supply of competent teachers be obtained from the training schools, a thing, as he says, very difficult to secure. Another recommendation was to increase the provisions for inspection, and another was to adopt a new series of French Readers to replace the old ones which were hopelessly behind the age.

These are some of the points of this able Report to which it is obviously impossible to do justice in this brief statement. It became the basis of future action in the Department. The number of English-French Model Schools was increased to four and the number of bilingual Inspectors also to four. New syllabuses were prepared and also new sets of Instructions of which the famous No. 17 was one, introduced in 1912 and modified in 1913 into the form which it has preserved till the present.

Except for a certain difficulty in understanding the meaning of this Instruction, or Regula-

tion, it does not look as if it should have produced the commotion it did produce. Nevertheless the resistance developed was very strong. It was asserted again and again by French-speaking inhabitants of Ontario and Quebec that it was an attempt to kill the French language in Ontario, and that hence it was the duty of all French people to resist. And they did resist—even to the women and children. Admonition, expostulation, legal process, parliamentary action, were all tried but still the resistance was maintained.

It is a legitimate question to ask a little more in detail, albeit difficult to answer, why the resistance of 1912 was so much more violent than that of 1890. In the first place, governmental investigation of one's condition and conduct is likely to be irritating to even the most patient; moreover the French population of Ontario had endured it twice, only some twenty years before, and no doubt they felt that they might have too much even of a good thing. Many of them said also that they wanted to learn English, that they were doing their best, and that in many cases had succeeded far better than the majority of English people in learning French. Sometimes, too, ignorant English-speaking people taunted them with speaking a vulgar *patois* and this they resented very much, as normal, decent people in such circumstances always do. Many English-speaking people had superciliously affected superiority and in reply the French-speaking people had told them "we are the owners at least of our tongues, and

we shall take no bidding from you as to what we shall learn"! And perhaps more than all, there had been an intense development of Nationalism since 1890. A greater leader than Honoré Mercier had arisen, a man of great power of eloquence and invective. It was his daily task to stir their feelings against the "tyrants" of Ontario. Too well did he succeed. The editorial chair of the *Devoir* became a sort of throne.

Then came the great hour in August, 1914, when France and England were united in a death struggle with a common enemy. Many hoped that this would be the hour of reconciliation for Canadians. But it was not to be. Many amongst us could find nothing better to do in that supreme moment than to blaspheme our enemies at home. Nationalism, bilingualism and other wretched futilities embittered our hearts and weakened our hands. And the pity of it is that a residue of hate was left behind to poison our national life for years to come. Right in the midst of the war we had our parochial fights. To the foot of the Throne we carried them.

Can the responsibility for the misfortune be apportioned? Not yet. It is not easy to say what went on within the Councils of State in Ontario. Of two men, the Premier and the Superintendent, it has been said that they went unwillingly into the place of floundering. Regarding Sir James Whitney it may well be so, for he was rather in the line of descent from Macdonald than in the family of Meredith. As to the Superintendent,

Regulation 17 looks as if he might have made it, but perhaps it was not his work. It was said that he disowned it. However that may be, it is pretty safe to say that if these two men could have foreseen what was to happen some other course would have been adopted. They and many others with them were no doubt much surprised at the course of events. So, although the mischief done was great, we may forgive them. They knew not what they did.

The French sometimes say, *le temps est un grand maître*. Perhaps, with Father Time as schoolmaster, the people of Canada may learn how to respect the racial and religious sentiments of all those within our borders. That day has however not yet come. At present there is a widespread, deep-set feeling in French Canada that the people of Ontario made an attempt in 1912 to destroy rights and privileges which French Canadians regard as very sacred. This feeling may be baseless; it boots us not to think and say so. It is a fact and must be reckoned with in all public and private acts. In vain do orators and editors protest, as the *Toronto Globe* did on Nov. 3, 1916, when reporting the famous decision of the Privy Council in the matter of Robert Mackell and others, a minority of the Ottawa Separate School Board, that "The English-speaking citizens of Ontario, Protestant and Roman Catholic alike, have no desire to oppress their fellow-citizens of French origin or to proscribe their language. * * * * * Everything possible should

be done to put an end to the mistaken idea that there is any intention to banish French from the schools of the Province, or to prevent French teaching in districts in which French may hereafter become the prevailing language."

These statements have been made and reiterated in various forms on various occasions, since, as well as before, this pronouncement of the *Globe*, but to little purpose; the press of Quebec refuses to accept this view as sincere and constantly asserts as *La Patrie*, a moderate journal, did, so lately as Sept. 8, 1919, when it said:

"Dans son message qui a été lu au pied du monument Cartier, sir Wm Hearst parle de l'union profonde qui existe entre Ontario et Québec. Cette union devrait exister; c'était le désir de Cartier et de Macdonald qu'elle régnât. Mais, de fait, Québec et Ontario paraissent moins s'entendre qu'en 1867. Les restrictions que le gouvernement d'Ontario a imposées pour l'enseignement du français ont blessé fortement la race canadienne-française. Si M. Hearst veut que "l'union profonde" se rétablisse, qu'il permette aux petits enfants d'origine française d'apprendre leur langue. Ainsi que le veulent les pédagogues les plus distingués et les citoyens les plus éclairés, le français et l'anglais devraient être sur le même pied non seulement dans Ontario mais encore dans toutes les autres provinces. Pourquoi 500,000 Canadiens ont-ils pris les armes, si ce n'est pour la liberté?"

Seath's part of the Report of 1887 treats of his inspection of the High Schools in the eastern portion of the Province. It resembles a good deal his Report of 1885, but there is one new point in it which is worth noting. The system of Payment by Results, based largely on the Intermediate Examination having been abandoned, a new basis of apportionment was evolved of which the main factors were quality of accommodations, equipment, and teaching. This necessitated not only the grading of buildings, laboratories, libraries, gymnasiums and the like but also the grading of the teachers. Naturally this was a very delicate task and before long much resentment was aroused which fell largely on Seath, who, although Junior Inspector, was considered the man who really "did things" in the Department.

