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THE
U. C. COLLEGE
QUESTION.

AN EXAMINATION,

IN WHAT IS BELIEVED TO BE INTELIGIBLE LANGUAGE, OF

Three not very Intelligible Points :

1. *How U. C. College came to be established in defiance of the Legislature.*
2. *How U. C. College has contrived to absorb more than one-half of the Endowment of the Provincial University.*
3. *Why U. C. College has been so long permitted to remain a charge on the Grammar School Endowment.*

WITH FULL REFERENCES TO ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

Compiled by order of the Ontario Grammar School
Masters' Association.

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1868.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
OFFICE OF THE DEAN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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I. THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL RESERVES.

In order to understand the present anomalous position of U. C. College in our Educational System, it will be advisable briefly to revert to the early history of our Colony, and to commence with the first endowment for educational purposes, which is described on the Records of our Legislature as the "Grammar School Reserves."

EARLIEST PROCEEDINGS RELATIVE TO THE GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

On Nov. 4th, 1797, the Duke of Portland addressed a Despatch (1) to Mr. President Russell in reply to a joint Address of both Houses of Parliament. The Colonial Legislature had urged on the Imperial Government the necessity of establishing Grammar Schools throughout U. Canada.—In his Despatch the Secretary of State for the Colonies proceeds to say that His Majesty [Geo. III.] has been pleased to authorize the appropriation of a portion of the waste lands of the Crown (2) for the purpose in-

1 This Despatch will be found *in extenso* in the Journals of the House of Assembly, 1831, App. p. 105. The more important passages will be found in a most interesting and a well-known work entitled "Eighty Years of Progress of B. N. America." The tract on our Educational Progress, to which we here particularly refer, and which is from the pen of the Deputy Superintendent of Education, contains much rare and valuable information regarding our early progress in letters.

2 It was customary, in terms of 31 Geo. III § 36, in surveying Townships to set aside first, a seventh of the land as Crown Reserves; then another seventh as Clergy Reserves; the residue of each Township was described as "Waste Lands of the Crown."

dedicated in the Legislative Address. On this endowment the support of Free Grammar Schools was to constitute *the first charge*, and when this demand had been satisfied, and when the circumstances of the country should demand such an institution, a University was to be proceeded with. This Despatch has been made the subject of frequent reference; but, from the explicit language employed, no question has ever been seriously raised as to its true construction. The law officers of the Crown in 1798 understood it in the sense we have above given; (3) the House of Assembly in 1831, (4) and in subsequent years, declared such to be its true spirit and intent; and the Earl of Durham in his celebrated Report, (5) construed it even still more favorably to the Grammar Schools.

Acting on a power afforded in the Duke of Portland's reply, Chief Justice Elmsley, after a consultation with several individuals designated in the Despatch, drew up (Dec. 1, 1798) a Report (6) recommending the immediate appropriation, for educational purposes, of 500,000 acres of the waste lands of the Crown,—250,000 to be devoted to the establishment of Grammar Schools, the remaining moiety to be devoted to the future establishment of a University. The Chief Justice expressly states that the above endowment for Grammar School purposes is not to be regarded as a finality; but that on the contrary, as the country becomes more thickly populated, additional endowments will become necessary.

Looking back to that first day of winter, seventy years ago, when this outline of our Grammar School System was traced, we cannot help reflecting how unfortunate has been the course of events! How slow would the amiable and learned Chief Justice have been to anticipate that, notwithstanding his labours, the proposed University, which was, to his mind, a thing of the remote future, would have had the first selection of the finest lands of the Grammar School Reserves; that, when it had done choosing, then U. C. College, a nondescript institution—an institution contemplated by neither the Sovereign (7) nor the Legislature, (8) nor the Chief Justice, nor by any one except its illiterate founder,—that this institution should appropriate to itself the choicest portion of the remaining lands; that, finally, the beggarly residue of the Reserves, consisting of land impartially distributed between sandy wastes and rocky wildernesses, (9) should be assigned for the support of those Grammar Schools which were with the Chief Justice, and with the people of U. Canada, the object of first solicitude!

