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**A Review of the Founding and
Development of the University
of Toronto as a Provincial
Institution**

By Rev. DR. N. BURWASH

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III *A Review of the Founding and Development of the University of Toronto as a Provincial Institution*

By REV. DR. N. BURWASH,

(Read May 25, 1905.)

Introductory Note.

This review does not attempt a complete history of the University of Toronto. It is intended to trace the successive steps by which the present relation of the university to the higher education of the province as maintained by the state has been reached. This involved at first a conflict of political and ecclesiastical forces, and finally a harmonious co-operation on terms of mutual independence. The Province of Manitoba has already founded its university upon the same basis, and the other western provinces are likely to follow in the same line. Several states of the American Union have also made inquiries as to the success of the system. It is therefore thought that such a review may be of present interest.

N. B.

Toronto, April 17th, 1905.

The Founding and Endowment of the University of Toronto.

The Province of Upper Canada was founded under the Constitutional Act of 1791. During the preceding seven or eight years, a United Empire Loyalist population had been settling on the banks of the St. Lawrence, on the shores of the Bay of Quinté, in the Niagara Peninsula and on the coast of Lake Erie. When the government of the province was organized its population numbered about sixty-five thousand.

The first governor of the new province was Col. John Graves Simcoe, who had been a conspicuous leader of the Loyalist volunteers during the revolutionary war. His early life and education were those of an English country gentleman of the eighteenth century, and his ideas and tastes corresponded with the age and with the environment of his youth. He looked forward to the development in the new province of the same social conditions as existed in the old land; and, accordingly, in taking thought for the well-being of the young colony proposed to himself that provision should be made out of public funds for the maintenance of religion and the promotion of higher education. This religion was to be Protestant, as that of the adjoining Province of Lower Canada was Roman Catholic; but instead of tithes collected from the people, its

support was to be furnished from one seventh of the lands of the country. From the public lands also was to be derived a fund for the education especially of "the more respectable class of people by the erection of free grammar schools, and in course of time of a college or university."

In these views the Imperial Government readily concurred. As the province was surveyed, every seventh lot of land in each township was set apart for "the support of the Protestant clergy." The educational part of Simcoe's programme was not carried into effect until after his departure from the country. In response to an address from the Legislative Council and House of Assembly asking "an appropriation of the waste lands of the crown for the establishment and support of a respectable grammar school in each district and also a college or university where the youth of the country may be enabled to perfect themselves in the different branches of liberal knowledge," His Majesty, under date of November 4th, 1797, expressed his intention of complying with their wishes. "First, by the establishment of free grammar schools in those districts in which they are called for. Secondly, in due course of time by the establishment of other seminaries of a larger and more comprehensive nature for the promotion of religious and moral learning and the study of the arts and sciences." This message was communicated to the House of Assembly on the 8th of June, 1798, together with a request from the Colonial Secretary for the appointment of a committee of the Executive Council, the judges and the law officers of the Crown to report on the extent and character of the appropriations to be made. This committee recommended that five hundred thousand acres of land should be devoted to educational purposes, of which one-half should be reserved for the university, and that the university should be located at York, and that, at certain places named, grammar schools should be established. About this time accordingly, grammar schools were founded at Kingston and Cornwall, and, a little later, at Niagara and York. But the lands set apart for these purposes were as yet unproductive; and no funds were forthcoming for the support of the schools. When in 1809 the Legislature again turned its attention to the subject, and founded four new grammar schools, provision for maintenance had to be made from sources other than the land endowment. Meanwhile the more pressing needs of education were met by the establishment through purely voluntary efforts of elementary schools, which received legislative recognition for the first time in the Act of 1816.

In view of the condition of the colony and the unproductive nature of the endowment, it is not astonishing that the more ambitious scheme of a university remained in abeyance for many years. It was not until about 1820, under the administration of Sir Peregrine Maitland, that

interest in this project revived. At this date, the Rev. John Strachan, M.A., Archdeacon of York, had by his abilities and energy secured a position of commanding influence in the affairs of the province. He was a member of the Executive Council of the Upper House, and, as president of the Council of Education, was at the head of the school system established by the Legislature. He devoted attention especially to matters of religion and education, and began to form plans for founding an institution of higher learning in the province.

In these projects he had the deep interest and warm sympathy of Sir Peregrine Maitland, and in the year 1826 was commissioned to visit England in order to secure two things necessary to this purpose : first the exchange of the unproductive endowment for other lands in the settled parts of the province such as might afford an immediate revenue; second, a royal charter to give character and dignity to the new university. In both objects he was successful; he returned with the consent of the Crown to exchange of lands and with a charter founding a university in close connection with the Church of England.

The majority of the inhabitants of the province were not, however, Anglicans, and strenuous opposition was roused by this peculiarity of the charter. In accordance with numerous petitions that the House of Assembly should inquire into "the principle upon which a university is to be established in the province," the House presented an address to the Governor praying that a copy of the charter should be laid before them, together with any information relating to the subject of the university which it might be in His Excellency's power to communicate. On the basis of the information obtained in this way, as well as from Dr. Strachan's appeal to the "friends of religion and literature," a select committee made a report, the nature of which will be evident from the following extracts : "The sectarian character and tendency of the institution will be manifest; the alarm and jealousy which this circumstance will produce throughout the province," and which "it has in some measure produced," will "prevent parents and guardians from sending their children to it" and so "limit the benefits which might otherwise be derived from the institution." "To be of real service, the principles upon which it is established must be in unison with the general sentiments of the people. It should not be a school of politics, or of sectarian views. It should have about it no appearance of partiality or exclusion. Its portals should be thrown open to all, and upon none who enter should any influence be exerted to attach them to any particular creed or church; . . . most deeply therefore is it to be lamented that the principles of the charter are calculated to defeat its usefulness and to confine to a favoured few all its advantages."

This report was followed by an address to the King reciting the facts embodied in the report and praying that he would cause "the present charter to be cancelled and one granted free from these objections." In addition petitions very numerous signed by the inhabitants of the province and addressed to the British Parliament, were carried to England by a deputation of prominent citizens.

In 1828, a little more than a year after the issuing of the Royal Charter, a select committee of the British House of Commons was appointed to inquire into this and other matters. This committee recommended that the constitution of the university should be changed, that two theological professors should be employed, one of the Church of England and one of the Church of Scotland; and that with respect to the president, professors and others connected with the college, no religious test whatever should be required; and that, with the exception of the theological professors, they should sign a declaration that, as far as it was necessary for them to advert in their lectures to religious subjects, they would distinctly recognize the truth of the Christian Revelation, but would abstain altogether from inculcating particular doctrines. Such changes did not meet the views of those who had been agitating against the charter of the new university. Their objections to the charter may be summed up under the following heads:—

1. It made the Anglican bishop of the diocese the visitor, thus placing in his hands the supreme judicial control of the university.
2. It required the president of the university to be a clergyman in holy orders in the United Church of England and Ireland, and made the Archdeacon of York *ex officio* president.
3. It placed the executive government of the university in the hands of a council consisting of the Chancellor, the President, and seven members who were required to be members of the Church of England and to subscribe to her articles.
4. It restricted degrees in divinity to persons in holy orders in the Church of England, thus excluding clergymen of the Church of Scotland as well as of other denominations.

On the other side, Dr. Strachan maintained that the charter was the most open and liberal that had ever been granted, inasmuch as it imposed no religious subscription or tests on students or graduates, other than those in divinity. Thus the agitation was continued, not only through the press and upon the floor of the House of Assembly, but also by petitions and representations to the government in England, until the close of the Maitland administration in the year 1828.

The charter was dated the fifteenth day of March, 1827. Before the end of the year a council was appointed the chief members of which were the Lieutenant-Governor, *ex-officio* Chancellor; and the Archdeacon of

York, ex-officio President of the college. On the 3rd of January, 1828, the new lands for endowment already selected were conveyed by letters patent to the Corporation of King's College thus created, and steps were taken to secure, for the erection of buildings, the payment of the grant of a thousand pounds a year which had been obtained from the Imperial Government by Dr. Strachan. This grant was equivalent to a further extension of the original land grant, and the money was derived from payments by the Canada Company for the large tract of land which had been ceded to them. A registrar and bursar were also appointed. These, together with the president, were placed under salary, and through these officers the work of selling or leasing the endowment land was at once commenced. In a short time a considerable income was available.

The President and Council next proceeded to select and purchase lands for a suitable site for the university. Whatever may be said of other parts of their policy, for their work in this direction they will deserve the gratitude of all coming generations. The purchase at one hundred dollars an acre, of one hundred and sixty-eight acres of beautiful park lands on which have been erected both our parliament and university buildings, was one of the wisest investments ever made on behalf of the university, and is an enduring memorial to the large views of these men. It is only to be regretted that the next generation did not inherit these ideas, and marred their work by alienating and dividing the magnificent estate thus secured. The expenditure of six thousand seven hundred and five pounds in planting and improving Queen's Avenue has not been so well justified by the result. It is the natural beauties of the park, not the exotics of the avenue, that lend the chief charm to the university site. The expenditure of a thousand pounds on plans for new buildings was not extravagant; and although the buildings themselves were never erected in full; the plans still survive as another testimony to the grand ideals of the men of that original University Council.

In 1828, on the return of Sir Peregrine Maitland to England, Sir John Colborne was appointed Lieutenant Governor. The result of the select committee of the British House of Commons appeared in instructions from the Colonial Office, which Sir John did not at once communicate to the council, but under which he ordered that proceedings for the erection of the university buildings should be discontinued. In the meantime he brought into operation, outside of the charter, but through the Corporation of King's College, a minor college, which absorbed and was in a measure an enlargement of the Royal Grammar School founded more than twenty years before. Thus it was that Upper Canada College originated, which for two full generations, sustained most important financial as well as educational relations to the university, and has ever

since maintained its place as one of the important schools of the country. It was largely the creation of Sir John Colborne, and was modelled after the great public schools of England. The fact that the State Church was the controlling influence, made the new college as little acceptable to the people of the country as was the charter of the university. But since it was, in fact, the continuance in a new form and in new buildings, of an institution already long in existence, it did not arouse the active opposition called forth by the proposal to establish the university. It did, however, bring about a movement among the Methodists, which, originating in 1830, resulted in the opening, in 1836, of Upper Canada Academy and, in 1841, of Victoria College; and another movement among the Presbyterians which led to the establishment of Queen's College in 1842. In this way the founding of Upper Canada College was a very important factor in the history of university education in the province; and it also was such in another way, by absorbing more than forty-two thousand pounds of the endowment and annual income of the university, and by delaying its practical realisation.

We must now return to the instructions from the Colonial office under which Sir John Colborne discontinued proceedings for the erection of university buildings, and inaugurated Upper Canada College. These instructions were issued by Sir George Murray who, on the accession of the Whigs to power in 1828, had become Colonial Secretary. This change of government had excited hopeful expectations in the minds of those who had been opposed to the educational policy of the administration, and had in part been the cause of the acquiescence with which the Upper Canada College scheme had been received. In obedience to his instructions, Sir John Colborne, at his first meeting with his council, stated that he "should be under the necessity of calling the attention of both Houses of the Legislature to the college charter, and before doing so would wish to have some well digested proposition in readiness for their consideration." The instructions under which this announcement was made, were contained in a despatch from Sir George Murray bearing date, September 29th, 1828, in which, after referring to the address of the Assembly to the Crown, and expressing regret if the university should prove to have been founded upon principles which cannot be made to accord with the feelings and opinions of those for whose advantage it was intended, he says "that not the personal opinion of Sir Peregrine Maitland, but the address adopted by a full house of Assembly with scarcely a dissentient voice must be considered to express the prevailing opinion on the subject," and suggests to the Lieutenant Governor that "he invite the Legislature to resume the consideration of the question" and that he apprise them "that their

representations on the existing charter of the university have attracted the most serious attention of His Majesty's Government, and that the opinions which may be expressed by the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly on the subject will not fail to receive the most prompt and serious attention." Two years later in a speech before the House of Commons on the petition forwarded by the House of Assembly, Sir George Murray says : "I agree entirely in the objection which has been taken to that part of the charter of King's College which introduces a distinction, in the charter on the score of religion. While I was in office I suspended the operations of the charter having in contemplation to abolish entirely the distinction, and had I remained in office I should certainly have done so."

This suspension was probably the action taken by Sir John Colborne already referred to, ordering that no further proceedings be taken under the charter. But the council of the university by no means interpreted the action of the Governor as a suspension of their powers. They proceeded to complete the purchase of lands included in the present university park with its approaches from Queen street and Yonge street, and to make improvements on them; they also received and paid for the plans and model of building ordered from England. The salaries of the various officers and the disposal of the endowment lands proceeded as before, and the grant of £1,000 was regularly received until the close of the year 1831.

In January, 1830, an address from the House of Assembly to the Lieutenant Governor asked for a return of the receipts and expenditures on account of the endowments of King's College. In answer to this request some return seems to have been made accompanied by objections to the right of the House to ask for such account. A similar request from the British House of Commons in the same year elicited only an exceedingly general and meagre return. In the same session a bill was introduced into the House of Assembly to incorporate Upper Canada College with the style and privileges of a university, constituted on the liberal basis which the House would have desired for King's College. This bill passed the House in March, but was rejected by the Legislative Council. In the following year the entire management of Upper Canada College was transferred from the Board of Education to the Council of King's College. In February, 1831, after report of a select committee of the House of Assembly on the original grant of lands for the purposes of education, resolutions for an address to His Majesty the King were adopted setting forth, "that while this House appreciates His Majesty's gracious intention in granting a royal charter for the establishment of a university in this province, we must humbly beg leave to represent that,

"As the great majority of the inhabitants of this province are members of the Church of England, we regret that the university charter contains provisions which are calculated to exclude from its principal offices and honours all who do not belong to that Church."

"1. In consequence of these provisions its benefits will be confined to a few individuals, while others of His Majesty's subjects equally loyal and deserving will be excluded from participating in advantages which should be open to all."

"2. Its influence as a seminary of learning on this account must be and will be looked upon with jealousy by a large majority of the inhabitants of the province."

"That therefore it is expedient to present a humble address to His Majesty praying that His Majesty will be pleased to cause the charter of King's College to be cancelled and to grant another free from the objections to which our duty to the people of this province has induced us to advert."

To this resolution and a later one to the same effect passed in December, the Lieutenant Governor replied with the assurance that he "had reason to believe that either the exclusive provisions considered exceptional in the charter of King's College had been cancelled, or that such arrangements had been decided upon by His Majesty's Government as would render further applications on this subject unnecessary. A charter solemnly given cannot be revoked or its surrender obtained without much delay and circumspection; but His Majesty's ministers have long directed their attention to the great advantages which the province will derive from a university being established upon principles that may be approved by every good and enlightened person."