An example of this is found in the August-September number, 1888, of the *Canada Educational Monthly*, in an editorial article entitled "Inspectors' Reports" in which some bitter things are said regarding the Junior Inspector who seems to aim at making "himself an important factor in the education of Ontario by means of the examinations" which he himself conducts. He is also said to have a dogmatic style of which looseness of construction is a characteristic. "Mr Inspector the grammarian may possibly be like Portia who would rather teach twenty to do right than be one of her own teaching."

Nor did this bitter criticism soon cease. In the following year (April, 1889) the *Monthly* pub-

lishes a letter from "Head Master" in which there appears a mock Report, a travesty of Seath's, in which he is graded at the foot of a list of Inspectors containing the names of living and dead. Moreover the *Monthly* published articles in the January and February numbers from the pen of McLellan with annoying little laudatory notes respecting his great merits as a master in the field of pedagogy. Things were much changed since 1884.

In Seath's Report for 1889 he speaks of the matters already discussed by him in his two previous Reports; particularly does he dwell on improvements in buildings and equipment. He rejoices to see a number of fine new buildings being erected. He also speaks of his grading of teachers and evidently feels the delicacy of the task assigned him.

But the most interesting thing is his description of a visit paid by him in the autumn of 1889, on the direction of the Minister, to secondary schools in New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut. He is privileged to see the excellent schools of Boston, Providence, Buffalo and other cities. He notes the differences which exist between these schools and those of Ontario. He observes that generally less attention is paid to Grammar and Arithmetic and more to foreign languages and Science. An Entrance Examination is usually absent. Manual Training he saw much more vigorously carried on than with us. Supplementary Reading, as worked

out in New England, impressed him and he recommends that it be introduced into Ontario schools. He is struck by the larger proportion of women teachers in the American High Schools and thinks it will be a long time before there are as many at home. This was good prophecy, for our High Schools seem even now to have a larger share of men teachers than the American schools had at that time although the women here also are continually driving out the men. Seath in all his comparisons remains sane and is seldom guilty of depreciating foreign things whilst lauding home products.

But we might also mention, before passing on from 1889, that the number of Training Institutes has risen to five: Guelph, Hamilton, Kingston, Owen Sound and Strathroy. This seems also to be the point of time when stress begins to be laid on what is known as "Specialist Standing" in awarding certificates to High School Teachers. The high-sounding name has sometimes led the public to have greater faith in this "standing" than the merits of the case would justify. The charge was also made about this time that the system tends to develop jealousy amongst the High School teachers.

The year 1891 is notable for a change which was made in the matter of the training of teachers of Secondary Schools. The subject had often been discussed and once before (1858) a scheme was set on foot by Ryerson but no permanent institution had been inaugurated until 1885 when

the Training Institutes began as has been already seen. Now the wheel took another turn. The Ontario School of Pedagogy was established in Toronto and the Collegiate Institutes at Guelph, Kingston and Strathroy were associated with it as schools for the practice of teaching. J. A. McLellan was made Principal and with him were a number of Lecturers from the staff of the University of Toronto who lectured on Methods in the various departments of study in the High Schools. The writer acted as Lecturer for a session in 1892 and knows under what difficulties McLellan and his staff laboured. The arrangements were very bad. The Mowat Government certainly did not waste much money on pedagogy.

In 1896 an agreement was made by the Department with the Hamilton Collegiate Institute by which the institution under the new name of the Ontario Normal College was affiliated with the Hamilton school. A new building was erected in that city and in 1897 the Normal College under much better auspices began operations. For some ten years this arrangement was continued when in 1907, Faculties of Education at the Universities of Toronto and Queen's appear in the Report. By then the training of High School teachers has been carried on up till the present. McLellan retired from service in 1906 and died in 1907.

It may be fitting at this point to summarise very briefly the history of training schools for Public School teachers in the later developments of which Seath played as active a part as he did in

the evolution of the institutions for the training of High School teachers.

The pioneer of the institutions now in existence is the Toronto Normal School which began in 1847 as we have already seen. The second is the Ottawa Normal School founded in 1875. Then in 1877 came the County Model Schools, the majority of which disappeared in 1907. There still remain a few, notably four English-French schools at Ottawa, Sandwich, Sturgeon Falls and Vankleek Hill. A third Normal School began operations in London in 1900, and three more, Hamilton, Stratford and Peterborough, were added in 1908. And again in 1909 an additional Normal School was opened at North Bay.

It is interesting to note the zeal shown by the Province of Ontario in providing professional training for its teachers. On few points has there been such unanimity of so-called expert opinion as on the necessity for such training. Scarcely has a discordant note been heard. All through the years it has been asserted that that is one of our greatest needs. Yet here and there voices have been heard uttering doubts as to whether there is not too much professional training and too little academic. Even J. A. McLellan himself raises that question in 1890. "Method," he says, "can never be substituted for scholarship."¹ And the *Canada Educational Monthly* in its May number, 1893, exclaims on p. 194, "The cry from all quarters is lack of scholarship." The expression "from

¹Minister's Report, 1890, p. 419.

all quarters" must be regarded as hyperbolic. It might have been better however for education in Ontario if it could be taken literally.

Another important change was made in 1891. The Departmental examinations for teachers' certificates and the University Matriculation examinations were placed under the control of a Joint Board composed of eight persons, four of whom were appointed by the University of Toronto and four by the Department of Education.