The recommended appropriation of waste lands was immediately made by the Imperial Government. Ten Townships were set aside, which, after the usual deductions of Crown and Clergy Reserves, yielded 549,000 acres available for the purposes of the grant. It was, however, soon found that, owing to the sparseness of the population, the lands were unsaleable, except at a sacrifice. Accordingly, in 1807 we find the Legislature of U. Canada providing an *interim* endowment for the Grammar Schools. By the Acts of 1807 (10) and 1808, (11) a Grammar School was established

3 Jour. Ass. 1831 App. p. 167. 4 Address of Assembly to Wm. IV. Friday, Dec. 23rd, 1831. 5 Report on the Affairs of B. N. America, 1839, "Upper Canada."
6 Jour. Ass. 1831, App. p. 107. 7 Jour. Ass. 1832-3, App. p. 69. 8 Ibid.
9 Report of Surveyor-General Hurd, Jour. Ass. 1832-3, App. p. 72. 10 47 Geo. III. Cap. 6. 11 48 Geo. III. Cap. 16.

in each of the eight Districts into which the Province was at that time divided. From the Districts being thus made the basis of distribution, the term "District School" came soon to be synonymous with "Grammar School," just as subsequently "Township School" became a synonym for "Common School." For the support of the District School Masters the Legislature appropriated £100 Cy. per annum to each School. This sum was in every case supplemented by local contributions, so that, relatively to the cost of living, the average salary of Headmasters fifty years ago would exceed that of our time.

For the superintendence of the Grammar School and of the Common Schools in each District, an Act passed in 1816 (12) constituted District Boards of Education. With the increase in the number of Districts, corresponding additions were made to the District Schools, so that in 1839 they had become thirteen in number. By an Act of Parliament of that year * the term District School was replaced by the present designation, Grammar School.

CLAIMS OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOLS ON THE PEOPLE OF CANADA.

The old District Schools and their lineal descendants, the Grammar Schools, have well deserved the gratitude of the country. From them have been almost wholly recruited the Canadian Bar and Bench, which for learning and dignity, will compare favourably with those of England herself. The late Sir J. B. Robinson was proud to acknowledge his indebtedness to the District Schools. Of them, on one memorable occasion (13) after gratefully expressing his own obligations to them, he said: "In those Schools alone for more than twenty years the means of obtaining a liberal education were found, Schools which throughout that period and to this moment, [1843,] have conferred on the country advantages beyond our power to estimate." The Chief Superintendent of Education, himself successively a Grammar School boy, and a Grammar School Master, writes thus in 1861, with equal truth and force: "For more than forty years the Grammar Schools were the highest educational institutions of our country; and during that time they produced a class of men that have as yet never had their equals in this country, whether, [not to speak of the pulpit,] at the Bar, in the Legislature, or on the Bench.— Besides many others, Charles and Jonas Jones, John S. Cartwright, Robert Baldwin, Marshal S. Bidwell, Christopher Hagerman, Sir James Macaulay, Sir J. B. Robinson, have had as yet no equal in our day." The President of University College, at the University Dinner of 1864, alluded in his felicitously-eloquent manner to the achievements of the Eastern District School. "That little School," said he, "was like the Trojan Horse spoken of by Cicero, which could give out nothing but chiefs." The Cornwall School had given three Chiefs to the Benches of the Province—the late lamented Chief Justice Robinson, Chief Justice McLean, and Chief Justice Macaulay." Notwithstanding, however, the effective comparison of the learned President, Cornwall Grammar School is, we believe, entitled to add to its list of Chief Justices an able *puisse* judge in the person of the late Mr. Justice J. Jones. And among our living representative men, Cornwall Grammar School can claim as her pupils,

12 56 Geo. III, Cap. 36 § 9. * 2 Vic. Cap. 10 § 1. 13 Opening of King's College for Instruction, June 8, 1843. Proceedings published by H. Rowsell, Toronto, 1843.

Mr. Chancellor Vankoughnet, Hon. J. S. McDonald, &c. Kingston Grammar School has also a long catalogue of men of mark, whom she can claim: Sir J. A. Macdonald, Sir Henry Smith, Hon. A. Campbell, &c., &c. In truth there is hardly a Grammar School which has attained any age that cannot point with pardonable pride to the distinguished success of its pupils. Surely Schools which have thus conferred on the Province two generations of eminent men now deserve at the hands of the Legislature an attentive hearing while they respectfully, but earnestly, demand the restitution of their rightful inheritance.