When this reply was given, Sir John Colborne probably already had in his possession the despatch of Lord Goderich dated November 2nd, 1831, and possibly was also aware of the reception it was likely to receive from King's College Council. Of this lengthy and important despatch it is sufficient to say that it regretted the failure of Sir George Murray's proposals to bring about a settlement of the university question; that it now proposed a settlement by means of a provincial constitution of Upper Canada College as a university, an idea adopted as we have seen by the Assembly nearly two years before; and that it finally requested from the Council of King's College the surrender of the charter and also of the endowment lands which have been conveyed to them by deed.

When this despatch was laid before the Council of King's College on the 10th of March, they positively refused to surrender either the charter or the endowment, pleading that they had received from the King a charter for the promotion of higher education on certain well

defined religious principles, and that as trustees of this royal grant, they could not surrender it or the endowments which accompanied it without knowing what would be substituted for it. This refusal was communicated in a reply which discussed at full length the university question as it existed at that day, and which stated and defended the ecclesiastical position in the most explicit manner. They were, however, willing to concede four points :—

1. That the Court of the King's Bench shall be the visitor instead of the Bishop of Quebec.

2. That any clergyman of the Church of England may be appointed president instead of the Archdeacon of York.

3. That no test or condition of church membership be required of members of the council.

4. That the council prescribe the conditions for degrees in divinity.

This offer of compromise was not acceptable to the House of Assembly, and twice during the next three years a bill was introduced to provide for the amendment of the university charter. Owing to the intense political excitement of the time the progress of the first bill, introduced in 1833, was very slow, and it was still in committee when the session closed. A second bill was, in 1835, passed in the House of Assembly and rejected by the Legislative Council. A copy was forwarded to the Colonial Office by Sir John Colborne, with an expression of opinion that "no law for the amendment of King's College charter will be enacted by the Provincial Legislature, but that it might be so modified by the interposition of His Majesty's Government as to leave in essential points no just ground for dissatisfaction on the part of either House." He also forwarded a strong recommendation that the Government sanction the immediate opening of the college. The reply of Lord Glenelg was "that the Government had referred the matter to the discretion of the Provincial Legislature, and that the decision of such a question by His Majesty's advisers in England would be condemned with plausibility and not indeed without justice as a needless interference with the internal affairs of the province."

Sir John Colborne had accompanied his recommendation by a suggested form of charter to be enacted by His Majesty's Government in England; this Lord Glenelg rejected as one that "could hardly fail to give umbrage to the House of Assembly as contrary to the whole tenor of the resolutions of the representatives of the people." The reply completely disappointed the hope expressed by Sir John Colborne in his speech from the throne when proroguing the House "that such a revision of the charter may take place as will accord in essential points with the opinions of the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly."

The state of the country was not now such as would admit of compromise on any of the questions at issue, and just after the opening of the next session of the Legislature, Sir John Colborne obtained his recall and was succeeded by Sir Francis Bond Head. In taking leave, Sir John Colborne merely assured the Legislature that the King would give prompt attention to the wishes of the two Houses, and give effect to "any measure which might be agreed on by them," an assurance which probably covered a little sarcasm. A week later when Sir Francis Bond Head assumed the Government, he, as instructed, expressed regret at the differences of opinion between the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly, and tendered the mediation of the King between them, saying "that with the previous assent of both Houses, the King will cheerfully resume the consideration of the question in what manner a constitution could be most conveniently prepared so as to promote the interests of science and literature and the study of theology and moral philosophy, with due regard to the opinions which seem to prevail in the House respecting the proper constitution and objects of a university."

In consequence the bill of the previous year was again passed by the House and again rejected by the Council. The proposal of the latter body that the two Houses should compromise on the charter which had been prepared by Sir John Colborne, with the addition of a Presbyterian professor of theology failed to meet with acceptance. With the summer of 1836 there came a crisis in the affairs of the province resulting in the dissolution of the House of Assembly and an appeal of the Lieutenant Governor and his Council to the people. In this election, the dread of impending rebellion and the influence of men who favoured moderate measures, resulted in a majority favourable to the Lieutenant Governor.

The new House met in the autumn, and a select committee composed largely of Conservatives was appointed to consider the affairs of King's College. In a short time they reported a draft of a bill for the amendment of the charter, the bill was read a second and third time on the 3rd and 4th of January, 1837, sent up to the Legislative Council, and by them referred to a select committee. The committee returned a very elaborate report reviewing the entire legislative history of the university charter, condemning the amendment bills of 1835 and 1836, expressing doubts as to the right of the Legislature to interfere with a Royal Charter, asserting the vested rights of the corporation created under that charter, proposing some modifications, but finally giving a qualified assent to the bill. This report, evidently in large part the work of the Archdeacon of York, presents the case for an established church and for a university controlled by that Church with all the vigour and thoroughness with which he was so richly endowed. It is a complete epi-

tome, not only of the case, but also of the history of the question as viewed from the conservative and ecclesiastical side. But its final recommendation or rather concession revealed the fact that the party who had for nearly twenty years struggled to give this view effect, were becoming conscious that its enforcement was impracticable. This bill offered terms more favourable than any which could have been carried through the Legislative Council heretofore. The bill was therefore passed and the charter was accordingly amended in the following points :—

1. That the judges of His Majesty's Court of the King's Bench shall for and on behalf of the King be visitors of the college in the place and stead of the Lord Bishop of Quebec.

2. The president of the university on any future vacancy shall be appointed by His Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, without requiring that he shall be the incumbent of any ecclesiastical office.

3. The members of the College Council including the Chancellor and President shall be twelve in number of whom the speakers of the two Houses of the Legislature of the province and His Majesty's attorney and solicitor general for the province for the time being shall be four, and the remainder shall consist of the five senior professors of arts and faculties of the said college, and of the principal of the Minor or Upper Canada College.

4. It shall not be necessary that any member of the said college council be so appointed, or that any member of the said college council or any professor to be at any time appointed shall be a member of the Church of England, or subscribe to any articles of religion other than a declaration that they believe in the authenticity and divine inspiration of the Old and New Testaments, and in the doctrine of the Trinity.

These were large concessions, but they were made without involving any change in the present presidency or any such change in the personnel of the council as to endanger the predominance of the Church of England, and they left her in possession of the divinity chair. Thus, the university was still an object of suspicion to both Presbyterians and Methodists.

Dr. Strachan at once proceeded to press the university forward to actual operation. In the month of May the council was reconstituted according to the amended charter. He had already submitted to the former council a plan of organization involving an annual outlay of about £7,500; and on the 10th of June a meeting was held at which the members signed the required declaration, and proceeded to discuss plans for buildings and for opening university classes to students. An architect was appointed, estimates were received, and by December the contracts were ready for signature. But here the rebellion brought all proceedings to a sudden termination. When in the summer of 1838 the

council once more resumed its meetings, it is evident that the question of finance had assumed an aspect of such difficulty, as to prevent further progress; and in April, 1839, they found themselves face to face with the inability of the bursar to produce or account for the moneys in his hands.

In the meantime, another event took place destined to exert a most important influence on the future of the university. This was the coming to the province of a young graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, the Rev. John McCaul, M.A., as Principal of Upper Canada College. Mr. McCaul, who was now about thirty years of age, had filled for some time the position of classical tutor and examiner at Trinity College, Dublin; he was already an author of repute in classical literature, and his advent to the country at this time was of great importance to its future scholarship. He was also a polished and eloquent speaker, and a man of commanding personality. Ten years later when the leadership and policy of Dr. Strachan as director of the university were terminated by the Act of 1849, Dr. McCaul stepped to the front as the presiding genius of the university during the second period of its active history.

Early in 1839, the Legislature once more directed its attention to the affairs of the university, and called for returns of income, expenditure and investments of the endowments of King's College. When these returns came into the hands of the Lieutenant Governor, he was astonished at the serious inroads which had already been made on the endowment. From this report it appeared that of the original grant of 225,944 acres of land, 99,737 had already been sold; that from these sales £82,729 17s 5d. had been realized, of which £54,925 19s 8d had been expended, leaving in the bursar's hands or in investments £27,805 17s 9d. Of this amount £10,340 was invested in government debentures and Bank of Upper Canada stock, £4,312 10s had been lent to the president, and £13,137 7s 9d. were in the hands of the bursar, being nearly one-half of the available funds. In addition to the balance as above, the assets of the university were estimated as follows:—

	£	s	d
Purchase moneys overdue.....	14,895	14	8
Interest on these.....	6,018	17	6
Purchase moneys not yet due.....	33,495	2	3
Interest on moneys not yet due.....	7,765	6	3
Lands yet unsold (estimate).....	137,849	7	6
Total.....	200,125	8	2

The current income from all sources at this date was £3,803 12s 8d, against which were fixed items of expenditures of £3,168 0s 6d., leaving

available to maintain the university £634 12s 2d. The bursar, who appears to have been incompetent rather than dishonest, made up the balance from assets in his hands, and henceforth security was taken from both bursar and registrar. But the inroad upon the endowment which rendered impossible either the erection of buildings or the opening of the university was due to the amounts already expended. These were :—

	£	s	d
Loans to Upper Canada College.....	34,408	15	2
Expended for site (present park 168 acres).....	4,301	2	1
Improvements and care of grounds.....	6,805	10	9
Plans and preparations for building.....	1,108	16	10
Furniture.....	152	4	11

Later in the year a commission appointed by the Lieutenant Governor at the request of the House of Assembly, presented a report on the entire subject of education. It proposed once more the consolidation of King's College and Upper Canada College making the latter a temporary university. The financial situation had improved and the income available for this project was estimated at £4,240.

A peculiar part of this proposal was the establishment of several theological seminaries for the education of the clergy of different denominations. This proposition was probably due to a condition of affairs already alluded to which arose in the province through efforts for the establishment of higher education quite independent of the Government. Upper Canada College provided for the superior education chiefly of members of the Church of England. An Anglican divinity school was conducted at Cobourg by Archdeacon Bethune. In the same town Upper Canada Academy discharged similar functions for the Methodists, both laity and ministry. Later, in 1841, this academy received college rank by act of the Legislature, and the first session opened in October of the same year. The Presbyterians took the first steps towards founding Queen's College in 1839; in 1842 it actually came into existence at Kingston. In this latter city the Roman Catholics had already established a seminary of learning in 1837. So that when King's College was opened in 1843, the problem of university education was no longer a merely theoretical one.

During the unfortunately brief administration of Mr. J. Poulett Thomson (afterwards Lord Sydenham) who came to the country in 1839 the condition of the university finances improved. The estimated income from all sources in 1839 had been £3,803; in 1842, it was £11,718. It was therefore with great confidence that Sir Charles Bagot, the new

Governor of the united provinces, gave his consent to proceeding with the buildings, and the opening of university work under temporary arrangements in the old Parliament Buildings on Front street.

In asking His Excellency's assent to this step, Dr. Strachan, now Bishop of Toronto, revealed the new course of his university policy. He says :—"The Church of Scotland and its members in the province were among the earliest and most strenuous assailants of the Royal Charter of King's College, as unfriendly to civil liberty and unjust and inexpedient in its provisions. They were warmly supported by large bodies of the Methodist Society. And no sooner had these two religious societies succeeded in compelling such an alteration of the charter as wholly deprives King's College of any acknowledged religious character and consequently of any security in respect to the religious doctrines which may be taught there, than they set themselves actively and successfully to work in obtaining from the Government and from the Legislature charters for the foundation of two colleges, in such strict and exclusive connection with their respective religious denominations, that, not only the government of each college, but the whole business of instruction to be carried on within it is required to be absolutely in the hands of those who declare and subscribe themselves members of the one religious society; and, your Excellency will perceive, in so decided a manner that, not the members of such church only, but the clerical members of it shall control and govern the whole."

In another paragraph, Bishop Strachan dwells with justifiable pride upon the beauty of the site of King's College : "There is nowhere upon this continent anything of the same kind superior to it, and I doubt if there is anything equal to it." The plans for the buildings, of which there were two complete sets bear witness to the fine taste and large ideas of Dr. Strachan; they are imposing in effect, and classical in design,—a credit alike to the architect and the council.

We have now arrived at the beginning of the year 1842. Bishop Strachan lost no time in carrying his views into effect. Fresh energy was introduced into the council in the person of the Rev. H. J. Grasett, M.A. The financial accounts showed available funds to the amount of £45,348 with £28,843 coming due. Lands yielded a rent roll of £2,453 and the total net income was £7,740. There were 20,800 acres of land neither leased nor sold. It was therefore resolved to bring the university at once into operation. Application was made for the temporary use of the Parliament Buildings, as the seat of government had been removed to Kingston. An estimate was submitted proposing the expenditure in four years of £18,000 for buildings, which, with the royal grant of £1,000 a year, was expected to cover the cost of the erection of

the chapel and two wings on the proposed plans. When tenders were received it was found that the available funds would cover little more than the two wings, and of these only one was ultimately built. On the 23rd of April, 1842, the corner stone of the university building was laid with most imposing ceremonial by His Excellency Sir Charles Bagot, Governor-General of the United Canadas and Chancellor of the university. On the morning of that day being St. George's day the St. George's Society accompanied by the Sons of St. Andrew and of St. Patrick attended Divine service in the cathedral, where an appropriate sermon was preached by the Rev. Henry Scadding, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge. At one o'clock the procession formed on Queen street at the University Avenue gates. After an address to the Chancellor in Latin to which he replied in the same language, the procession marched up the avenue to the chosen site, that on which the Parliament Buildings now stand. Here in the presence of a large concourse of ladies and gentlemen, and of the military, civil and educational officers of the province, the stone was duly laid by His Excellency. Addresses were delivered, poems in Latin and Greek were recited, prayers offered, and the whole concluded with a salvo of artillery. At the banquet in the evening His Lordship the Bishop of Toronto, with deep emotion, declared that this was the happiest day of his life, one to which he had looked forward for forty years.

At the same time preparations were being made for the beginning of academic work. Professors of Classics, Belles Lettres, Divinity, Law, Mathematics, Chemistry and Anatomy were chosen, the names being the Rev. John McCaul, LL.D., the Rev. James Beaven, D.D., the Hon. W. H. Draper, Richard Potter, Esq., H. E. Croft, Esq., and W. C. Gwynne, M.B.

The formal opening took place on the 8th of June, 1843, when twenty-six students signed the roll. The names of those students are worthy of record as many of them afterwards won distinction in the province. They were Edmund Baldwin, Norman Bethune, C. K. Boulton, Henry J. Boulton, J. A. Cathcart, George Crookshank, W. G. Draper, Elliott Grasett, J. T. Hagerman, John Helliwell, W. P. Jarvis, H. B. Jessopp, E. C. Jones, W. H. Lyons, J. J. Macaulay, S. S. Macdonell, T. A. McLean, A. D. Maule, James Patton, John Roaf, Christopher Robinson, Alfred Sharpe, W. Larratt Smith, James Stanton, and Walter Stennett. In religion twenty-two were Church of England, one Roman Catholic, one Presbyterian, one Congregationalist, and one Baptist.