From Ryerson's time on the work of the Departmental examinations had been in the hands of, and largely done by, the Central Committee, composed of the High School Inspectors and some of the Public School Inspectors. The Chairman for years had been George Paxton Young. The work was heavy and constantly increasing in weight, and the High School Inspectors were anxious to be relieved. Moreover, there was a pretty widespread feeling that the burdens of the High School teachers might be lightened by assimilating Departmental and Matriculation courses and examinations. And so Seath conceived the plan of a Joint Board. But there was on the part of University men some opposition to such a project when it was mooted, as one may see for instance in the *Canada Educational Monthly* for Feb., 1890, and Seath felt the necessity of winning support for his scheme among the members of the University. It fell to the lot of the present writer to introduce him to James Loudon, then the most influential member of the University Staff, and Loudon and Seath worked the scheme out.

The original members of the Joint Board were, on the University's side, Edward Blake, William Mulock, Daniel Wilson and James Loudon, and on the Department's side, John Millar, J. E. Hodgson, J. Seath and L. E. Embree. These eight chose fifteen Examiners, five groups of three each, from the Staffs of all the Universities. The five groups represented Classics, Mathematics, English and History, Modern Languages, and Natural Science. On each paper the names of the three Examiners of the group appeared. The writer was one of the Moderns group. He was also chosen Chairman of the whole Board of Examiners and remained such for five years. In 1896 his place was taken by Wm Pakenham who was to devote his whole time to the work of conducting the Examinations and since that time there has been a special officer of the Department called Registrar whose duty it is to oversee Examinations.

As to the Joint Board itself it was displaced in 1896 by a body called the Educational Council which had nine representatives of the several Universities of Ontario, one representative of the High School teachers and one of the Public School Inspectors. The Council appointed the fifteen Examiners just as the Joint Board had done. The Educational Council disappears in 1905 and is followed by the Advisory Council of Education consisting of twenty members representing all branches of the educational service, including even two School Trustees. It comes to an end in 1915 by an Act of the Legislature.

The negotiations between the Department and the University of Toronto regarding the Joint Board had brought Loudon and Seath into closer contact and they became well acquainted. To meet Loudon's desire Seath presented himself as a candidate for election to the University Senate in the somewhat exciting contest of 1892 and he was elected. He acted as representative of the Arts Graduates till 1896 and was then appointed to represent the Ontario Government and continued to act as Senator till 1901.

The assimilation of Departmental and University Matriculation Examinations was accompanied naturally by assimilation of courses of study. With this the Minister of Education was quite well satisfied. In his Report of 1894 (p. xxvii) he says, "One of the most radical changes effected by the adoption of the matriculation course is that the knowledge of Latin will be an essential part of every Second Class teacher's equipment for his work in the near future." And Ross up to the end of his administration of the Education Department, in 1899, consistently adhered to the view that a knowledge of Latin at least, and as far as possible of other languages, was a suitable equipment for a Second Class teacher.

But there were many doubters. As early as November, 1891, the *Canada Educational Monthly* expresses the fear that the combined courses and examinations will be a failure, and the August-September number of 1893 reiterates this opinion. A long wail went up also from the defend-

ers of Arithmetic and Grammar that these two subjects were being shamefully neglected. In the *Proceedings* of the Ontario Educational Association for 1894 (p. 191) the curious reader will find one of these jeremiads. This grief for Arithmetic and Grammar was not unnaturally accentuated by the action of the University Senate (1896) in dividing the Pass Matriculation into two parts, in the first of which these sacred subjects were placed along with History and Physics. It was an awful thing to contemplate that candidates who had been doing "sums" and "parsing" for seven or eight years should be freed from the incubus for a brief year or two at the close of their school course!

Again and again at Teachers' Associations it is asserted that the foreign languages are the great enemies of culture amongst our teachers.¹ Sometimes also it is said that there is great unrest amongst teachers which must be due to the Examinations.² Public School people were especially hostile to foreign languages.³ Another cry sometimes heard was that the educational system was driving the youth from the farms and something would have to be changed. The Trustees also added to the excitement. Some of them thought that the study of foreign languages should be dis-

¹*Proceedings*, Ontario Educational Association, 1897, p. 78, and p. 401.

²*Canada Educational Monthly*, March, 1897, p. 97.

³*Proceedings*, Ontario Educational Association, 1898, p. 39.

continued in one-third of the High Schools and Manual Training substituted therefor.¹

Minister Ross withstood the onset of all these forces but his successor, Richard Harcourt, stood his ground less firmly. In 1900 the air is filled with warnings. Changes are impending. In his Report the Minister informs us of the questions which are disturbing the public mind. The Rural School problem is on the table. Nature Study must be vigorously prosecuted, as an introduction to the subject of Agriculture in Rural Schools. Continuation Classes are being extended. The subject of written examinations is being much considered. We may look for changes there. Much attention is being paid to Commercial Education. Technical Education is on every tongue. The liberality of Mrs Treble and William Macdonald evokes admiration. Mrs Hoodless and James W. Robertson are teaching girls and boys to be good housekeepers and skilful husbandmen. Bring grammars and dictionaries to a heap and let them be burned!

Seath is commissioned on Aug. 30 to visit the United States to inspect the Manual Training centres of that country. For had not Loudon, in his Convocation address of Oct. 2, 1899, told us, politely but firmly, that all our talk about Technical Education was vague, unpractical, and abounding in misconceptions? Loudon's Convocation address of 1900 was an additional indica-

¹*Proceedings*, Ontario Educational Association, 1899, p. 61.

tion of the approaching dissolution of the compromise inaugurated by the Joint Board scheme of 1891. In it he expressed the belief that the Ontario system of education, which had so often been called the best in the world, was really a very poor one.