THE GENERAL BOARD OF EDUCATION.

In 1823, during the Lieutenant-Governorship of Sir P. Maitland, the first inroad appears to have been made on the Grammar School Reserves. Their management was committed to a General Board of Education, (†) having the Rev. Dr. Strachan at its head. This Board exercised, though very imperfectly, a jurisdiction (‡) somewhat similar in extent to that of our present able Chief Superintendent. The Board of Education continued an expensive and rather useless existence, the funds for its support being derived from sales of the Reserves, from 1823 to 1832 inclusive.—Those ten years were in the highest degree disastrous to educational progress.

YORK ALIAS TORONTO VERSUS THE WHOLE PROVINCE.

During that period there arose at York that insatiate spirit of centralization which has continued to this hour, and which, in our time, is fast reducing the conditions of every public question to those expressed by the general formula *TORONTO vs. THE PROVINCE*,—that spirit which, while dictating agreeable platitudes regarding “the diffusion of knowledge,” would fain centralize within the limits of a single town the agencies by whose dispersion alone, the diffusion of knowledge becomes possible. All kinds of educational monopolies were, during that decade, devised in the interest, real or supposed, of York. Thus, while throughout the Province generally Common School Teachers were receiving an average allowance of but £4 or £5 per annum, [14] together with such paltry sum as was raised from local sources, a so-called Central School at York, was by the especial grace of the General Board of Education paying to its Headmaster out of the Common School Fund about £300 stg. per annum, [15] and to two assistants larger salaries than the average of Common School Teachers obtain at this hour. Be it understood that York was already well supplied with Common Schools. At least three Common Schools [16] already graced that favoured village, [17] and stood almost within the shadow of the Central School. In 1832 we find this disgraceful mal-appropriation of funds exciting the honest indignation of Wm. Lyon Mac-

† Journal Assembly, 1831, Appendix, page 106.

‡ Speech of Bishop Strachan at the opening of King's College.

14 Jour. Ass. 1832-3, App. p. 70. 15 Report of Select Committee on the Petition of Thomas Appleton, Jour. Ass. 1828, App. The Committee very properly observe: “If the sums appropriated to the Central School were distributed as an encouragement to Schools in the interior of the country where money is scarce and the patronage both needed and deserved, it would be most beneficially felt *in every Township in the Home District, and in every other District also.*” 16 This fact can be gleaned from the evidence in Appleton's case. 17 The population of York at the time of the establishment of the Central School, was hardly 2,000.

kenzie (Colonial Advocate, Jan. 5, 1832) ; but, for some years subsequently to this exposure, that parasitical institution remained fastened on the Common School System, exhausting the fund intended for the support of starving Common School Teachers throughout the Province. York soon found a similar parasite for the Grammar School System—a parasite which has managed to maintain a sickly existence to the present time, but has managed to do so, only by transferring itself from the Grammar School System, which it left for dead, to the Provincial University whose vitality it has already most seriously impaired. And this brings us face to face with our subject!

II. ORIGIN OF U. C. COLLEGE.

During the ten years' sway of the General Board of Education the University Question became an all-engrossing subject of public attention, and, through the marvellous narrow mindedness of certain members of that Board, became perplexed with issues which, at this late hour, render its satisfactory solution almost impossible. In March, 1827, [18] the late Bishop Strachan obtained, chiefly through the influence of Lord Bathurst, a Charter for King's College, which for illiberality, could hardly be surpassed. The immediate result was an agitation which served to keep up a feverish anxiety for about twenty years.

ARRIVAL OF SIR JOHN COLBORNE.

During those troublous times, Sir John Colborne succeeded to the Lieut.-Governorship. [19] He at first showed a strong disposition to deal summarily with the University projects of the Episcopal Church, [20] and during the period that this feeling lasted, proposed in a Message dated Jan. 17, 1829, [21] to establish a new institution of Collegiate character, making it dependent for its support on the University Endowment. The House of Assembly, in a weak hour, gave a conditional assent. The members of that body, actuated by patriotic motives thought that, in this way, they would give the Province the benefit of the University Endowment which they otherwise despaired of being able to reach.