The chief feature of the occasion was the address of the Lord Bishop of Toronto, president of the university. The address which was published in full, together with the proceedings both at the laying of the

corner stone and the opening, is an exceedingly able and interesting document. The whole history of the university in its prominent epochs is reviewed with unstinted praise to the churchmen who had assisted in shaping its character and with marked disapproval of all who dissented from the speaker's idea of a church establishment supported by a church college and both endowed by the state. The closing section is a noble appeal to the ingenuous heart of youth, stimulating their ambition for the highest things and for a generous fame. "Never," he says, "was the demand for education so loud and anxious throughout the civilized world as at present; but in this colony it may be said to be only commencing. In older countries where seminaries of learning have been established for centuries, the machinery exists; and it is easy to keep pace with the march of intellect, by the addition of professors and teachers when any new subject appears of sufficient importance to require them. In this manner the universities of Europe preserve their superior rank, and add daily to a debt of gratitude which the public can never repay. And although some of the discoveries of modern times, in the arts and sciences, more especially in mechanics, cannot be traced to them, yet the more important certainly may, and, what is of still more consequence, they have uniformly maintained the dignity of classical as well as scientific attainments. It requires the aid and protection of established seats of learning to give, as it were, a lasting basis to useful knowledge, and insure its gradual accumulation. In all these respects, the universities of Europe, and especially of Great Britain, have nobly discharged their duty. They have not only been the fruitful nurseries of all the learned professions which adorn and maintain society, but they have also been the asylums of learned leisure, where men who have no taste for the cares and broils of worldly pursuits, might retire from the troubles of public life, and aspire to a greater perfection than even an ordinary intercourse with society will allow. Many such, in their solitary chambers have attained the highest elevation in science, or by their powerful writings have brought home to our hearts and understandings the truths and discoveries of Christianity, and thus have become the instructors and benefactors of mankind.

"It is for these among other purposes that this institution has been established. And why should it not in its turn become one of those blessed asylums where men of retired habits may taste the sweets of society, and yet converse with the illustrious dead who in past ages have illuminated the world.

"Here among our youth we may confidently look for generous emulation, a noble desire for highest fame, an ardent love for truth and a determination to surpass in knowledge and virtue the most sanguine

hopes of their parents and friends. In this institution many holy aspirations will doubtless arise in minds yet untainted and which by Divine grace shall become a panoply to protect them through life against all the temptations which can assail them. And the time will come when we too can look back to our line of celebrated men brought up at this seminary, and whose character and attainments will cause a glory around it, and become as it were the genius of the institution.

"Is there an ingenuous youth now present, of quick sensibility and lively ambition, who does not cherish in his imagination the hope that he may become one of those whom in future times this university will delight to honour as one of her favourite sons? Why should he not? He is in the enjoyment of the same advantages, pursuing the same paths of knowledge, which enabled many in former times to soar to the most elevated heights of literary fame."

After a brief reference to the danger of secular views of education, he closed with these weighty words :—"In this institution our chief care will, it is hoped, ever be to cherish and strengthen in our youth those principles and affections which give our finite being wings to soar above this transitory sense, and energy to that mental vision which shall enable them to look with confidence on the glories of the spiritual when this our material world is vanishing rapidly away."

On the 16th of August Mr. W. H. Blake was appointed professor of law in place of Mr. Draper, who had resigned. On the reconstruction of the university in 1849 Mr. Blake became Vice-Chancellor. Later, his sons were numbered among her most distinguished graduates, and one of them the Hon. Edward Blake, LL.D., was called to preside over her as Chancellor through one of the most important periods of her history. On the 25th of September the council met, the new professors being present, and steps were taken for the establishment of the Faculty of Medicine with Drs. King, Beaumont and Gwynne as professors. At the same time arrangements were completed for the opening of the Michaelmas term in the Faculty of Arts.

The actual work of the university thus inaugurated, had scarcely begun when once more the question of its constitution came to the front by the introduction into Parliament of the Baldwin University Bill of 1843. The Amendment Act of 1837 had severed the most important links of connection with the Church. The presidency had ceased to be annexed ex-officio to the Archdeaconship of York; the holder need not even be a clergyman of any denomination. The members of the council were no longer required to be members of the Church of England or to sign the Thirty-nine Articles, and the bishop of the diocese was no longer the visitor of the university. But the Archdeacon of York, now Bishop of

Toronto, was actually president; the members of the council were continued without material change; and when the college was opened, the council, the president, the professors and the principal and staff of the minor college and 22 out of 26 students of the university were members of the Church of England, and, the whole tenor of the proceedings including the religious exercises on the occasion were such as implied the continued predominance of that Church. The forces by which the new university was manned were still unchanged, and the charter was but a negative and theoretical deviation from its original principles.

This real attitude of King's College as thus brought into operation was speedily made evident by a new movement which now began. On the 8th of September, 1842, a few months after the corner stone had been laid in Toronto, the Board of Trustees of Queen's College held a meeting at which the university situation was discussed and the following resolutions adopted :—

“That they in common with the Presbyterian population of the province always entertained the conviction that it was most expedient that King's College with its ample public endowment should be in the proper sense a university for the whole population without respect to the religious creed of the students, and that they were led to take measures for founding and establishing a separate college only when the prospect of the actual commencement of King's College and the attainment by the Presbyterian population of their due influence in the administration of that college seemed to be indefinitely postponed.”

“That now when these circumstances are altered, inasmuch as that measures are in progress for beginning the business of instruction in King's College, and a spirit of conciliation and liberality pervades the councils of the Provincial Government, the board feel themselves called upon to declare that they have no wish to appear to stand in an attitude of rivalry with that institution, but rather to help it forward, as far as they can consistently with those interests which are committed to them by the Royal Charter, and that they are ready to concur in any legislative enactment that shall empower them to limit Queen's College to the department of theological instruction, and that shall authorize the removal of said college to Toronto, provided the other powers and privileges conferred by the charter shall not be infringed on; and provided further that a fair and virtual influence shall be conceded to this board and to the professors of Queen's College in the administration of King's College, and that all reasonable aid and facilities shall be afforded to this board for making the change herein contemplated.”

On the basis of these resolutions a commission was appointed to negotiate with the council of King's College on the proposals thus intimated.

After private conference the commissioners found that a decided majority of the council was unfavourable to the idea of union. They therefore placed the resolutions with which they had been furnished, together with a statement prepared by the commissioners, in the hands of Dr. Strachan the president to be formally presented to the council, and through him solicited a reply.

These proceedings were reported to the Board of Trustees of Queen's College, on March 1st, 1843, and the commission was continued with power to negotiate with the Government. On the 3rd of May, they again reported to the board; the important items were, that Bishop Strachan had declined to place their resolutions and statement before the Council of King's College, and that the Government while approving of the principles of the scheme of union expressed the strong conviction "that to the success of the scheme the concurrence and hearty co-operation of the Methodist body in this country is absolutely essential."

This report led to a correspondence of Dr. Liddell, principal of Queen's College with Dr. Ryerson, president of Victoria College, reciting the facts already stated, presenting a scheme of a "college union" in "one university" with as many separate colleges as the wants of the country may require, each college founded on its own charter and with its own government, subject to the power of the Provincial University Council which should be paramount in all matters of a general nature as affecting the character of the institution as a university. Each college was to be represented on the council, and a principle of distribution of subjects as between the university and the colleges was to be outlined. Dr. Liddell proceeded to set forth the principles which should govern in the formation of a provincial university; that all sections of the community should enjoy its advantages, and share in its management; that for this the present charter makes no provision, and that the college is *de facto* in the hands of the Episcopalians; and that the present is the time when this can be most easily remedied and a constitution upon true principles introduced. Dr. Liddell goes even so far as to suggest a use for the college building at Cobourg, to relieve its trustees of the financial burden which the new proposal would involve. Queen's occupying for the time being, like King's, rented quarters, had as yet no buildings or property in Kingston. The proposals of Dr. Liddell having been referred by the Board of Trustees of Queen's to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church, were by them unanimously approved, and a petition to the Governor-in-Council and the Parliament adopted. Up to this time the authorities of Victoria and of the Methodist Church had taken no action; but Dr. Liddell continued his correspondence with Dr. Ryerson. His letters have been preserved among Dr. Ryerson's papers; the replies of Dr.

Ryerson are not available. That the latter favoured the scheme, would appear from the fact that a joint meeting for its promotion and to present a public petition to Parliament was held in the Methodist Church at Toronto. This is further shown by resolutions which he submitted to the Board of Victoria College on the 24th and 25th of October, 1843. By this time the Hon. Robert Baldwin had introduced the question into Parliament in a bill embodying the essentials of Dr. Liddell's scheme. This bill was now before the Board of Victoria College, and resolutions were proposed by Dr. Ryerson and unanimously adopted, setting forth their approval of the principles embodied in the bill, protesting against the partial character of the appointments to the government of King's College, approving of the changes made by the Act of 1837, and regretting that on account of their location at Cobourg they would be unable at present to avail themselves of its advantages, and asking the aid of the government in any arrangements which may hereafter be made to enable them to do so.

Thus early in the history of the university the principles upon which it is now constituted were suggested by Queen's, endorsed by Victoria, and adopted by Robert Baldwin the father of Upper Canada Reform. The Baldwin bill was introduced in 1843; its provisions can here be only very briefly summarized :—

1. It constituted the University of Toronto to which was transferred all the university powers and functions of King's College.

2. It placed the government of this university in the hands of thoroughly representative bodies. The executive powers were entrusted to a Caput consisting of the chancellor and vice-chancellor and members elected by the various colleges and faculties. The legislative authority was assigned to Convocation consisting of the chancellor and the heads of colleges, the professors, the masters in arts and the graduates in Divinity, Law and Medicine. All legislation was proposed by the Caput, passed thence for revision to a Board of Control and finally was submitted to Convocation.

3. Four colleges King's, Regiopolis, Queen's, and Victoria were embraced in the university and each was designated as "The President (or principal) Masters and Scholars of College in the University of Toronto."

4. All university powers conferred on these colleges by their charters and all university offices such as Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor were abrogated.

5. The entire endowment was transferred to the University of Toronto. Provision was made for a temporary allowance of £500 a year to each college for four years and after that period the maintenance of

the colleges was proposed to be obtained from funds set apart for religious purposes, by which was doubtless intended the Clergy Reserves.

A peculiarity of the bill is the lack of any distinction between subjects to be taught in the university and in the colleges. In this as in other points it would seem that the Oxford model was followed. It will readily be understood that this bill was by no means acceptable to the Bishop of Toronto and the Council of King's College. The Bishop at once entered the arena with his usual vigour, and the Council appointed the Hon. W. H. Draper as their counsel and requested that he be heard at the bar of the House. This was granted and his address forms an interesting part of the literature of the subject. To this Dr. Ryerson replied in a vigorous article in the "Christian Guardian."

The progress of the bill was, however, soon brought to an end by the resignation of the ministry and the dissolution of the Legislature, the outcome of differences between the new Governor-General, Sir Charles Metcalf, and his advisers. Notwithstanding, it marks an epoch in the history of the university controversy. Hitherto the struggle had turned upon the question of who was to control the university endowment; now is introduced the consideration of a constitution for the university such that "all sections of the community may enjoy its advantages and share in its arrangements." The discussion of the latter question continued to agitate the country long after the final settlement of the former.

The election which followed resulted in a victory for the Conservatives. Mr. W. H. Draper, the head of the new ministry, immediately addressed himself to the question of the university with the intention of introducing anew the bill which had just dropped. Both the Governor-General and Mr. Draper consulted with the heads of all the colleges. The main difficulty lay in the matter of property. The Church of England claimed both the charter and endowment of King's College. The Baldwin Bill gave them the charter, less the power of conferring degrees, diminishing each of the other charters to the same extent. But the entire endowment, it transferred to the new University of Toronto.

While these discussions as to the new university were in progress, an event took place which had most important bearings on future developments. The disruption of the Church of Scotland and the separation of the Free Church in 1844 led at once to the founding of Knox's College, which, until the change in the constitution of the university in 1849, maintained a literary as well as a theological department.

It was in the month of March, 1845, that Mr. Draper introduced the second bill for the establishment of a provincial university. This bill followed that of Mr. Baldwin in not attempting to alter the charter of King's College, and in constituting a new university to be called the

University of Upper Canada, of which King's College, Queen's and Victoria were on the surrender of their university powers to become colleges. It also vested the endowment in the new institution and provided for it, in some measure, a representative government. In other points it made important concessions to the Church party. It transferred the faculty of King's College, with the exception of the professors in Divinity, to the new university. It repealed the amending Act of 1837, restoring King's College to its old form as a church institution. It also made permanent grants to the colleges, not out of any fund set apart for religious purposes, but from the university endowment.

The debate on this bill is most interesting as an exposition of the views of the very able statesmen who composed the Parliament of that day. Mr. Draper, Mr. Baldwin, and Mr. Merrit were the leaders, and John Hillyard Cameron, who appeared at the bar of the House as counsel for King's College, presented a lengthy and argumentative address against the measure. The result was that, after the second reading, the bill was dropped.

This bill was the occasion of an extensive literature on the university question. Bishop Strachan proposed a "plan of settling the University Question." Dr. McCaul issued a pamphlet under the *nom de plume* of "A Graduate"; the Rev. Peter Colin Campbell, of Queen's prepared another; and yet another on "The Origin, History and Management of King's College" printed by George Brown, may be taken as representing the new Presbyterian body. It is said to have been written by John McAra. These documents indicate most clearly the nature of the contest. On one side, the Council and the Anglican Church were strenuously contending for the continued possession of the charter, the college and the endowment. On the other an opposing party sought the establishment of a university upon a broader basis in which all sections of the community should have part and of which the denominational colleges should be members. The concessions made to the Church constituted the essential difference between this bill and its predecessor; to these Mr. Baldwin in his speech before the House on the second reading of the bill took very strong objection.

In 1846 Mr. Draper's University bill with some changes, none of them of great importance, was introduced by Mr. Hall, and followed by two supplementary bills by Mr. Draper. When this bill came up for a second reading, King's College was heard through counsel at the bar of the House; and once more the claims of the Church of England to both charter and endowment were presented by Mr. Boulton. Mr. Draper, on the other hand warned the opponents of the bill that when the subject again came before the House, it would come up under a very different

form, which would involve a question that must sooner or later be settled. On the second reading, a motion for postponement divided the Conservative ranks, and the bill was defeated. The main significance of the event lay in the fact that the defeat was the result of a combination of the party of reform with the extreme Conservatives; Baldwin and Boulton voted for postponement,—the latter deaf to the prescient warning of Mr. Draper, the former looking forward to the opportunity which that warning seemed to promise.