Nor are there wanting indications of weariness on the Department's side. John Millar, Deputy Minister, writing in the October, 1900, number of the *Canada Educational Monthly* expresses the view that Departmental Examinations should be used merely for qualifying purposes. Some of our Examinations, he thinks, could quite well be abolished. In the Minister's Report for 1901 (p. 164) J. J. Tilley, Inspector of County Model Schools, also utters a warning in the form of a quotation from some unmentioned person, "Let it be felt that University influence is to dominate, and the maintenance of High Schools is doomed."

And the Minister himself in his Report for 1902, (p. xiv) speaks of "the lack of thoroughness in such subjects as Arithmetic, English and Elementary Science" displayed by those who have attained Junior Leaving standing. He declares that a knowledge of Latin is good but that Second Class teachers must sacrifice at the altars of Arithmetic and Grammar as of yore. And he announces, (p. 71) that "after September, 1905, the course for Public School Teachers' Non-Professional certificates at the Junior Leaving examinations will be a fixed one, consisting mainly of English and Mathematics with Science. No

language will be either prescribed or optional."

The years 1903 and 1904 are actively employed by Seath in bringing in this era of renovation. It is a period of energetic propaganda. The Department prepares for the, 1903, April meeting of the Ontario Educational Association "A Draft of Proposed Changes in the Public and High School Courses of Study and Organisation and in the Departmental Examination System." The "Draft" is a pamphlet of thirty-seven pages of condensed matter containing skeleton descriptions of the courses for Public and High Schools from the Kindergarten to University Matriculation. Certainly no such elaborate programme for schools had ever been seen before in Ontario. It was received by the Association and referred to a committee of nineteen persons chosen from its various departments. This committee met a number of times and long discussions were held. It was soon evident that the majority, composed of Public School men, Inspectors, Training School men, and School Trustees, was in favour of the Draft. The minority opposed to the Draft was largely composed of University and High School men. A report recommending some modifications was adopted by the committee and was presented at the 1904 meeting of the Association and parts of it were approved. But perhaps only one important modification was finally made in the scheme by the Department, *viz.*, the addition of an optional bonus paper in Latin at the Junior Leaving examination for teachers.

But this was not all. Seath, who had been chosen President of the Association in 1902, made his presidential address in 1903 taking as his subject, "Some needed Educational Reforms." A notable feature of this address was the criticism to which he subjected the University of Toronto in regard to its Matriculation standards. An assertion made therein was, "there is no burking the fact that the Universities of Ontario have been for years encroaching upon the domain of the secondary schools, to the manifest injury of public education."

Seath had many supporters. Three of the most conspicuous and zealous of whom were F. W. Merchant, at that time Principal of the London Normal School, John Dearness, Vice-Principal of the same institution, and David Young, Principal of the Public Schools, Guelph. It would be interesting to analyse the public statements of these gentlemen, but time and space forbid. Without doing them injustice it may be possible to restate their position with sufficient accuracy by saying briefly that they held that the Public Schools of Ontario were on the whole in a very inefficient state, that the evils in the schools were due to the imperfect preparation of teachers in the ordinary subjects of study, that this imperfection depended on the fact that teachers' examinations had been combined with University Matriculation, and that this had led intending teachers to waste their time on the study of such extraneous subjects as Latin. The remedy for all this was to separate the exam-

inations and to demand of intending teachers only a knowledge of such things as they would be called on to teach. Culture subjects as such were to disappear.¹

Replies came from critics to the effect that the proposed programme for both Public and High Schools was so vast that it could never be taught without a complete reconstruction of schools and staffs. For instance, one University professor asserted that there was enough Science on the course for three years' university work. The critics asked where Public School teachers could be found able to teach the Nature Study, Physiology, Drawing, History, Agriculture, Geography, etc., etc., required of them. They asserted that if there had been "cram" in learning Latin and the other languages there would be tenfold more "cram" in learning the things prescribed by the new Programme.

Protests against the provisions of the proposed curriculum came notably from such bodies as the University of Toronto and its various parts. There was scarcely a member of any University staff in Canada who could be found to approve of

¹A fuller view of the opinions of these gentlemen will be obtained by consulting addresses and papers as follows: (1) *Proceedings* of the Ontario Educational Association, 1903, p. 114, for Merchant's address "On the Relative Value to Public School Teachers of the Different Subjects on the High School Programme"; (2) *Canada Educational Monthly*, 1904, p. 194 for Dearness's article on "The Value of Latin to Teachers"; (3) *Proceedings* of the Ontario Educational Association, 1904, p. 90, for Young's address on "The Tendencies and Future of Our Public Schools."

the treatment of Latin which was at first proposed, nor of the excessive loading of the programme with advanced subjects.¹ But with slight modifications the new course went into effect and may be found in the Minister's Report for 1904, pages 82-162. The Rubicon was crossed. The generous hopes entertained by George W. Ross ten years earlier for a more liberally cultured teaching profession were nullified. Seath had committed his *gran rifiuto* as far as regards what the world had hitherto cherished as learning and culture.

When these pages were nearly finished, on Nov. 14, 1919, a very interesting announcement was made by the press which has an intimate connection with the question of examinations for High School pupils. On that date the *Globe* newspaper stated that the Department of Education and the Universities of Ontario had agreed to establish a Joint Board for the conduct of Matriculation and Teachers' Examinations. It would seem that we are returning to the condition of affairs existing between 1891 and 1905. May it be so! One may however ask himself why it is that the Department of Education of the Province of Ontario should take such delight in "boxing the compass." But let us not be too critical. Perhaps the lovers of old-fashioned learning may still have ground for hoping that there may be a return to the culture of languages as practised in the years prior to 1905.

¹For the protests of Toronto and Victoria see *Canada Educational Monthly*, 1904, pages 49 and 169.

CHAPTER VI.