18 Final Report on King's College and U. C. College, 1852, p. 104. 19 He assumed the administration towards the close of 1828. 20 After ineffectually urging (Dec. 13, 1828) a surrender of King's College Charter, he, rather unceremoniously, suspended its operation. 21 Journal Assembly, 1829.

CONDITIONAL ASSENT OF THE ASSEMBLY TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF U. C. COLLEGE.

The conditions of assent referred to were as follows: 1. That the projected institution should do University work. [22] 2. That, as thus doing University work it should be dependent for support on the University Endowment. [23] 3. That it should be conducted with the utmost economy, [24] and 4. *That it should not be erected at York.* [25]—Though Sir John Colborne had already pledged his word [26] to the fulfilment of that condition which related to the support of the new institution, some apprehension of treachery appears to have arisen; for, on Tuesday Jan. 19, 1830, [27] we find Mr. W. L. Mackenzie in the House of Assembly moving for a statement of the sources of income of the "*College or University now in progress.*" On the following Saturday [28] the Governor sent down a reply which was chiefly remarkable for its oracular obscurity. This was not very re-assuring to the House. Accordingly, again on Tuesday, Feb. 2, [29] an Address was passed requesting the Governor to lay before Parliament "the particulars of the foundation of U. C. College with all other particulars and details respecting the principles and economy of the institution." When thus questioned categorically, oracular responses would not do. The Governor therefore on the following Thursday [30] replied in plain English, "Gentlemen, I cannot convey much more information on the subject of this Address than has already been laid before the House of Assembly." As, however, the Governor had hitherto laid before Parliament absolutely no information—a fact which this second Address of the Assembly presented within two weeks after the first sufficiently proves,—the unavoidable inference is that the founder had no clear conception of the purpose of the institution he was attempting to force upon the country. The chief motive actuating Sir John in this whole matter of U. C. College, appears to have been a vain desire to perpetuate his name by means of a literary foundation. For the Assembly, in their negotiations on the subject, had given him a kind of promise that the new institution, if answerable to their views, would be known as Colborne College. [30] It is not surprising that, when the founder of U. C. College abandoned as hopeless the problem of its design, the present Principal of the institution is in a state of amusing perplexity, [31] when attempting to describe its functions. It would, of course, be unfair to expect of him to know more of its founder's intentions than the founder did himself.

Nearly all the rest of the Governor's message was occupied, by way of a diversion of the main inquiry of the Assembly, with a rambling account of the manner in which the Teachers had been, and were, in future to be, appointed. The nomination of the Masters was to be committed to the Chancellors of the old English Universities—a mode of appointment which by the way, has never, we believe, since the date of the first appoint-

22 Journal Assembly 1829, Friday, March 2nd, Resolution No. 14. 23 Address to the Lieut.-Gov. Journal Assembly, 1829, Thursday, March 19. 24 Ibid. 25 Ibid. 26 Message, Journal Assembly, January 17, 1829. 27 Journal Assembly, 1830. 28 Ibid, Saturday Jan. 23. 29 Ibid. 30 Ibid, Thursday, February 4. 31 Letter of Mr. Geo. R. R. Cockburn, published in the *Toronto Globe* of Monday, Jan. 13, 1863; published also in the *Toronto Leader* of a later date. This epistle, which has excited universal amazement as well as amusement, will form the subject of occasional reference throughout the present Statement.

ments, been observed, and which, had it been observed, would have prevented that disgraceful intriguing which has more than once, in the first instance, produced, and afterwards filled vacancies in the Masterships of U. C. College.