The literature which accompanied this third abortive attempt at comprehensive legislation on the constitution of the university is of interest as showing that the main elements of the question were the same then as now. The problem to be solved was to make the university acceptable to all sections of the community. Yet there was a fundamental difference arising from the fact that the idea of entire independence of church and state was not at that time, fully or distinctively apprehended. Towards this principle men like Baldwin were steadily moving; and the defeat of this bill probably marks their passage to a position from which there was afterwards no retreat. On the other hand, these three bills mark the beginning of difference between such men and the supporters of Queen's and Victoria. To secure the complete triumph of the voluntary principle Mr. Baldwin was willing to make the university entirely secular. This the friends of Queen's and Victoria did not desire. To them the religious element was an essential part of all education including the highest, and was more important than even the voluntary principle. This principle, in fact, they had not as yet by any means fully accepted as regards education. Mr. Draper's bill was of the nature of a compromise. It made some sacrifice of the voluntary principle in the aid granted to denominational colleges, as it secured the religious side of university education by making these colleges essential parts of the system. As matters stood at this juncture, the Conservative party was the only party likely to make such a compromise, but they were prevented from doing so by a section who were resolved to retain at all hazards the endowment of King's College for the Church of England.

One further attempt at compromise was made before the complete secularization of the university. This was the partition bill of Mr. John A. Macdonald in 1847. Had this bill carried, it would have postponed to the far future the possibility of a university worthy of the province, and would have endowed the Anglican Church with a property which is to-day worth three and a half millions of dollars. What it would have accomplished for Victoria, Queen's and Regiopolis may be gathered from their later history under an annual government grant. While saving

them from a good deal of financial embarrassment, it would have assigned them to perpetual and scarcely respectable mediocrity. The provisions of the bill were very brief and simple. The charter of 1827 with slight modification was to be restored to King's College, which was also to retain the magnificent park of 168 acres and the new buildings, now nearing completion. The land endowment and securities were to be placed in the hands of a board of six trustees. The proceeds of the endowment were then computed at £10,000 a year, and were to be divided, £3,000 a year to King's College, and £1,500 a year to each of the other three. The balance was to be distributed to the grammar schools to the extent of £2,500; all beyond that was to be at the disposal of Parliament for general education.

The proposal is chiefly notable for the strange diversity, and almost confusion of feeling and motive which it awakened. Bishop Strachan at first accepted it. King's College Council led by Dr. McCaul rejected it. The answer of Regiopolis was politic and non-committal. Queen's, after various objections, accepted it, not as satisfactory but as better than no settlement. No expression of the attitude of Victoria is on record; but Dr. Ryerson and the "Christian Guardian" supported the bill. Mr. Baldwin denounced it, and was supported by the Free Church Presbyterians and other Liberals. Finally, Dr. Strachan withdrew his assent and the bill never reached a second reading.

Thus ended the various attempts at a compromise solution of the university problem. The country was on the eve of a general election, and this question and that of the Clergy Reserves were among the important issues of the contest. The result of the elections was the return of the Liberals to power with Mr. Baldwin as leader, Lord Elgin being Governor-General. The way was thus open for the triumph of the principle of state control of the university and its complete secularization. It is worthy of remark, as indicating the spirit of the time, that in the same session there passed another bill which completely secularized the public school system and abolished all aid to separate schools. This latter bill, Mr. Baldwin himself, was wise enough to cancel; and in four years' time the university bill was also completely changed. Notwithstanding this, the Act of 1849 finally established some most important principles as well as originated some most important consequences; hence, if we would understand the course of subsequent history, this bill must be carefully considered.

Into the complicated government of the proposed university, it is not necessary to enter except to say that the executive control was vested in a *Caput* consisting of the President and deans of faculties and one appointed member. The President and *Caput* governed the students,

the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor controlled the faculties. The Senate, which constituted the legislative body of the university, consisted of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, the President, the Professors, and twelve or more nominated members,—one-half to be named by the Crown and the other half by affiliated colleges conferring degrees in Divinity only. The Government in this way secured complete control of the university as it held the appointment of a large majority both in the Caput and in the Senate.

The property of the university was vested in a Board of Trustees, but their powers of expenditure were strictly limited to the maintenance of the university and of Upper Canada College. Provision was also made for a commission to examine the affairs of the university and its past financial management. The only other details which require to be noted, are those that are connected with the secularization of the university. These provided for the abolition of the faculty of divinity, the exclusion of all ecclesiastics from the chancellorship, and from the members nominated for the Senate by the Government, and the prohibition of all denominational forms of worship in connection with the university. The denominational colleges were admitted only as affiliated divinity schools having each one representative on the Senate. All forms of religious test or subscription, for either officers or students of the university, were abolished.

The leading features of the bill were thus, complete government control of the university, the reservation of the endowment for the exclusive use of the university and Upper Canada College, and the thorough secularization of the university and its complete separation from the denominational colleges except on conditions to which they were not likely to conform.

The most important feature of this bill was that which completely wrested the control of the university and its endowments from the hands of any ecclesiastical body. This was accomplished not merely through the government assumption of control, but also by various provisions which acted as so many danger signals forbidding the approach of ecclesiastical domination. This was the triumph of a principle from which the country has never receded, and it terminated the struggle in which the country had been engaged for twenty-three years.

A second important feature was the introduction of the principle that the university endowment must not be divided, but be reserved for the exclusive use of the provincial institution. To be sure, this was not yet completely carried into effect; Upper Canada College continued for many years to be the feeder and the financial dependent of the university, but the principle was clearly asserted as against the denominational

colleges. It was, however, afterwards partially comprised, and gave rise subsequently to serious conflicts.

The bill forthwith evoked strong protests from the Bishop of Toronto, and from the trustees of Queen's College, and from the Synod of the Church of Scotland in Canada. The action of King's College Council was the most remarkable. Of the seven members residing in the city, one was absent through sickness, one declined to take part, and three voted for and carried a petition supporting the bill; the president and the professor of Divinity voted against it; and expressed their dissent in individual petitions. The Methodists and Roman Catholics took no direct action on the Baldwin bill but in their addresses to Parliament confined themselves to asking aid for the efficient support of their own colleges. The Editor of the "Guardian," however, the Rev. Dr. Sander son expressed himself in its columns against the bill. The objection of all these parties were founded on two points :—(1) that religion in some form is an essential element of education and should not be excluded from the university; (2) that centralization is not in the best interest of education. A third objection came from the Church of England which claimed the exclusive control of the university and the endowment. The first of these objections was of such vital force that it not only brought about the foundation of a new college for the Church of England, and, later of one for the Baptists, but also served to maintain both Queen's and Victoria in increasing strength. These facts are quite sufficient to demonstrate the necessity for the recognition of religious education in any scheme for the creation of a truly provincial university, i.e., of a university which shall commend itself to the entire body of the people.

The second objection was much more cogent in 1850 than it is to-day. The university college ideal of that day did not involve a staff of more than seven professors, and an annual expenditure of \$20,000 seemed ample. The curriculum was fixed and compact, requiring only professors in Classics, Mathematics, Philosophy, Chemistry and Natural History, and a tutor in English and Modern Languages. The full class which combined English literature and history was a later development. To expand this college into the university of that time it was only necessary to add the three professional faculties. Colleges of this limited scope could do their best work with about a hundred students, and rather than that number necessitated duplication of classes. The tutorial method of instruction was without exception employed, and a class of thirty was unwieldy. There could thus be no objection on the score of either economy or efficiency to a college at Montreal, another at Kingston, another at Toronto, and another at London. The spirit of em

tion would lead to better work in all, and distribution would bring them within reach of a greater number, and was an important consideration when facilities for travel were yet extremely imperfect. Another important consideration was the lack of a system of grammar schools by which students could be properly prepared for the university. The grammar schools were still largely elementary schools for the wealthier classes. King's College depended upon Upper Canada College, Victoria on her preparatory department, for a supply of students.

So strong was the force of objections raised on religious grounds that, in 1850, an amending or explanatory act was passed making provision for religious instruction by officers appointed by the several religious denominations and paid by them. This act disclaimed in express terms any inimical intent towards religion in the constitution of the university. The provision for religious instruction was carried into effect by a series of regulations adopted by the visitorial commission of 1851.

In view of this amendment an act was also sought and obtained authorizing the removal of Victoria College to Toronto with the purpose of becoming affiliated to the university. The plan proposed was that the literary work of the preparatory college together with that of Divinity should be continued in Cobourg, while the university work in arts should be transferred to Toronto. At the next session of Parliament, further efforts were made to amend the constitution after the model of the London University. These failed and are only of interest as the first movement in the direction subsequently adopted in the Act of 1853.

During the first year under the new act, 1851-2, the University of Toronto enrolled sixty-eight students in Arts, of whom thirty-three were matriculated and thirty-five occasional students. Thirty-three of the latter were students in Hebrew, the first fruits of the affiliation of the theological schools. The enrolment of fourteen matriculated students in the first year with two others not fully matriculated gave promise of better things for the future. There was no class in the fourth year, but a class of eleven in the third year, and of eight in the second.

A very important result of Mr. Baldwin's Act was the appointment of a visitorial commission to examine both the accounts and the financial management of the endowments. This commission reported from time to time, and made their final report in 1850. The period under review was divided into two sections. The first extended from the date of the charter, 1827, to the date of the commission 1839; the second from 1839 to the close of 1849. The following sentence gives the main result of the inquiry :—

“From the footings of the statement it will be seen that out of a total capital of £336,930 19s. 8d. realized or at the command of the

university authorities, there have been totally alienated in current expenditure and losses £166,319 11s. 3d., leaving a balance of £170,611 8s. 0d. These assets stand rated at the figures representing their original cost as introduced into the accounts. The present value of some of them is, no doubt, greater than the cost, but that of others must be correspondingly less."

This statement does not include lands unsold, largely under lease, 88,974½ acres. The statement of expenditure and income shows the true fiscal position of the university during the last seven years (*i.e.*, during the period of actual operation); during that period the total income was £54,156 13s 9d., and the total expenditure £73,489 8s 5d., showing a deficit of £19,332 14s 8d. Of the expenditure out of the capital, £75,504 5s 0d. is charged as a loan to Upper Canada College, and £56,359 18s. 2d. to expense, which included the management of the property. The acquisition of the university park is the one bright spot in this report, and the commissioners evidently appreciated the prospective value of the property, and foreshadow the policy which has already turned so large a part of it to commercial account.

After the session of 1851, Mr. Baldwin passed out of Parliament and Mr. Hincks became the Upper Canadian leader of the Government. In the second session of his administration, he made another attempt at the settlement of the university question by an amendment to the charter. The model now taken was the London University, which had already been before Parliament in the bills of Sherwood and W. L. Boulton. The fundamental principle of Mr. Hincks' bill was the withdrawal from the University of the work of teaching, all instruction being relegated to separate but affiliated colleges. For this purpose University College was created a separate corporation, and the Faculty of Arts transferred to it. To the University, represented by the Senate, was given the management of the endowment, the enactment of university statutes, and the functions of examination and of conferring degrees. The faculties of law and medicine were discontinued, the field being left to independent affiliated colleges. The characteristic feature of this constitution was this scheme of affiliation under which all teaching was to be conducted. University College now a separate corporation, provided for a full course in arts and was the first affiliated college. Other colleges in arts were invited to a similar affiliation but without loss of their separate university powers. The privileges of affiliation were representation on the Senate and admission of students to examinations, and to competition for honours and scholarships. If this latter privilege was accepted, it placed the control of the curriculum of all the affiliated colleges in the hands of the Senate; when to this was added the influence of examinations, it was evident

that the system would bring the affiliated colleges completely under the control of the central university. Thus, for the first time the examination system was introduced into our educational work, which, wherever adopted, tends to place the teacher under the control of the examiner and to reduce the teaching body to a drill-school for examination. Accordingly, to enter this affiliation was to assume an unknown burden of work. It was doubtless intended to grant some assistance to the affiliated colleges in bearing this burden, and for this a clause of the act was supposed to provide. The supposition was seen to be illusory. The Senate was required first, to make provision for the expenses of the University and next for University College and then the surplus, if any, was at the disposal of parliament for the assistance of higher education. It is needless to say that there never was a surplus.

The outlying colleges, inexperienced as they were in the far reaching effects of this new system borrowed from France and the brain of Napoleon, entered, with the exception of Trinity, into affiliation. It is not known that they ever sent up a student for examination. An instinctive fear made them hesitate to place themselves under a yoke which deprived their teaching of all freedom. The country did not furnish an abundant supply of examiners, and the first appointed were the professors of University College. This relieved one institution from the evils of the system but made it all the more objectionable to the others. The final result was failure of the system as a means of the unification of the university work of the country.

That this new constitution could not accomplish the desired end soon became evident. It is not sufficient to make it truly provincial that a university be controlled by the state. It must gather about it the support and confidence of the great body of the people. It must so meet their needs and correspond to their ideals and convictions, that they will with some considerable unanimity unite in its support. It must avoid everything that may create prejudice or jealousy or give the appearance of sectionalism. In the spirit of friendly cooperation it should place itself in touch with the whole educational work of the province whether maintained by the state or otherwise, and in every possible way assist and lead to the attainment of better results. To attain such an ideal was, under the circumstances no easy task. Notwithstanding the fact that the provincial university was ably manned, liberally supported and equipped, and that excellent work was thus done, there were elements present which prevented the success of the scheme in its broader purposes. The vital centre of the university was

University College. The university itself was only a Senate, a legislative and examining body. The really active and controlling element in this senate was the faculty and graduates of University College. University College was in reality thus the university. The faculty of University College was still largely the former faculty of King's College. King's College had been the sectarian rival of Victoria and Queen's; and to this heritage of rivalry, University College unfortunately though naturally succeeded. In one way only could this have been prevented, viz., by a strong and persistent effort to bring the outside colleges into the common unity of the university. Such an effort was not made, and possibly such a result was not desired by the majority of the members of the new senate. On the other hand Victoria and Queen's, situated, the one seventy and the other one hundred and sixty miles from the university centre, were not attracted towards a body from which they were thus geographically severed. Nor had they a large interest in the proffered connection. They were offered the common degree and scholarships; but their natural pride led them to believe that their own degree was as good as the one offered, and, with the large scholarships might have benefited their students, the conditions were not tempting. There were no provisions for local examinations. The examiners were largely if not entirely the professors of the rival college, a disadvantage which, however highly they might appreciate the honour and justice of the examiners, could not be entirely overcome. After four years' experience of affiliation, the attendance of the heads of the outside colleges at the meetings of the Senate had to diminish. None of their students had presented themselves for degrees or scholarships or even as candidates for examination. There had been no surplus from the provincial endowment from which they could hope for aid to improve the facilities for the instruction of their students. At this time the numbers of undergraduates in Arts in the several colleges stood as follows:—University College, 63; Trinity, 33; Victoria, 33; and Queen's, about the same number. Thus out of 170 matriculated students in the province of Canada West, sixty were pursuing their studies in the provincial university and one hundred and seven in the outlying colleges.