CAREER AS SUPERINTENDENT

Becomes Superintendent; as Author; Technical Education; Visits to other countries; Vocational Education; Public Libraries; Text-Books; Educational Council; Advisory Council; Departmental Examiners; Multiplicity of Regulations.

The year, 1904, was the last one of Harcourt's administration of educational affairs. Premier Ross had come back from the general election of 1902 with a bare majority of four. And as he said himself, "For two years I had grappled with my evil star."¹ In the close of 1904 he dissolved the House and on Jan. 25, 1905, was defeated at the polls by James P. Whitney. Ross and his Cabinet resigned office on Feb. 5. Whereupon Whitney formed his Cabinet and gave the portfolio of Education to Dr R. A. Pyne. Seath told the writer that some time thereafter Whitney called on him and offered to appoint him Superintendent of Education. The Order-in-Council was passed, May 26, 1906. It was a proud moment for Seath but it did not change things very much for him. He had been dominant in the Department for a long time already. All that the appointment secured was the continuance of the dominance. Of course, he inspected schools no more. But we are not to suppose that Seath was supreme. The Minister took full responsibi-

¹*Getting into Parliament and After*, p. 219.

lity for the acts of the Department. The functions of the office of Superintendent were advisory and not executive. However Seath was generally the man who was criticised when trouble arose. The popular mind, not inaccurately, fixed on him for the most part the responsibility for what was done.

But we must not forget the books made in the middle period of his life by the subject of our study. In 1899 the High School English Grammar (416 pages) in its final form was published. The first edition had appeared in 1886. The present writer has never used it as a manual for classes, but he has consulted it often as a book of reference, and has found it extremely useful. It has been charged with being built on the plan of earlier treatises, but surely one does not look for originality in the case of a book on English, or any other, Grammar. One ought to be satisfied if the treatment is full, clear and sane, and as much can certainly be said of Seath's book. Whether it would be easily comprehended of pupils in the lower forms of our High Schools is a question, but it should be helpful to those with some experience in language study.

It is perhaps best to mention here a group of productions prepared by Seath in connection with his work as Inspector and Adviser to the Department. We have already seen that he was commissioned by the Minister on Aug. 30, 1900, to visit centres of Technical Education in the United States. He made his journey and reported on

Feb. 9, 1901, in a substantial pamphlet of seventy-three large pages.

He first pays his compliments to James Loudon and acknowledges his indebtedness to that gentleman's valuable Convocation address of 1899, particularly with respect to the European aspects of the question.

Then he describes some of the institutions which he visited such as the Armour Institute, Chicago, the Drexel Institute, Philadelphia, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, and the Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, as well as the Agricultural Department of Cornell. He also saw a number of Manual Training High Schools in Boston, Brooklyn, Cambridge (Mass.), New Haven, Philadelphia, Providence and Springfield (Mass.).

After describing what he saw in the various departments of manual training and other studies, he proceeds to make his recommendations regarding the adoption, in the schools of Ontario, of some features of what he had seen. At that time not much had been done with us. The University of Toronto had its School of Practical Science, now the Faculty of Applied Science; Woodstock Baptist College had made a beginning under the care of a pioneer, Donald K. Clark; the Toronto Technical School had begun operations and schools were at work in Hamilton, Brockville, Ottawa and Kingston. Seath's idea was to strengthen those in existence and add others where there was a demand. He was zealous but prudent.

His Report had a second part in which he discussed features of High School Courses of Study outside the field of Manual Training. From it we get interesting glimpses into the ideas Seath had regarding our school system. One thing he noticed abroad was that the American schools did not suffer as much from the evils of examinations as those of Ontario. His critics often blamed him for the hurtful effects of examinations in Ontario. Evidently he did not consider himself to be responsible for them and the harm they produced. He also disclaimed any responsibility for the extreme unification of our school system by which individuality was crushed out. But the great majority of topics treated must be passed over.

Another document is "Suggestions to Teachers of Secondary Schools", an address to the College and High School Department of the Ontario Educational Association delivered, April 3, 1902. It consists of twenty-seven pages and covers a number of points of interest to those to whom it was addressed, such as school organisation and management, how to teach, the relation of teachers to their local public, their relation to the general public and the like. The trend of his mind towards Manual Training is very evident. He regrets to hear that the new subject has been spoken of by High School men "in a somewhat inconsiderate way."

"Some Notes on Methods in English Composition" is a brochure of sixteen pages printed "for

distribution amongst the teachers of English Composition in the Ontario High Schools." It is dated September, 1904. It is said to have been considered of high value to teachers whose experience of the subject was limited.

On Aug. 26, 1905, he published a circular of twenty-three pages which he called "Suggestions to High School Principals and their Staffs in connection with the new Programme of Studies." The following prefatory note, accompanying the circular, shows the strenuous time he had in carrying on his propaganda, "During the past year my correspondence and other inspectorial duties were so burdensome in connection with the introduction of the new programme of studies that, to economise time, I now put in the form of a circular my views on some important questions, most of which are continually coming up for discussion."

In this circular he points out some of the faults of the Ontario teacher, such as over-teaching and too little cultivation of independence on the part of the pupil, defective teaching of Arithmetic and Grammar by placing unreasonably difficult work before pupils in the earlier years, too great haste in teaching foreign languages and the general neglect of all non-examination subjects. All of which is supremely sane, but the ironical side of the matter was that, as has already been said, he was often blamed for forcing upon the teachers these very things which he condemned.

We have seen that the new school courses were adopted in 1904. They came into operation in September, 1905, and Seath became Superintendent in May, 1906. His great work, then, as Superintendent was the practical realisation of the programme of 1904, and what he did in those fourteen years is very remarkable. They were extremely busy years and it will be our effort now to consider some of the details of his achievement.