The natural consequences of such a state of affairs were not long in making their appearance. The state university was well endowed with public funds, and had an advantage over the rival colleges in the value of its scholarships of the value of \$120 each, of which it offered no less than sixty-one each year. Its annual expenditure was about \$40,000, or its rivals less than \$10,000 each. The feeling aroused by this comparison was by no means creditable to the country or to the part

cerned; but from 1857 to 1861 the combined forces of the outlying colleges made a determined attack upon the management of the provincial university as extravagant and wasteful in its expenditure and as swallowing up the public funds for the exclusive benefit of the minority of the student body of the country. The result of the controversy was the appointment of a Parliamentary committee, which after hearing voluminous evidence was afterwards replaced by a commission which finally in 1862 reported various reforms in the management of the University. The only result to the outlying colleges was an increase of their annual grant from Parliament to \$5,000 a year, and the awakening of a bitterness of party feeling on the university question which wellnigh proved fatal to their very existence.

But neither the Parliamentary committee nor the Royal Commission reached the root of the matter. The true need of the country was a comprehensive constitution for the provincial university, which should unite all sections of the people in its support. Such a desideratum was now postponed for a whole generation, and indeed all parties had much to learn. The outlying colleges were willing, at least some of them, to enter the Provincial University on the proposed plan modelled after the University of London; but they connected with this the idea suggested by some of the schemes of the forties of a partition of the university endowment funds. They had yet to learn that as institutions of the Christian Churches they must stand upon the voluntary principle alone, and that they would find there a safer, stronger and in every way a more desirable foundation than in any form of state aid. The state college had also yet to learn that her attitude to the denominational colleges must not be that of rivalry, but of friendly cooperation in common work. She had also yet to learn to estimate at their true value the strength of conviction and loyalty of attachment on the part of their supporters which made the reduction of the Church colleges to divinity schools a moral impossibility.

The final outcome of the controversy of 1861 appeared in 1867 when the whole question was thrown into the narrower arena of provincial politics. In the session of 1867-8 the grants to the denominational colleges were passed with the distinct intimation that henceforth they should entirely cease. To those opposed to the denominational colleges, this seemed to be their death-knell, as it was to many of their friends a day of deep discouragement. As a matter of fact it became the beginning of a vigorous and independent life, such as they had never known before. In a few years their income from voluntary endowments was greater than had ever been received from the public treasury. Not only was a general endowment provided, but specific chairs were en-

dowed and scholarships were provided to meet those offered by the provincial university. New buildings were erected by voluntary subscriptions and in the course of ten years they were able once more to compete successfully with the state university and even to surpass it in some departments of their equipment. The attendance of students was also largely increased, so that they still held on their registers one half or more of the matriculated students of the province; a result reached in part by their acceptance of teachers' certificates and the High School intermediate examinations *pro tanto* for matriculation, and by holding their joint matriculation examinations at local centres whenever desired.

In the meantime the university endowments derived from the sale of the original grants of land reached their maximum when these lands were all sold. About the same time the rate of interest began to decrease, and in consequence the income of the university could only be maintained by encroachments upon its magnificent park and by increase of students' fees. Thus once more its financial affairs were coming under public consideration, not now by criticism from without, but by the pressure of necessity from within.

It was at this juncture that the great modern movement of university development, which had already exercised a profound influence in Germany, Britain and the United States began to make itself felt in this country. The movement was first in the direction of the Physical and Biological Sciences. The old sciences had suddenly become so expanded that they were rapidly subdivided, and the former work of one professor now taxed the energies of half a dozen. Soon history and a band of historical sciences joined in the demand for admission into the university. The old classic fields of language and literature took up the new method, and expanded themselves into philological sciences, and scientific studies of the evolution of literature and literary forms. Philosophy itself caught the impulse and the evolution of mind became almost a branch of biological science. The results on university life and work of this vast nineteenth century development of science were manifold. One of the most important was the adoption of laboratory and seminary methods of study. These involved building and equipment of laboratories, museums and libraries at very large expense. Another was the multiplication of courses of study involving multiplication of professors. Another was postgraduate work, and another very general result was the introduction of options into the B.A. course. This latter principle had been recognized in the curriculum of the University of Toronto as early as 1855 in an option between ancient and modern languages in the third and fourth years and in an option of sciences in the fourth year. In 1877 the principle of options was fur-

ther extended, and the modern languages as well as the modern sciences became more important, and options were extended backwards to the first and second years. The particulars of these changes cannot be given in full. They are mentioned only in their bearing on the university problem of the province. In 1883 the resources of the University of Toronto were no longer adequate to the work now demanded of a university and it was forced to make application to the legislature for direct assistance. The other colleges at once took exception to this application, urging that they were doing one half or more of the university work of the country, that all public aid had been withdrawn from them, and that they could never consent to direct legislative grants being made to a college which, while in name and endowments provincial, was in reality one of several rival and competing colleges or universities. Hitherto the university had been maintained by a grant of crown lands made by the home government; and when the grant was first made it was regarded not so much as a grant of the public property of the people but as a munificent gift from the King for the founding and maintenance of a great public institution. Now the situation was entirely changed, and the application to the legislature was for a new grant directly from the funds of the province, i.e., of all the people. So long as the interest of the majority or even of a large section of the people who stood firmly together was opposed to such a grant it was a political impossibility, and a renewed and most vigorous controversy over the new university question made this most fully evident.

At this juncture the university was fortunate in having as its vice-chancellor and the active leader of its financial affairs Mr., now Sir William Mulock, a gentleman of broad patriotic instincts and large views, one who had not been entangled in the controversies of the past. From him came an appeal to the patriotism and progressive sympathies of the outlying colleges. In a letter addressed to them, he virtually said: "Is it impossible for this province to secure a university worthy of the name? Is there no way in which we can unite to this end? Then once more the ideas of Robert Baldwin and William Henry Draper, of Dr. Liddell and of Egerton Ryerson came to mind, and a plan of federation for a truly provincial university began to shape itself. A union of colleges in a common university had been proposed at length some years before by Dr. J. G. Hodgins, (Canadensis), and had been repeatedly suggested by Professor Goldwin Smith, but when proposed seemed always to carry with it the idea of the London University scheme. This had been borrowed from Napoleon's University scheme in France and both in France and England had failed to reach the best results. To other minds the

idea of university consolidation meant a group of theological colleges gathered about a single Arts College maintained by the state. Neither of these conceptions could satisfy the principles and convictions upon which Trinity, Queen's and Victoria had been founded and maintained. Under the one scheme the enlarged public advantages would not be equally accessible to the students of all the colleges. Under the other, the now rapidly increasing body of Arts students would be left without those influences of personal culture and of moral and religious life for which the denominational colleges stood and which can only be attained in compact residential colleges. These facts were already present in the mind of the writer and had led to his forming as early as 1880 a conception of a federation of Arts colleges in a common university, combining the advantages of a compact college with those of the large and adequately equipped university. The letter of vice-chancellor Mulock was first forwarded to President Nelles of Victoria. On its reception he discussed the matter with the writer who presented his idea of a federation involving removal to Toronto as an Arts college. The whole matter was next presented to Principal Grant of Queen's who approved of the general plan but pointed out the difficulty of Queen's, which had just completed a fine new building in Kingston at a cost of nearly seventy thousand dollars, and could not afford to sacrifice so large an amount by removal to Toronto. It was next presented to Provost Body of Trinity, who while willing to accord it consideration desired a more complete working out of details. It would be a great mistake to regard these communications as secret negotiations. They were open, frank, and friendly consultations of all the various parties upon whom rested the responsibility of university work. They were not carried on through the public press, for the obvious reason, that no greater mistake can be made than to rush before the public with a half finished scheme, throwing it into the arena of controversy in an immature state. To reach such maturity it was absolutely necessary that the standpoint of each institution concerned should be clearly ascertained and as far as possible various views and requirements harmonized in detail. After individual conferences on the subject, a meeting was called of representatives of all the colleges interested, including the University of Toronto with her affiliated colleges Knox, Wycliffe and St. Michaels, and Victoria, Queen's, Trinity and McMaster, then the Toronto Baptist College. At the first meeting the writer was introduced by Chancellor Nelles and presented verbally, the general principles of the suggested federation. At subsequent meetings held during March and April somewhat divergent schemes were presented from McMaster and Queen's and the whole subject discussed from various points of view. These preliminary meet-

ings were all informal and were held with a view to securing on all sides a complete understanding of the situation. The agreement on fundamental points seemed to be such as to warrant a report to the Hon. G. W. Ross then Minister of Education, that a more formal conference might be called with advantage, and, by the following letter he formally invited the representatives of the universities and colleges of Ontario, to a conference on the question of higher education.

"Toronto, July 8th, 1884.

"Sir:—

"In view of the unsettled condition of the public mind in regard to the best way of promoting higher education in the province so far as it comes within the scope of the different universities, I felt it might aid in the solution of the question if a conference were held of those specially charged with the responsibility of directing this department of public education. I am encouraged by statements already made to me that the proposal to hold such conference meets with general approval. The fullest liberty will be afforded for all to state their views—confidentially and informally if they so desire—in the hope that by a frank and cordial discussion whatever difficulties exist may be removed and the course of higher education promoted. The date fixed is Thursday, the 24th instant at 2 o'clock p.m. in the Education Department. The undermentioned as representing the different Universities and Colleges have been invited.

"Hoping you will find it convenient to attend.

"I remain your obedient servant,

(Signed) "Geo. W. Ross,

"Minister of Education."

Vice-Chancellor Toronto University.

President University College.

The Chancellor and Principal of Victoria.

The Chancellor and Principal of Queen's.

The Chancellor and Provost of Trinity.

The Principals of St. Michael's McMaster Hall, Wycliffe College, Knox College and Woodstock College and Representative of Congregational College of British North America.

Preparatory to this meeting the representatives of the Denominational Colleges met and appointed a committee consisting of the Rev. C. W. E. Body, Provost of Trinity, the Rev. J. H. Castle, Principal of McMaster and the Rev. N. Burwash, of Victoria. This committee

was not authorized to draw up a plan of federation, but only to put in form for the larger conference the points on which substantial agreement had been reached among the colleges which they represented and also a statement of points still to be discussed. Their report dated July 21st, 1884, is as follows:—

“Report of the sub-committee appointed July 20th, 1884, to draw up for the benefit of the Conference when called to meet again before the end of September, a memorandum of what has been generally agreed upon at this meeting; and with reference to matters on which there is a lack of unanimity to formulate questions for the next meeting.”
“It appeared to be the general opinion of the Conference:

1. That any scheme for University confederation necessitated the full preservation of the existing university colleges for arts purposes, as colleges efficiently equipped for giving instruction in at least the ordinary branches of a collegiate course. On this point a subsidiary question was raised as to the preservation or not of University College, and this question remains for further consideration.

2. That it was essential to any efficient system of education that all persons who shall become graduates of the new university shall be *bona fide* members of one of the confederating colleges and shall have attended the regular lectures of such college.

3. That the common university to be established should not only confer degrees but should also maintain a university professoriate based upon the general lines of the university professoriate of Oxford and Cambridge. That there should be a general division of teaching work between the university and college professoriates so as to obviate the danger of serious interference, and that the more special subjects should be lectured on by the university professoriate. There was difference of opinion however as to (a) whether any exact line of division should be drawn, (b) if so, at what point it should be drawn.

4. That the Government should undertake to make good to such confederating colleges as will incur necessary outlay in removal of buildings, loss of fees, etc., the amount of such outlay, so as to prevent the appropriation to this purpose of funds which the colleges hold in trust for their own educational work.

5. That the confederating colleges now possessing university powers should agree to hold in abeyance the exercise of their chartered powers to confer degrees in the arts and sciences whilst members of the confederation, it being understood that such rights remain intact, though not exercised.

6. That in the constitution of the common senate there should be a fair proportionate representation of each of the confederating colleges,

and that in the convocation of the common university the graduates of all the colleges now possessing university powers should have equal rights.

7. That in all matters relating to discipline and internal regulations each college should be independent and governed by its own board of regents, subject only to any general regulations with regard to college fees, should any such regulations be passed by the university senate.

8. That the colleges now possessing university powers, and which it is proposed to bring into the confederation, be maintained by their own resources. The clause, however, is not to be understood to prevent University College receiving a thoroughly adequate initial endowment, to enable it to do the work which is generally assigned to colleges under this scheme.

There appears to have been a lack of unanimity with regard to the following questions:

1. Shall University College be maintained or not?

2. Shall any exact line be drawn between the functions of the university and college professoriates? If so at what point shall such line as to maximum and minimum come?

The following points have not yet been discussed but will require consideration:

1. In what way should the common university professoriate be appointed?

2. What shall be the relation of theological schools to the colleges and to the university?

3. In what way shall degrees in medicine, law and music be conferred and what shall be the position in the university of existing schools in these subjects?

(Signed)

C. W. E. BODY, Chairman.

N. BURWASH.

JNO. H. CASTLE.

This document does not at all represent the original plan of federation as outlined by Dr. Burwash at the first meeting. That plan had included as fundamental the maintenance of the Arts Colleges including University College, and a distinct line between college and university work. He had suggested two propositions as to where this line should be drawn:—one that the colleges should take Philosophy, History, Literature, and Languages; the other that the colleges should take the pass and the university the honour work. The former was eventually made the basis with some slight modifications. The fourth proposition of the

first eight was also added with the concurrence of all parties to meet what appeared to be the just needs of Queen's which had just expended a large sum in the erection of new buildings. The representatives of Victoria were considering other schemes for the utilization of its Cobourg property.

The conference called by the Minister of Education after a general consideration of the subject adjourned until autumn. On the reassembling of the conference in the autumn a new scheme prepared from the point of view of the University of Toronto was brought forward—and from this time the conferences were mainly occupied with the consideration of the points which had been eliminated from the original proposal, and the settlement of some new questions raised. These questions were as follows:—

1. The status in the new university of university college. The original scheme proposed that university college should stand with the other colleges on a platform of perfect equality, having its own endowment, building, trustees, and head and represented in the university as the other colleges. The new scheme insisted on the common possession by the university and university college of the endowment and buildings, and placed them under a common board of management of property and a common president. It also carefully avoided any expression which would imply that university college was one of the federated colleges in the university.

2. It limited the separate representation of the graduates of the denominational universities to six years.

3. It eliminated all compensation for losses incident to removal.

4. It made very definite provision for the strengthening of the staff of university college as well as for the establishment of a greatly enlarged staff of university professors, additions to the university buildings and large additions to the equipment in apparatus, etc. To this provision no objection was taken, though the enlargement of university college staff greatly increased the responsibilities of the incoming colleges.

On the first three points the representatives of the University of Toronto and the Minister of Education who now met in conference refused all concessions. On other points the general principles of federation were accepted and developed in full. The basis thus arrived at was by no means satisfactory to the denominational universities. They saw clearly that it embodied elements tending to the subversion of the fundamental principle of federation, the unity and equality of a number of arts colleges in a common university. The elimination of the provisions for compensation was also fatal to the incoming of Queen's. It was

therefore with great misgivings that they submitted the final plan to their respective governing bodies on the 9th of January, 1885.

The plan submitted was as follows:—

Final Plan of Federation.

“ It is proposed to form a confederation of colleges, carrying on, in Toronto, work embraced in the arts curriculum of the provincial university, and in connection therewith that the following institutions, namely, Queen's University, Victoria University, and Trinity University, Knox College, St. Michael's College, Wycliffe College, and Toronto Baptist College, shall have the right to enter into the proposed confederation, provided always that each of such institutions shall, so long as it remains in the confederation, keep in abeyance any powers it may possess of conferring degrees other than degrees in Divinity; such powers shall remain intact though not exercised, and it shall be lawful for the Senate, from time to time, to provide by statute for the admission of other institutions into the confederation under the limitations above prescribed. It being understood that nothing herein contained shall be held to repeal any of the provisions for affiliation of institutions as contained in R.S.O., cap. 210, sec. 61.

2. The head of each confederating college shall be *ex officio* a member of the senate of the provincial university, and in addition thereto the governing body of each confederating college shall be entitled to appoint one other member of the senate, and the university professoriate shall be represented by two of their members on the senate, and the council of the university college by one of its members in addition to the president.

3. The undergraduates of any confederating university shall be admitted *ad eundem statum*, and the graduates in law and arts of any confederating university shall be admitted *ad eundem gradum* in the provincial university. Such of the graduates in medicine of any confederating university as shall have actually passed their examinations within the limits of the province of Ontario shall be admitted *ad eundem gradum* in the provincial university.

4. During the continuance of such confederation, but no longer, all graduates in medicine and law so admitted shall have the same rights, powers, and privileges, as are at present enjoyed by the like graduates of the provincial university, except as herein otherwise provided.

5. All graduates in medicine, including such admitted graduates, shall vote as one body, and be entitled to elect four members of senate.

All graduates in law, including such admitted graduates, shall vote as one body, and be entitled to elect two members of senate.

6. The graduates in arts of the several universities entering into the confederation, for the period of six years after the requisite legislation shall have been obtained, shall be entitled to the following representation on the senate, namely: those of Queen's University to elect four members; those of Victoria University to elect four members; and those of Trinity University to elect four members. The graduates in arts of the provincial university, other than those admitted *ad eundem gradum* under this scheme, shall be entitled to elect twelve members of senate. After the said period of six years, separate representation shall cease and the entire body of graduates shall unite in electing a number of representatives equal to those previously elected by the several universities in confederation.

7. University college shall afford to all students who desire to avail themselves thereof the requisite facilities for obtaining adequate instruction in the following subjects in the curriculum of the provincial university, viz.: Latin, Greek, Ancient History, French, German, English, oriental languages, and moral philosophy; provided that it shall be competent to the governing body of university college to institute additional chairs which do not exist in the university.

(b). Attendance on instruction provided in any of the confederating colleges, including University College, shall be accorded equal value as a condition of proceeding to any degree as attendance on the work of the University Professoriate.

8. There shall be established another teaching faculty in connection with the Provincial University, to be called the University Professoriate, which shall afford to all students of the Provincial University, who desire to avail themselves thereof, the requisite facilities for obtaining adequate instruction in the following subjects, in accordance with the curriculum of the Provincial University, viz.: Pure Mathematics, Physics, Astronomy, Geology, Mineralogy, Chemistry (Pure and Applied,) Zoology, Botany, Physiology, Ethnology (including Comparative Philology) History, Logic and Metaphysics, History of Philosophy, Italian and Spanish, Political Economy and Civil Polity, Jurisprudence, Constitutional Law, Engineering, and such other Sciences, Arts, and branches of knowledge as the Senate of the Provincial University may from time to time determine, except such subjects as are prohibited from being taught by Revised Statutes of Ontario, Cap. 290, sec. 9. But if in the interests of the general objects of the confederation, it shall at any future time be found advantageous to have any subject transferred from University College to the University, or from the University to Uni-

versity College, it shall be competent to the governing bodies of the College and the University to arrange for such transfer.

9. The professors in such University Faculty shall be a corporation presided over by a chairman. The same person shall be President of University College and chairman of the Faculty of the University Professoriate. University College and the Faculty of the University Professoriate shall be complementary the one to the other, and afford to all university students the requisite facilities for obtaining adequate instruction in all subjects prescribed in the curriculum of the Provincial University.

10. Every graduate's or student's diploma or certificate of standing, issued by the Provincial University, in addition to being signed by the proper university authorities in that behalf, shall indicate the college or colleges attended, and be signed by such professors, teachers and officers of such college or colleges, as its or their governing body or bodies may from time to time determine.

11. With the view to the advantageous working out of this scheme, representatives of the various colleges and the University Faculty shall from time to time meet in committee, and arrange time-tables for lectures and other college and university work.

12. The senate of the provincial university may, of its own motion, inquire into the conduct, teaching, and efficiency of any professor or teacher in said university faculty, and report to the Lieut.-Governor the result of such inquiry, and may make such recommendations as the senate may think the circumstances of the case require.

13. All students, except in cases specially provided for by the senate, shall enroll themselves in one of the colleges and place themselves under its discipline. The authority of the several colleges over their students shall remain intact. The university professoriate shall have entire responsibility of discipline in regard to students, if any, enrolled in the university alone; in regard to students entered in one or other of the colleges its power of discipline shall be limited to the conduct of students in relation to university work and duties. All other matters of discipline affecting the university standing of students to be dealt with by the senate of the provincial university.

14. The university endowment and all additions thereto shall be applied to the maintenance of the provincial university, the university faculty and university college.

15. There shall be the following staff in university college:—

- 1 Professor of Greek.
- 1 Professor of Latin.
- 1 Professor of French.

- 1 Professor of German.
- 1 Professor of English.
- 1 Professor of Oriental Languages.
- 1 Professor of Moral Philosophy.
- 1 Lecturer Ancient History.
- 1 Tutor in Greek.
- 1 Tutor in Latin.
- 1 Tutor in French.
- 1 Tutor in German.
- 1 Tutor in Oriental Languages.
- 1 Tutor in English.
- 1 Fellow in Greek.
- 1 Fellow in Latin.
- 1 Fellow in French.
- 1 Fellow in German.
- 1 Fellow in English.

Additional assistance in above subjects to be provided so that no honour class shall exceed 12, or pass class 30.

16. The university professoriate shall be adequate to give instruction in each of the following subjects, namely: Pure mathematics, physics, astronomy, geology, mineralogy, chemistry, applied chemistry, zoology, botany, physiology, ethnology, history, Italian and Spanish, logic and metaphysics, history of philosophy, political economy and civil polity, constitutional law, jurisprudence, engineering. Similar assistance as regards tutors and fellows shall be provided to the university faculty to that mentioned above for the college, as may be required.

17. The university professorial lectures shall be free of charge to all students matriculated in the university, who are members of a confederating college, but that in the case of students (if any), who do not belong to any college, the Senate shall determine the fees which shall be charged for the several courses of lectures in the university. This shall not extend to laboratory fees, which shall be fixed from time to time by the Senate.

18. The various colleges which are at present affiliated to any of the universities entering into the confederation shall have the right to be affiliated to the Provincial University.

19. The curriculum in Arts of the Provincial University shall include the subjects of biblical Greek, biblical literature, christian ethics, apologetics or the evidences of natural and revealed religion and Church history, but provision shall be made by a system of options to prevent

such subjects being made compulsory by the university upon any candidate for a degree.

20. No college student shall be allowed to present himself for any examination subsequent to matriculation without producing a certificate, under the hand and seal of his college, that he has complied with all the requirements of his college affecting his admission to such university examination.

21. The following also to be considered :

Completion of the collection of physical apparatus.

Physiological laboratory and apparatus.

Astronomical observatory and instruments, and

Provision for the education of women.

22. The university college work shall continue to be carried on as at present, in the college buildings, and the university work shall be carried on in the same buildings, in the school of practical science, and in such other buildings as may hereafter be erected on the present university grounds, in the city of Toronto.

A building suitable for a university examination hall, Senate rooms, registrar's and other offices shall be erected on said grounds.

Additions to be made to the school of science sufficient to afford proper accommodation for students in mineralogy, botany, and other subjects, and for the accommodation of the museum which should be removed from its present quarters in order to be more serviceable for science students."

Perhaps the most vital point reported on by the conference was the division of work between the university and the colleges. Various proposals were made such as that the university should take all honour work and the colleges the pass work: but it was pointed out at once that this involved unnecessary duplication and relegated the college to an inferior position. The principle finally adopted was that the university should take the sciences including history and political science and the colleges philosophy and literature. The reasons for this general division were twofold. On the side of the university which was to be supported by the State, the sciences furnished the knowledge required for industrial and political life and were thus a reasonable matter of public provision.

On the side of the colleges philosophy and literature furnished material of culture and moral and ethical development and thus afforded them the best field for this special work, that of culture and the moral side of education.

Two exceptions were made to this principle of division: one at the request of the university which desired to retain part of the philosophy in the charge of Dr. G. Paxton Young;

The other at the request of the colleges that comparative philology, Italian and Spanish being taken only by a few honour students should be provided by a common university staff as in the Taylolean Institute at Oxford.

The only substantial advantages offered to the outlying colleges were a common provincial university, a fair share of its advantages and honours to such of its students as were at the same time students of the university, with the opportunity of maintaining for these students the social, moral and religious influences of a college in sympathy with the church of their fathers. Financially the relief offered by the advantages of the university professoriate were quite overbalanced by the necessity of removing to Toronto and by the burden of competing with the strengthened staff of University College under the highly specialized curriculum of the University of Toronto.

But the two supreme motives still remained. Here was the opportunity for a truly provincial and worthy university, and here the students of every name and creed while maintaining the full vigour of their religious life and even of its distinctive peculiarities could also enjoy the broadening educative influences of contact with the whole body of their fellow citizens. These motives supported by faith in the ultimate triumph of justice and equal rights alone urged for acceptance. The decisions of the various boards on the 9th of January were awaited by the whole country with eager interest. Queen's while acknowledging the high aim of the proposal pleaded her inability to meet the expense and her obligations to Kingston and Eastern Ontario, and put in a plea for a second University for the Eastern part of the province. Toronto Baptist College expressed cordial approval of the scheme as a whole, but asked that University College be merged into the university and each college be permitted to teach such part of the curriculum as it might prefer.

The governing bodies of Trinity and Victoria likewise endorsed the principle of the federation but pressed for the removal of what they regarded as its defects. The points desired by Trinity were the following:

1. The more complete recognition of religious knowledge in the curriculum by its extension to all the years and to honour as well as pass courses.
2. A restriction upon the addition by the state of new chairs in University College such as might add unduly to the burden of the other colleges; and a similar restriction upon the transfer of chairs from the university to the college.

3. A perfect equality between University College and the other Arts colleges of the university. This was specifically defined to include separate buildings and a separate principal or head.

4. Suggestions for a better representation in perpetuity of the colleges in the University senate both *ex officio* and through the graduates.

The points on which an amendment of the scheme was sought by the Board of Regents of Victoria were very similar. The Board expressed its willingness on educational and patriotic grounds to join in such a federation and to move the proper authorities of our church thereto as they may determine, provided the following conditions are made:

1. Equitable compensation to all colleges united in the federation for the losses incident to their entering the federation.

2. The perfect equality of all colleges, University College included in their relations to and rights in the provincial university.

3. Such an arrangement as shall secure to the Alumni of all the colleges an equitable representation in perpetuity.

4. That the chairman of the university professoriate be appointed by the government.

5. That the transfer of subjects from the University College course to the course under the university professoriate, or *vice versa* shall be made only by a three fourths majority of the Senate."

The Senate of the University of Toronto expressed its general concurrence in the scheme, its willingness to cooperate to make it a success and recommended that the necessary legislation be introduced to give it effect. It also called attention to "the necessity of increasing the financial resources of the university in order to carrying out the confederation plan."

The Senate of Knox College also expressed its approval of the plan, its desire that both the University and University College be maintained in full efficiency, and its "hope that the Government will be prepared to deal equitably with any colleges or universities in the matter of pecuniary loss necessarily incurred in order to take advantage of the scheme of confederation."

It is a fact worthy of note that the findings of all these various bodies with interests so diverse and independent of each other are unified in their approval of the general principle of federation; and it is scarcely less remarkable that the two universities which have since entered agreed so closely in their judgment of the particular defects of the plan submitted.

Notwithstanding this remarkable agreement, the plan of federation as thus proposed would probably have been dropped at this point but

for the fact that the Board of Regents of Victoria University had not the final power to deal with it. They were required by their charter to report to the General Conference of the Church and there the question was to be finally determined. At the same time the Board was honestly favourable to the scheme and took measures at once to secure amendment of its defects in order to present it as favourably as possible to the supreme body.

These measures however were of partial avail.

A year elapsed without anything more than a formal acknowledgment of the receipt of the representation of the Board of Regents. In view of the approaching General Conference a meeting of the Board of Regents was summoned for Feb. 11th, 1886, and a deputation appointed to wait on the Government to ascertain, if possible, their intentions from a definite communication, on which the Board could take action and which might be laid before the General Conference. Such a communication was promised so soon as the pressure of public business would permit. On the 10th day of May the Board met and Dr. Nelles could only report that he had received a private note from the Minister of Education which he was therefore unable to lay before the Board. The Chairman of the Board was then instructed to write to the Premier Sir Oliver Mowat requesting an authoritative answer, and the Board adjourned to the 21st of May to receive the same. On the 20th of May the answer was received bearing date March 20th, 1886. The letter stated:

1. That "if for the present Victoria alone should come in, the Government will not be deterred from taking the steps necessary to bring the scheme into practical operation."

"With regard to equitable compensation to the colleges for the losses incident to entering federation, it is our hope and expectation that on the whole there will be no loss but great gain. It is to be borne in mind that the legislative action of the province hitherto and the prevailing sentiment of the people are against grants to denominational colleges, I refer you to the recent letter of the Minister of Education to Dr. Nelles on the subject of a site in the park. You have received a copy of this letter and are at liberty to communicate it to your Board. While we may deal with the matter of a site as Mr. Ross mentions I hope that any further compensation will not be regarded as necessary, desirable or practicable.

"With regard to changes in the basis we should be glad to accede to any approved alteration, which would make the scheme more acceptable to Victoria and to the other parties interested. But I am sure you will recognize the propriety of the Government not committing itself to any details of this kind without first giving to all the colleges an

opportunity of considering them, and expressing their views upon the changes proposed, or devising in conjunction with representatives of Victoria some new scheme in substitution for the present one.