During Seath's later years the central idea in his mind regarding our educational system was, that as we had been providing a life training for the members of the so-called liberal professions it was our duty now to provide the same for the industrial classes. We had been exercising ourselves about the intellect, it was time to think about the hand. The country had expended large sums on the education of doctors and lawyers, why should it not do the same for carpenters, blacksmiths and farmers? He thought, as he told the writer more than once, that the school system should be a microcosm in which should be learned all the principles and practices of the Professions of the great world outside.

This was not a new idea discovered by him. It is true that the educational authorities of Ontario had generally kept the culture of the intellect in view, but, as we have already seen, in the Speech from the Throne of 1870, other notions were also in existence. What was new in Seath's case was that he did not allow the idea to remain as a mere notion but that he set diligently to work

to make it real. In earlier times there was a fundamental conception of education that it involved a general cultivation of the mind which ought to be the same for everybody no matter what his business in life. And it is curious to note the emergence of the new ideas. One will hardly find in the official educational documents of Ontario before 1905 the clear use of the word "vocational" as applied to a certain type of education.¹ But before that date Seath's mind is well made up, and he made a great effort to give the expression "vocational education" a meaning.

On his assumption of the office of Superintendent, Seath threw himself with great vigour into the study of the new education, and in September and October of 1909 he visited England, Scotland, France, Germany, Switzerland and the United States, for the purpose of studying at first hand the working of elementary Technical Education in these countries. His Report thereon is dated December, 1910. It is a stout volume of 390 pages and has been said by competent people to be the most complete statement on the questions involved which had up till that time appeared in any country.

In the case of Agriculture he utilised the Guelph College. In 1907 six graduates of the Ontario Agricultural College were chosen and placed in six centres, *viz.*, Lindsay, Perth, Morrisburg, Collingwood, Galt, and Essex and the work began,—by teaching in the schools, organising

¹Report of 1905, p. xxiv.

the farmers, etc. In 1909 there were eleven centres. In 1911 a Director of Elementary Agricultural Education was appointed. Summer courses were organised. Programmes of work were drawn up. School gardens and school fairs were worked out. And so the work has gone on in the face of indifference and opposition until in 1918 there were 1,020 Public and Separate Schools, about twenty-eight High Schools and the seven Normal Schools with their affiliated country schools to the number of about twenty giving instruction in Agriculture.

In Household Science also there has been activity. The movement began in 1900 under the inspiration of Mrs Hoodless. In 1918 the number of centres giving instruction was eighty-five. Manual Training, of which Household Science is a phase, had its origin in the liberality of William Macdonald of Montreal in 1900. Macdonald supported the work in three centres¹ for three years, under the directorship of A. H. Leake. In 1904 the Department of Education assumed responsibility, with the help of the same Director. In 1918 there were ninety-three centres in operation, with instruction also in the Normal Schools.

The closely related department of Industrial and Technical Education began a little later, not mentioning the staffs in the Universities (Toronto and Queen's). In 1909 the Technical and Art School of the city of Hamilton was opened. The building had cost \$100,000. The Technical High

¹Brockville, Ottawa, Toronto.

School of Toronto began its operations in 1910 in the old Athletic Club Building, but in 1915 the city completed a vast new structure costing a couple of million dollars. In 1911 a new Act of Parliament was passed putting all these institutions on an orderly basis and F. W. Merchant was appointed Director. In 1918 he reported that there were regular Day Schools in eleven places with 132 teachers and 3,674 pupils. In addition there were Night Schools and so on with some fifteen thousand pupils. Two of these are situated in the rich mining regions of Sudbury and Haileybury and are reported as doing good work.

But there are other details of interest which lie outside the industrial arena, as for example the Continuation Schools. It is said that the Department hoped to give to these schools an agricultural and industrial orientation. However that may be, they have in reality become, for the most part, a sort of lower High School where the old-fashioned literary subjects are taught. They originated in 1896 and were known at first as Continuation Classes. They have increased very much until now two Inspectors are required for their oversight. They numbered in 1918, 137, with 241 teachers, and 5,104 pupils.

In the estimation of some the Kindergarten has been somewhat neglected of late years. It seems to have begun in 1882 and became a recognised part of our system in 1885. In 1902 it was found in 25 centres. Since 1914 there has been some effort made to revive greater interest in it. A

new department of the Public School called the Kindergarten Primary has been developed.

The establishment of Public Libraries is not a new thing, but in recent years it has been very actively pursued. Before 1903 there were twenty-three places which had profited by Andrew Carnegie's liberality. Since that time many fine, new buildings have been erected, as for example, the Reference Library of Toronto, whose corner stone was laid in 1906. Many new phases of work have been invented, such as Librarians' Conventions, Summer Courses, Travelling Libraries, Childrens' Classes, Reading Camps, etc. Before 1916 there were about ninety Carnegie libraries in Ontario out of a total of some four hundred.

The schools for the Deaf and the Blind, although not new, have since 1905 been brought more closely into touch with the Department of Education.

It is scarcely necessary to mention the fostering care of the Department for the old and long established Public, High and Normal Schools, although there is a feeling in certain quarters that the two first mentioned have in some ways profited less by recent developments than their merits deserve.

There are two or three questions of considerable moment whose treatment by Seath would demand too long an elucidation for our space but which we cannot pass over entirely without some attention.

One of these is the question of the preparation of Text-Books. It has always been a troublesome one. It is beset with difficulties. Ryerson, Crooks and Ross were all unable to solve it with peace and credit to themselves, and certainly not to the satisfaction of the teachers and public. The plan finally adopted by Seath was something like that which Ryerson had practiced. He seems to have said: "Let us make our own books, unless we can conveniently find some already made, which certainly will be rare. Then, owners of the plates, we shall call for tenders and give the printing and publishing to the lowest bidder. As to the authorship of the books, we shall say nothing about it, if the authors are in close connection with the Department." It must be said that many of the books are good and they are all cheap and serviceable, although the teachers have often exercised regarding them their ancient privilege of criticism. It is a tribute to Seath's organising ability and force of character that he was able to have produced for so long such a large number of creditable manuals for the various branches of the educational service, although one may well wonder whether such a method of production can be made permanently effective. Paternalism is dangerous, particularly in the intellectual field, and, no matter how carefully it may be exercised, it may have a sterilising influence.