"The present scheme, as you are aware, was not approved of in all its details by any of the learned bodies accepting it as a whole, but was so accepted as a compromise of conflicting opinions and divers interests; and I cannot conceal from myself that a reconsideration of the details may not be without danger to the common object. I gathered from the deputation that the point on which the Board feels the most anxiety is as to the security there may be for the permanence of the university professoriate, and it was proposed that something more than the vote of a mere majority of the Senate should be required for the transfer of subjects from the university professoriate to University College, and *vice versa*. The permanence of the university professoriate is an essential part of the Confederation scheme, and hasty or questionable changes are to be guarded against. Besides the vote of the Senate, confirmation by the Governor-in-Council would be necessary; and if the security of a two-thirds or three-fourths vote in the Senate should on consideration be deemed important, I do not see any solid objection to this change.

"For the reason already intimated, I do not at present remark on the other alterations proposed by your Board. I hope that the Board will look on them all as being of minor importance in relation to the practical working of federation, and as not essential to the adoption of so important and comprehensive a measure as that under consideration. For, looking at the scheme as a whole, I firmly believe that it will be found well adapted to promote the efficiency of the University work of our country, as well as to advance the religious and patriotic objects, with a view to which the scheme was in part devised."

The following is the letter of the Minister of Education referred to.

TORONTO, 8th May, 1886.

My dear Dr. Nelles.—The Attorney-General before he left for the West read in Council a letter, which after reading he sent to you, respecting federation. It was stated in this letter that you would hear from me shortly thereafter in regard to a site in the park for your university. The reason for a little delay in writing has been this. In the case of Knox College, a previous Government had refused a site to the trustees of that college notwithstanding their expressed willingness to purchase at full market price. Subsequently the site for McMaster Hall was paid for at the regular market price, and the site for Wycliffe College was leased to the college at a rental. St. Michael's College occupies a location outside the University grounds, procured without

governmental aid. In view of these facts, as well as for some other reasons, we thought it expedient, in the common interest, to get from the affiliated colleges an express recognition of the propriety of treating the case of Victoria University as, under all the circumstances, exceptional. The heads of the colleges referred to, including University College, were therefore severally seen by the Attorney General and myself. All expressed themselves very cordially respecting Victoria University, and appeared willing that the Government should deal with Victoria as liberally as possible. It was then suggested to each of these gentlemen that a resolution to the effect mentioned should be passed by his college. I have not yet received the expected resolutions, but am sanguine that they will be passed; and even without them, it is not likely that any objection will be offered. I am at liberty to say that, so far as the Government is concerned, there will be no difficulty whatever.

Yours truly,

(Signed), G. W. Ross.

The Rev. S. S. Nelles, D.D., Cobourg.

In this way partial concessions were received on two points. On the other three, the independent presidency of the university, the equality of the colleges and the permanency of representation of the alumni no change was made.

In this form the question was referred to the General Conference in September, 1886. After full discussion a resolution in favour of federation was carried and measures devised to secure the necessary finances then estimated at half a million dollars. The working out of the financial scheme was committed to the Rev. Dr. Potts as secretary of the Building and Endowment Fund.

The subsequent conflict of Victoria over the federation question is not a part of the history of the University of Toronto. But it is a chapter in the record of those painful and laborious struggles by which nations and institutions reach their ultimate perfection, and a part we believe of the history of the solution of the university problem of this province.

During the session of the Legislature immediately following the action of the General Conference of the Methodist Church the Federation Act was passed by the Legislature and was assented to 23rd April, 1887. As this forms the basis of the new university constitution it becomes important to present a summary of its provisions.

The University Corporation, the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Senate and all existing appointments, statutes, rules and regulations were continued subject to the new provisions.

In the same way the corporation and Council with all existing statutes and appointments of the University College were continued.

The property and income upon which the University and University College were founded in common were controlled as formerly by the provisions of a separate Act.

The University continued to be governed as heretofore by a Senate and there was now added for certain executive functions a University Council. The functions of convocation continued as heretofore, but to its membership were now added the graduates in Arts, Law and Medicine of all federating universities.

The Chancellor and Vice Chancellor were elected as heretofore and their official duties continued.

The composition of the Senate was enlarged by several important additions. The Minister of Education and the heads of federating universities and colleges were added to the *ex officio* members, a representative of each of the federating universities and colleges was added to the appointed members, and the graduates in Arts of each federating university were empowered to elect one representative for every hundred graduates on the register of the university when this Act came into effect. The graduates in Medicine as one body were entitled to elect four representatives and the graduates in Law two. The members of convocation were thus for the first time separated by faculties in the election of representatives on the Senate. The separate representation in Arts by federating universities was limited to six years. All the functions and powers of the Senate were continued as heretofore but no student could, be admitted to university examinations without a certificate that he had complied with all the requirements of his college affecting his admission to such examination.

The University now became a teaching body with power to constitute faculties in Arts, Law, Medicine and Engineering, the faculty of Arts including the following subjects: Mathematics, Physics, Astronomy, Geology, Mineralogy, Chemistry Pure and Applied, Zoology, Botany, Physiology, History, Ethnology and Comparative Philology, History of Philosophy, Logic and Metaphysics, Education, the Spanish and Italian Languages, Political Science (including Economics, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Law), and such other sciences, arts and branches of knowledge as the Senate may from time to time determine unless otherwise prohibited by this Act. Provision was further made to include as options in the Arts curriculum the subjects of religious knowledge but not for teaching them.

The lectures in the University faculty were made free of charge (excepting laboratory fees, and fees for lectures in the faculties of Medicine and Law) to all students enrolled in a federating university or in

University College and matriculated in the University. The determination of fees for the other students attending lectures was left with the Senate. The University Council consisted of the President who was at the same time president of University College and the professors of the University, and its authority was limited to the maintenance of discipline, the control of officers and servants, the direction of university Societies and the control of all occasional lectures and teaching. The condition of federation with the University was suspension of the power to confer degrees on the part of the federating university. On notification of the Provincial Secretary to that effect the proclamation of the Lieutenant Governor in Council completed the federation.

The power to confer degrees thus held in abeyance could only be resumed a year after notice of intention to resume and to withdraw from federation had been given to the Provincial Secretary. During the term of federation the federated colleges were prohibited from affiliation with any other university. The constitution and work of the college in federation was represented by University College. University College continued to hold its separate corporate powers and its council now consisted of its president and college professors and dean of residence, and was entrusted with full power for the government of the College. The subjects of instruction assigned to the College were Greek, Latin, French, German, English, Oriental languages, Moral Philosophy and Ancient History. The transfer of subjects from the college to the University or *vice versa* required the unanimous consent of the Senate. The entire act involving these changes in the constitution of the university was to take effect by proclamation of the Lieutenant Governor in Council, but the sections relating to the establishment of faculties of Law and Medicine were made to take effect at once.

In 1887 the Senate entered into an arrangement with the Toronto School of Medicine already in affiliation with the university by which its professors became the Medical faculty of the University. A similar arrangement with the Law School was not consummated. On the 11th of April, 1889, the remaining sections of the Act were brought into operation by the proclamation of the Lieutenant Governor in Council and Sir Daniel Wilson, LL. D., was thereupon appointed president of the University and continued *ex officio* president of University College.

A prolonged conflict over the entrance of Victoria University into federation was brought to a close at the General Conference of the Methodist Church in 1890. The necessary legal steps were then completed, and, on the 12th of November, 1890, the proclamation of the Lieutenant Governor in Council was issued federating Victoria with the University of Toronto and the representatives of Victoria took their

place on the university Senate immediately thereafter. The buildings of Victoria in the Queen's Park were completed in the autumn of 1892 at a cost of \$230,000 and constituted an important addition to the fine group of university buildings already erected or in process of erection there. In the month of February, 1890, a disastrous fire had destroyed a large part of the noble university building which had been completed in 1860. This was now restored in its original style and the interior arrangements accommodated as far as possible to the new and enlarged work of the University.

The years that followed the entrance of Victoria College into federation raised and solved another important question as to the constitution of the University. The federated University of Toronto then included the following bodies:

The University faculty of Arts; the University faculty of Medicine; University College, Victoria College with faculties of Arts and Theology; two theological colleges, Knox and Wycliffe, closely associated with University College; St. Michael's College teaching besides theology two university subjects and one college subject and thus closely approximating to a theological college. There were also affiliated with the University a number of professional and secondary schools.

The hope was entertained by many, and some times openly expressed that Victoria would shortly relinquish her Arts faculty and become a theological college. The Chancellor of the University of Toronto himself had at an early stage of the negotiations given expression to such a view in a public address at convocation. Such a development would have overturned the fundamental principle of federation, would have rendered many of its intricate provisions useless and absurd and would virtually have reduced the University back to the position of 1853 of a single Arts College with a number of affiliated theological schools. It is to the credit of all concerned that this hope passed into the region of forgotten dreams. The success and rapid growth of Victoria as an Arts College and the entrance of Trinity into federation have given final permanency to a constitution of the University which by the comprehensiveness of its fundamental principle and its power of adaptation to the varying needs and convictions of the community promises to give universal satisfaction.

But before considering the further development of the university constitution under federation we must direct attention to the consequent enlargement of its staff and equipment. In order to make effective the sections of the Federation Act which contemplated the enlargement of the University, a joint committee of the Board of Trustees and the Senate was appointed to report on the present state of the endowments

and revenue and also upon the requirements of the University. Of the Committee the Chancellor, the Honourable Edward Blake was chairman, and the able and exhaustive report submitted April 13th, 1891, was largely his work. After discussing the questions of income, expenditure and available resources, questions which have since been practically solved by experience, the report proceeds to set forth the wants of the University in buildings, apparatus, library, staff and salaries.

The unfortunate fire of Feb. 15th, 1890, had rendered necessary the reconstruction of the main building and its plan had already been adapted to the new requirements, including a separate building for the library. The restoration of the main building and the erection of the library were completed in 1892. The organization of the faculty of Medicine had called for the enlargement of the Biological department, and in 1888 a new building adapted to modern requirements had been erected at a cost of \$57,000; and it was now enlarged at an additional cost of \$65,000, including provision for a biological museum. This was also completed in 1892.

A gymnasium was erected at a cost of about \$30,000 and completed in 1894; and a chemical laboratory costing about \$100,000 was completed in 1895. The School of Practical Science was also enlarged to double its original capacity. A building for Mineralogy and Geology, a convocation hall, and a residence were also suggested. In the mean time provision was made for Mineralogy and Geology for a short time in the School of Practical Science and later in the Biological Building.

At the date of this report the staff of the University included ten professors, three lecturers, and eleven fellows and assistants; that of University College four professors, five lecturers and three fellows; in all twenty-four in the University and twelve in University College. The report recommended an addition of five to the staff of the University and four to that of University College. At the same time a plan was proposed for the adjustment of salaries according to length of service and status, and various advancements in status were recommended.

Experience has proved that this estimate of the requirements of the University was very moderate. The increase of students has been such that the University now employs the services of eighteen professors and associate professors, thirteen lecturers and twenty-four laboratory and lecture assistants. The staff of University College consists of eleven professors and associate professors and five lecturers and instructors. That of Victoria College consists of sixteen professors, associate professors and lecturers; and that of Trinity College of the same number. The entire staff now engaged in the instruction of undergraduate and post graduate students in Arts thus consists of seventy-nine teachers, with twenty-four assistants chiefly in laboratory and experimental work.

The report of the committee as to the resources which should provide for this coming growth of the University has not proved so successful in its forecast. As the anticipations of growth have been surpassed so the estimated resources have fallen short. The endowment from the sales of lands had many years before reached its maximum, and, with a decreasing rate of interest, the income from this source decreased. There now remained for expansion only fees and the conversion of the magnificent university park into a source of income. The fees paid by the students were doubled and the income from this source both to the college and to the University very largely increased. The collapse in real estate defeated the project of leasing or selling large portions of the park, and it soon became apparent that such a policy was inconsistent with the future of the University which will require more than the space now remaining unoccupied. The federation scheme had originated from the financial necessities of the university and its application to the provincial legislature for aid, and its successful event now rendered such aid more than ever imperative. But the story of what the legislature has done for the University in this respect may be told in a separate chapter.

We may now return to the constitutional history of the University under federation. The points to which exception had been taken by Victoria in 1885 were five in number and these were substantially the objections taken by Trinity and which at the time prevented her entrance. The question of compensation for loss by removal had been dropped, and was relieved by the grant of a site in the park, and by the subsequent purchase of the Cobourg property by the Government. The permanency of the allotment of subjects between university and college had been satisfactorily adjusted. There still remained the question of the permanent representation of the graduates on the Senate as college bodies and not as a university whole; and the permanence, and complete equality of the arts colleges in the federation. What was desired was a complete university fusion and a federation of arts colleges in the university on terms of perfect equality. The inequality appeared in the common presidency and in the lack of definite distinction as to buildings and finances and in the relation *ex-officio* of the president of University College to the University Council; also in the employment of a common registrar and other officers.

The first step toward remedying these defects was taken in 1893 when the separate representation of the graduates of Victoria was extended for an additional six years. In the meantime the possibility of the permanence of several art colleges in a common university had become apparent to all, and in the year 1900 a movement was com-

menced for the inclusion of Trinity University in the federation. The Reverend Provost Welch having been appointed rector of St. James, the Reverend T. C. S. Macklem, a gentleman known to be favourable to such a step was in May of that year appointed provost of Trinity University. Negotiations for federation were then commenced, and important changes looking to the perfecting of the federation system were considered. The conviction was also growing in the minds of the friends of the University of Toronto that the best interests of the provincial university could only be secured by the perfecting and permanence of federation. The growth of the university since federation and the position taken by Victoria under federation as well as the friendly relations established between the two colleges gave strength to this conviction. Under these conditions the University Act of 1901 was passed with the concurrence of all parties concerned. By this act the entire constitution of the university was revised, the defects of the act of 1887 were largely remedied and a number of important provisions introduced which appeared to be necessary for the efficiency of the university. As this act has recast and embodied the provisions of all preceding acts and defines the present constitution of the university it will be of interest to give a summary of its provisions.

Under the supreme authority of the Crown vested in the Lieutenant-Governor as visitor with powers which may be exercised by commission, the university is placed under the government of three bodies with distinct functions.

1. In the trustees who are made a body corporate, the property of the university is vested with power to manage the same and to appoint the bursar and his assistants, and all officers and servants engaged in the care of the buildings and grounds.

2. The academic work of the university is placed under the control of the academic officers, and of the senate and convocation.

Of the academic officers, the Chancellor is elected by convocation, the Vice-Chancellor by the Senate, and the President and professors are appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. Convocation is composed of all graduates of the university including those of federated universities. Convocation as a whole elects the Chancellor, and, when divided into faculties and colleges, twenty-nine other members of the Senate. Convocation has also power to make regulations for the government of its proceedings, and the duties of its officers and to discuss all questions relating to the well being of the university and make representations thereon to the Senate, which body must consider the same and report back to convocation.