Another question, at times involved in the question of text-books, was that which might be called the consultation and direction of public educa-

tional opinion. Ryerson and Ross had both found it a thorny question and such probably all administrators will find it to the end of time. Seath solved it in a curious way of which his enemies said that it was tantamount to the ignoring of public opinion altogether. And this reputation militated continually against his usefulness.

Periodically ever since the disappearance of the old Council of Public Instruction, in 1876, regrets had been uttered that there was not enough representative popular control of educational matters and these regrets seem to have been sharpened by the name of "Educational Council" given in 1896 to the successor to the Joint Board.

In 1906 these desires were supposed to be satisfied by the functions assigned to the Advisory Council when it was created. Even officers of the Department like Seath and Millar spoke to the teachers on public occasions in a way calculated to foster the desire for popular control.¹

In the Minister's Report for that year we are informed that this body was created for the purpose of "bringing the Minister of Education in close touch with the teaching profession and enabling him, whenever he desires, to seek in a regular and systematic manner the counsel and opinions of the various ranks of educationists."

Naturally this was interpreted by the teachers in the way we should expect and we find that for

¹See for Seath, *Proceedings*, Ontario Educational Association, 1902, p. 107 and also, 1903, p. 79, and for Millar, *Canada Educational Monthly*, Sept. 1904, p. 270.

some years many resolutions were passed by certain Departments of the Ontario Educational Association demanding for the teachers and trustees a large share in the administration of the Department of Education. But there was a rule brought into force which forbade the discussion by the Council of all questions not referred to it by the Minister. That naturally limited the range of debate and was much disliked by some. If we turn however to the *Proceedings* of the Ontario Educational Association for 1908 we may read (pp. 37-56) the demands of one of the Departments and we shall perhaps be convinced that the above-quoted rule was a useful one, and prevented, as Seath said, the turning of the Advisory Council into a "bear-garden."¹ The debate was settled by the abolition of the Advisory Council in 1915.

There is a detail regarding the signing of Examination papers in the Department which is worthy of remark. In earlier times it was a common, but not an invariable rule, for Examiners to sign their papers and when the Joint Board took control of the combined Examinations it was agreed that each paper should bear three signatures. By this means it was hoped that greater care in the making of questions would be secured. However it was soon realised that unsatisfactory papers were made, no matter how many signatures were attached, and occasionally, as in the

¹*Proceedings* Ontario Educational Association, 1910, p. 46.

case of the Junior Leaving Algebra paper of 1896, the dissatisfaction was intense. Still the signing of papers went on until 1908, when the High School Entrance, Normal School Entrance, and Entrance into the Faculties of Education, appeared without signatures. But by 1916 the names had disappeared from all papers whether Departmental or University.

This suppression was easier in the case of Departmental papers inasmuch as the manner of choosing Examiners had changed from a public one to a private and confidential one. It might be asked whether by this method the public is deprived of any valuable right in being kept ignorant as to who its servants are. But Seath was not the man to "shy at" such a consideration, if he thought he was securing greater efficiency. Time will tell whether he was right or not. The proof of the pudding lies in the eating of it, and not in doctrinaire argumentation as to what ingredients should enter into it. But doctrinairism has a steadying influence upon public servants and contempt for it may lead to dangerous action.

A very important matter in which Seath played a part for the benefit of the teaching profession was the superannuation scheme. It has had an unfortunate history. Ryerson managed to set superannuation going in 1854. It was abolished by the Mowat Government in 1885. Subsequently effort after effort was made to establish a second scheme and one was brought into operation on April 1, 1917. May it have a long and beneficent career!

In the midst of all the changes of these years Seath's hand was at the helm. No one knew as well as he did the history of all the parts of the complex system. He knew where conflicts would arise and was able to adjust new parts to old as well as any man. But perhaps he was too prone to trust to well-worded regulations. He was hardly enough inclined to put faith in human nature. He probably made more regulations than were necessary. At all events they became very plentiful and wearied the educational world. They were of all forms and upon all sorts of subjects. Sometimes they bore the name of Regulation, sometimes that of Instruction, sometimes that of Syllabus. Let any one open the big volumes containing the official Report of the Department from say 1911 till 1914, and he will be struck with the comprehensiveness of the instructions issued to this or that type of school. Suppose he opens the Report for 1911 at pp. 150-152. He will there see a description of the Applied Psychology prescribed for Normal Schools. It is very interesting and impressive, but one may be pardoned for asking himself whether such a programme could be mastered by the class of students interested, in the time allotted. Or let him turn to page 189 of the same volume and read the outline of the History prescribed for High Schools. One may have a suspicion that such programmes encourage "cram."

Closely related to faith in regulations was faith in examinations. Seath seemed to think that by

setting hard papers you could improve teaching and learning. Often it was a source of dispute between him and the writer.

He was also, so it seems to the writer, too firm a believer in the usefulness of the so-called professional training for teachers. We often disputed over it. He said once in such a case to me, "Squair, you're wrong, you often are. You're like the rest of your colleagues of the University. They're a poor lot. Still, I will say, you have some sense, and that's more than I can say of most of them." He sometimes was bitterly frank and a little reckless in his speech.

But Seath had a sane and virile mind. He was not one to be taken with "crazes." He was, as far as our conversations went, free from national and sectarian prejudice. He was inclined to value others on the basis of true manly worth. But he was a good hater. He did not easily pardon what he thought was stupidity. And like the most of us he sometimes formed a wrong estimate of others. Still he had a shrewd eye for the real inwardness of men and things. Conversation with him acted like a tonic.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LAST PHASE

General dissatisfaction with results; Hon. Dr Cody; Seath passes away; general critical *résumé*.

We are approaching the last phase of his career. The school programme of 1904 came into force with some acclaim as one that had much solidity and logical coherence, and naturally we shall look with interest for the results. And we find that much dissatisfaction with the outcome has become prevalent.

As early as 1910 we find in the Minister's Report that the three High School Inspectors agree in saying that the Reading, Writing and Spelling of pupils are not very good. And they have repeated that story since. One of the three gentlemen reports that he has also found that History and Oral Composition are unsatisfactory.

In the same year the President of the Ontario Educational Association¹ states that he considers "that, having arrived at a stage in which in both elementary and secondary education we are face to face with the impossible, the time has arrived for an exhaustive consideration of the whole question."

At the 1911 meeting of the Ontario Educational Association dissatisfaction is expressed in various sections, such as the Modern Language, Mathematical, Historical and Public School Sections.

¹*Proceedings*, p. 93.

At the 1912 meeting of the Ontario Educational Association dissatisfaction comes from the Historical and Natural Science people. An Inspector complains also of poor teaching in Arithmetic and Grammar, and a variety of complaints come from the Public School teachers.

But in 1913 the dissatisfaction has become more intense. There is a widespread feeling that in all parts of the system there is much waste of time, and the following resolution was adopted at the meeting of the College and High School Department: "That in the opinion of this Department, by reason of the increasing congestion and complexity of the programme of the secondary schools, the effectiveness of the work of the teacher is being impaired and the energy of the pupil dissipated over too wide a range of subjects.

"This Department, therefore, believes that the time has arrived for a reconsideration of the scheme of studies along the following lines:—

- (1) Lowering the age at which entrance into the secondary schools is possible.
- (2) Reducing the number of subjects required of any one pupil.
- (3) Increasing the hours of instruction in certain subjects."

And a committee was appointed "to take such steps as may be deemed expedient to further the objects of this resolution."

In addition to this the High School Principals complained of the overcrowded curriculum. And the Inspectors also expressed dissatisfaction with the Normal School courses.

In the following year (1914) the College and High School Department again passed resolutions indicating dissatisfaction, some of which were:—

(1) That the Department of Education should amend its regulations so as to make it possible to begin the study of languages at least two years earlier than at present.

(2) That the High School courses in History should be reduced and adjusted to the age and capacity of the students, etc., etc.

And it is very interesting to note that at this 1914 meeting the President of the Association argues in favour of a return to the time when Departmental and Matriculation examinations were combined. Ten years of overloading and complexity have wearied at least some of the teachers.

In the Minister's Report for 1915 an Inspector of Continuation Schools complains of bad Reading, Writing, Spelling and Arithmetic in the schools.

And so it goes on. The complaints of teachers and parents are very much what they have been throughout the whole period of our school history. Who will venture to say how well- or ill-founded these complaints are, or ever have been? But might it not be wise not to force the ordinary pupil away too fast or too far from the old-fashioned subjects? If we are to trust the Inspectors, and the statistics furnished by the Department, there is a good deal of opposition or indifference with respect to the new education. As an Inspector says, in speaking of his subject, "there is

little zest for Manual Training among the people."¹ It seems very certain that the makers of school programmes have still a large task before them, in order to make the work of our system fit all the needs and desires of the people.

But we are near the end of our story. An article in the *School* for May, 1919, speaks of Seath's trip to the West in 1917 for the purpose of visiting rural schools. The writer has found no reference to this in the official documents, so it is passed by.

In May, 1918, Minister Pyne resigned from the Education Office and Rev. H. J. Cody, a distinguished alumnus of the University of Toronto, became his successor. That, however, was but a few months before the death of the Superintendent and there seems to be no educational event of importance in which the two co-operated. Moreover the health of the latter was not good during the period.

About the end of the year, 1918, the writer prepared an Open Letter on the teaching of French and as a New Year reminder he ventured to send it with a few words of greeting to his old friend the Superintendent. Christmas and New Year reminders, sometimes of a nature more befitting two Scotsmen, had often passed between them in bygone days, but now the O. T. A. intervened, and the "dry" Open Letter seemed not too inappropriate. It was received in a kindly spirit and a reply, dated January 14, 1919, came to the pres-

¹*Proceedings*, Ontario Educational Association, 1918, p. 31.

ent writer. It was the last communication from Seath to him.

The Superintendent's health grew rapidly worse; for some six weeks he was absent from his office, and on March 17 he passed away, surrounded by children and children's children, deeply beloved of them all.

The end came, as it will come to all. And what shall be said of a life so industriously devoted to a single great object? Certainly much success was achieved. That the people of Ontario should have been persuaded to increase so liberally their contributions to education is really remarkable. The provision made in staffs, buildings and equipment for the teaching of so many new subjects is striking proof of success. Every fine new school, laboratory or library erected is a monument not only to the generous people of Ontario but also to him who for so long a time guided them in their educational activities.

But there is a fairly prevalent feeling that something is lacking. The complaints are numerous that the old subjects are neglected. Many say that young people write, read and spell badly. It is commonly asserted that the taste for reading serious literature is dying out. The bookshop window is filled rather with the cheap periodicals whose covers exhibit ladies *décolletées jusqu'à la ceinture* than with the volumes of serious authors. A great falling-off in journalistic style is apparent. The preacher and politician descend to such base tricks of rhetoric as our fathers would not have tolerated. Learning and the de-

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