The Senate is composed of the Minister of Education, the Chancellor, the chairman of the board of trustees, the President of the uni-

versity, the heads of all colleges federated in the university, the deans of the faculties and all ex-chancellors and ex-vice chancellors *ex-officio*; of the following appointed representatives:—three from the university faculty of arts and law, two from the faculty of medicine, two from each federated college not represented in convocation, and one from each college also electing representatives in convocation, one from the Law Society of Ontario and one from each affiliated school or college so authorized by its terms of affiliation; and of the following elected members: twelve representatives of the graduates in arts of University College, five of Victoria College, five of Trinity College, two of the university graduates in law, and four of the graduates in medicine, one of the graduates in Applied Science, and two of the High School principals and masters engaged in teaching.

The Senate at present consists of seventy-one members. In the Senate are vested the most important powers of the university. It has authority to make statutes for the carrying out of the work of the university and colleges including the course of study, the publication of the calendar, the conduct of examinations, the granting of degrees and certificates of proficiency, the establishment and award of exhibitions, scholarships and prizes, the affiliation of schools and colleges, the efficiency of professors, the regulation of its own proceedings, the duties of its officers and in general the promotion of the welfare of the university.

The most important acts both of the Board of Trustees and of the Senate must be submitted for the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council before coming into force.

It is also worthy of note that the Senate has usually exercised its power of prescribing the curriculum on the advice of the professors and instructors as a committee of experts in the several departments of instruction. Under the present act the power of discipline exercised by the Senate does not extend beyond matters pertaining to the examinations and degrees. For their conduct in other respects students are amenable to the university council and to their several colleges or faculties, but no student can be admitted to examination unless certified by his college, for that purpose.

The Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Registrar are the executive officers of the Senate and give effect to its statutes and other acts.

3. The third body concerned in the government of the university is the university council. Analogous to this and represented on it are the councils of the several colleges of the university.

To the council is assigned the discipline of the students, dispensation from attendance on lectures, and the control and arrangement of all lectures and instruction, and the regulation of all societies and asso-

ciations of students in the university. The council consists of the President of the university, the deans of faculties, heads of colleges, and the senior professors in each department of instruction of the university faculties, and the librarian.

To the president of the university is assigned supervision of the entire work of instruction in the university. He is given large powers over all assistants and servants, and is responsible for the safekeeping and proper use of the property of the university. He has power to make arrangements for all matters regarding instruction and examinations not otherwise provided for, and reports annually to the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council on the state of the university making such suggestions and recommendations as he may deem expedient. The appointment of professors and other instructors is also made upon his recommendation. Similar powers are given to the council of University College. The college is now placed under its own separate principal with powers within his own college similar to those exercised by the president in the university. The other colleges are governed each according to the terms of its own charter.

The Act of 1901 also prepared the way for the entrance of Trinity University into federation, the last sixteen sections of the act making special provisions for that purpose. Several of the most important objections of Trinity were now removed and on other matters power was given to the trustees, the Senate and the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council to enter into an agreement with Trinity as to terms of federation. Special provision was also made to secure the rights of graduates and undergraduates of Trinity, and, in lieu of compensation for loss by removal, a site was secured to Trinity in the university park and, where necessary, university lectures were duplicated for the students of Trinity in the buildings of Trinity College. Negotiations under these provisions were conducted during the year 1902 and an agreement submitted to the Corporation of Trinity University June 25th, 1903, and subsequently ratified by the Senate of the University of Toronto, and approved by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council.

Some of the articles of agreement affect Trinity alone and are of interest only as indicating the advance in liberality since 1884. But three of them mark a new stage in the progress of federation principles and involve a permanent change in the administration of the university. These are:—

1. A scheme of practical separation of finances as between the university and University College.
2. The granting of all the colleges an equal status in the common university calendar and if necessary a complete separation of college

from university officers. A common tariff of fees for all the colleges is appended to this.

3. The department of religious knowledge is given equal rank with the other departments of instruction in the university curriculum.

Under this agreement the federation of Trinity was completed by proclamation of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council on the eighteenth of November, 1903, to take effect at once for the faculty of medicine and for the faculty of arts on the first of October, 1904.

By these arrangements the objections to the federation scheme proposed in 1885 have been almost completely removed. The president of the university, standing in a common relation to all the colleges and departments enjoys the equal confidence and support of all, and University College enjoys the advantage of the energy and ability of its own accomplished principal. The graduates of the three colleges now mingling on friendly and equal terms in University Senate and Alumni Association recognize with pride their common *Alma Mater* on whose Senate they enjoy their several representation in perpetuity without struggle between colleges. The unity of feeling of the university is becoming apparent in the student body as well as in the faculty of graduates. Common university societies have come into existence and college societies have federated both for the promotion of the worthy and important objects of the Y. M. C. A. and for the athletics. The common moral and religious spirit of the university has become a distinctive feature and university sermons by able preachers of all the churches are attended by overflowing congregations of students.

The rectification of another of the failures of 1885 is by no means so easy and is perhaps now quite beyond our reach. At the origin of federation in 1885, a hundred thousand dollars would have covered the expense of the removal of Queen's to Toronto and have made the federation scheme complete. We speak with some confidence when we say that we believe this was Principal Grant's first and best thought. Since that date the establishment of a school of mines in Kingston has cost the province far more than twice that sum. It also may be questioned whether this expenditure has added anything to the needed facilities for this class of work in Canada. We do not for a moment by this disparage the character of the work done either in Queen's University or in the Kingston School of Mines. We fully appreciate the ability, the scholarship and the energy of the men who work there. But in Toronto these same men could have done both better and larger work. The addition of their educational forces to the provincial university would have been to the advantage not of the students of Queen's alone, but of the entire student body of the province. When competition passes a certain point and especially when maintained with

insufficient resources it detracts from the highest perfection of work. The expenditure referred to has given us, for a population of two millions, a second university doing good work. But it may fairly be questioned if it has added either to the total number of young men seeking and receiving a university education or to the perfection of their intellectual training. We believe the same work would have been done and with greatly enlarged facilities by Queen's in Toronto. The work of Victoria has nearly tripled since coming to Toronto and the addition of the intellectual strength as well as the political influence of Queen's to the cause of a strong common provincial university would have greatly helped to give Ontario a university second to none of the great universities of the United States, and would have met the wants of scores of our most gifted sons and daughters who now seek post graduate advantages on the other side of the line.

But it would have done more. It would have kept before the minds of our youth the highest ideal of a true university course, and have left no temptation to lowering that course as an attraction to students. If in the arts curriculum of Queen's there were elements of superiority, it would have made these obvious to the whole province as they were brought into direct contrast with those hitherto prevailing in Toronto. And it would have done the same for the methods of instruction of Queen's. Any candid observer may see that the University of Toronto is more complete and richer to-day for the incoming of Trinity and Victoria.

But while we may not yet be at the end of our university problem, while once more as in the past we may be called to wait or to accept less than was once within reach, because we were not willing to pay the full price when our sibylline book of fate was proffered, yet we have achieved substantial progress, and if we should find that the best once offered is irretrievably beyond us, we shall find ourselves at least far in advance of our old-time position of half a dozen struggling institutions with no hope of any one attaining to even an approximation to first class rank. At least three-fourths of the population of the province have united their interests in higher education in the provincial university. Of 6151 graduates in Arts who have passed through the universities of Ontario, 4735 are now enrolled in the University of Toronto. Whenever McMaster may desire to unite, her geographical position makes it perfectly easy for her to do so without any material sacrifice. Even now she may use for her students any of the advantages of the provincial university on the most liberal terms. She can do this also without sacrifice of her most cherished principle of the independence of church and state, for her students are citizens of Ontario and as such have full right individually to all the privileges of the provincial uni-

versity on the same terms as their Anglican, Presbyterian or Methodist brethren.

As another result of this unity of sentiment and of the united efforts of the great body of graduates, the wave of indifference to higher education which a few years ago threatened to carry us on to the shallows of intellectual inferiority is now turned back and once more the university is sailing in deeper and safe waters. Perhaps we needed a little storm to carry us back from this perilous position. We now need only to be true to ourselves and to the interests of our country and our children to have an institution worthy of our ambition and of our loyal affection and support. The present constitution provides for all that great and good men in the past have lived and laboured for. Strachan, Liddell and Ryerson were united on this point, the union of sound learning with religion and morality. We will not claim to have reached perfection. There is still room for the labour and patience of our united wisdom. But the ideals and principles are embodied in our present constitution. In our colleges, religion, morality and personal culture have their fullest scope. Through the moral and social life of the colleges also we think the problem of the best results of university life for women may find an easy solution. In the college the power of personal influence in education finds its prepared field. The springing up of residential colleges not so large as to be unwieldy will add largely to the moral, religious and social influence of university life. And all this can be accomplished because the variety of colleges will offer freedom of choice, and naturally draw together congenial spirits whose ideals of college life agree with those of the college which they may choose.

On the other hand the university admits of indefinite increase of perfection of work and of extension of curriculum to the utmost limits of human knowledge. It admits also of almost indefinite increase of the numbers to whom its advantages may be extended. It provides for such extension under thorough organizations and with all the advantages of compact college life. The colleges, each for its own students, provide the culture elements for all the courses, and also, by combining their forces by intercollegiate exchange, provide the special advanced work in the honour courses in languages, literature and in part in philosophy. In these departments every new college provides not only a new centre and type of college life, but also adds to the general intellectual strength of the university by the reputation and work of its best men. The large university staff is organized by departments. Of these biology and chemistry are already furnished with separate and modern buildings and arrangements are under way to do the same for geology and mineralogy and physics, and possibly astronomy. This will also leave room for much more convenient work in political science, history, psychology and

mathematics. All these are now the centres of graduating departments with their several curricula for the B.A. degree.

The laboratories, seminary rooms and libraries in these several departments, while not as large as those of some American universities, will in some cases already compare favourably as to completeness of equipment, and this completeness we hope soon to extend to all. It is here that the unity of the university forces of the country becomes an absolute necessity if we would hold our own with the advance of modern science.

The buildings of the university have had a history of their own to which we have already referred. Of the original plans prepared in England in 1830 and very imposing in their style but one wing was built and in 1850 the plans were abandoned as unsuited to the ideas then introduced. Between 1853 and 1860 under the classic skill of Messrs. Cumberland and Storm, there was erected the beautiful Norman structure regarded as the finest of its style on the continent. Though partially destroyed by fire in 1890 its restoration was carried out with great fidelity and success by Mr. Dick. Next in order of time came the School of Practical Science, *proximus sed non secundus*, the product of an iron age of economy. The biological building may be regarded as the first fruits of federation and was followed by the chemical laboratory, both well arranged for their purpose, but giving evidence of a time when the means were lacking for the expression of large ideas. The library is in miniature a companion piece to the Norman central building, but now needs to be doubled in size. The new medical building is an evidence of what may be accomplished by a talented architect with limited means, and in its internal arrangements are said to be most skilfully adapted to its purposes. The new building for geology, mineralogy, mining and applied chemistry is chaste, substantial and commodious and the plans of the convocation hall and the physics building give promise of useful and tasteful structures, and already the liberality of a wealthy lady has promised a beautiful building for household science. The college buildings have each a history of their own. University College is patiently waiting for worthy buildings adapted to a true college life. Knox is a solid specimen of Scotch Gothic. Wycliffe has a touch of the later English style now much favoured in educational buildings in the Old Land. Victoria is a fine specimen of the Romanesque introduced so largely on this continent by Richardson for municipal, educational and ecclesiastical buildings. It is next to the main building the most costly of the university group and was Mr. Storm's last work. From the park we turn westward to picturesque Trinity with its classic spires, its beautiful proportions, its spacious park, and noble trees, the

monuments which attest the taste of the men of olden time with Bishop Strachan at their head. St. Hilda's, Annesley Hall and Queen's Hall for the women students of Trinity, Victoria and University College, are the first promise of the supply of another most important need of our university life.

Before giving a final summary of our forces for university work a word is necessary as to the contribution made by the colleges to the strength of the university staff. Each college has its own faculty, the arts colleges covering the full work assigned to University College by the Federation Act. But this does not imply a duplication of all college work. By a system of inter-collegiate exchange, the varied talents and special scholarship of the different members of the staff are made to add strength to the entire university. The honour work is divided into special sections, and one of these is assigned to each professor of the united college faculties, who lectures on this subject to the students of all the colleges. Thus the present united faculties in classics give the advantage of the work of twelve men, in English six, in French and German, each six, and in Orientals five, and in moral philosophy, three. Every college which brings even one man of eminence in his department is thus a source of added strength to the university, while by reason of the competition of the colleges, no college can afford to keep weak men on its staff. In this way the whole student body is learning to appreciate the strong men who may be outside of their particular college, and to claim the strongest men not as belonging to one particular college, but as ornaments of the whole university. The present staff of the university and colleges apart from general officers presented by departments is as follows:—

Philosophy	7
Classics and ancient history	12
English	6
French	7
German	7
Italian and Spanish	3
Oriental languages	6
Mathematics	5
Physics	6
Biology	8
Geology and mineralogy	4
Historical and political science	6

These with laboratory and lecture assistants give a total staff in arts of about one hundred.

Around this centre of general education and culture are gathered the professional faculties and schools. The professional faculties are two in number; medicine and applied science and engineering.

The professional schools federated or affiliated with the university are thirteen:—viz., five in theology, two in music, one each in law, pedagogy, agriculture, dentistry, pharmacy and veterinary surgery. The way is also being prepared for the admission of other branches of applied science such as household science, forestry and commerce, either as affiliated schools or as departmental courses in the university.

Finally in this common work federation has made the state, the Christian churches, and private enterprise and liberality all mutually helpful to each other on sound principles of mutual independence. Public funds have very largely provided for the Central University, University College and the School of Practical Science at an outlay of over \$4,000,000 on capital account and an annual expenditure of about \$180,000.

Professional enterprise maintains the faculty of medicine at an annual cost of \$64,000. The agricultural and normal colleges are maintained by the state at an annual expenditure of nearly \$100,000. The other affiliated professional schools are all the result of private or professional enterprise and have involved a capital outlay of about \$300,000. The other colleges and theological schools are the creation of the churches and represent in capital over \$3,000,000 and an annual expenditure of over \$100,000.

The University of Toronto on the federation principle represents to the people of Ontario a combined capital of over \$7,000,000, and an annual expenditure of nearly \$500,000 for the higher education of over 3,000 students drawn from all parts of the country and Dominion, and even from China, Japan, India and Africa, and from Newfoundland and the West Indies.

The value of the work which is thus being done for the country needs only to be known to receive its proper appreciation. The complexity of our modern civilization requires that every nation claiming a place in the front rank of a modern progress shall be furnished with a sufficient supply of skilled men in all the special departments of human industry, and that in each case skill shall be based not only on experience but also on scientific knowledge. We need to-day not only a high average of intelligence among the whole people; but also the highest special perfection in the several arts and sciences. The lack of this will surely condemn us to inferiority and ultimate defeat in the race of international competition. The university becomes from this point of view the very vital centre of the life of the state and no price can be too great to pay for its highest perfection.

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