SIR JOHN COLBORNE STARTLES THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

One paragraph in the Governor's Message [32] greatly startled the House. He hinted that Parliament would be expected to provide in some measure for the maintenance of U. C. College. Now the very first condition under which the House had assented to the establishment of that institution was that it should be dependent for support on the University Endowment. [33] This startling suggestion of the Governor's taken in connection with the purposeless scope of the new foundation, induced the House to immediately frame a bill, which would for ever set the following important points at rest: 1. That U. C. College was to do University work. 2. That it was to be a charge on the University Endowment, and 3. That it was to be conducted with strict economy. As the U. C. College buildings had, though in spite of the wishes of the Assembly, already been commenced at York, the House contented itself with securing by a Bill the three remaining conditions just stated. This Bill was read in the Assembly for the third time and passed on Monday, March 2, 1830. [34] But, as the erection of a rival University would have defeated the academical projects of the Episcopal party, the Bill was rejected by the Legislative Council, where that party greatly predominated. In fact it never reached, we believe, a second reading in the Upper House, so that when Dr. Strachan was a short time afterwards examined before a Committee as to the causes of its rejection in that branch of the Legislature he replied: "I have no recollection of the provisions of the Bill!" [35]

U. C. C. COMMENCES OPERATIONS WITHOUT PARLIAMEN- TARY SANCTION.

Parliament had, even in 1829, shown so strong a disinclination to sanction an establishment whose functions were unsettled, even in the mind of its founder, that Sir John Colborne determined to put U. C. College into operation without a moment's delay. Therefore, even while he was yet informing the Assembly that he knew nothing of the purpose of the new foundation, U. C. College had already commenced operations, Monday, Jan. 4, 1830.—Until a labyrinth of brick should have been completed for its reception, its TEN masters occupied the Home District School House. [36] One of the first acts of this upstart institution was to repulse from the doors of their beloved old Grammar School eight poor boys who had hitherto been receiving free tuition. [37] Not only so; all of you old District School Boys, except the sons of sufficiently wealthy residents of York [38] must

32 Journal Assembly, 1830, Thursday, Feb 4. 33 Jour. Ass. 1829, Address to the Lieut.-Gov. March 19. 34 Jour. Ass. 1830. 35 Jour. Ass. 1835, App. Vol. I.

36 The Home District School House occupied Block D. During the first week of January, 1831, the new institution was transferred to the buildings recently erected on Block A, (Russell Square.) 37 Jour. Ass. 1832-3, App. pp. 60 sqq. Answer of Dr. Strachan to Question No. 6. 38 A partial list of arrearages, due chiefly by wealthy residents of York, will be found in the Final Report on U. C. College, 1852, pp. 363 sqq. In addition to the amount represented by this list, there had been a further amount (irrecoverable in 1850, in consequence of the Statute of Limitations) yielding a total of \$28,382 11. Final Report p. 342.

now pay for your tuition as many pounds annually as you have hitherto paid crowns! [39] A characteristic application all this of the Royal Endowment for the support of Free Grammar Schools! It is a pity that the birthday of the "College" should have been so inauspiciously inaugurated. A pity truly! Sir John Colborne drummed up as recruits, for his new regiment, the sons of all enjoying Government favors, or who might afterwards expect to do so, [40] and then boasted to Parliament that the names of nearly 90 boys [41] were on the Roll. Roll, did we say? Ah, well, we then wrote metaphorically, for Roll there was none. [42] It is not surprising to find that in an institution conducted on principles so select, a College withal, a Register of pupils was regarded a superfluity, as in fact decidedly vulgar! So that when Parliament in 1835 was taking evidence on the condition of U. C. College, only approximate statements of the attendance for 1830, 1831, 1832 could be supplied by the Principal, the Rev. Dr. Harris. [43]

WHAT U. C. COLLEGE PROVED TO BE.

The House of Assembly had intended that U. C. College should do University work, and, with that as a primary condition, had assented to its foundation. [44*] But using the word "College" in its only legitimate sense, from 1830 down to the present time (excepting from this period only the four years of Dr. McCaul's Headmastership,) this institution by no figure of speech can be described as doing College work. We have said by no figure; well, it may perhaps be so described by that figure of speech known as *irony*. Certainly it is only in a spirit of the bitterest irony that the work done there in the earlier years of its history, could be described as collegiate. The people of York soon discovered the new institution to be an indifferent Grammar School in disguise; but so complete was that disguise, and so indifferent was the Grammar School, that a clamor arose in the fall of 1831 [44] for the immediate restoration of the old Home District School. The gross inefficiency of this new educational venture made the country appreciate, better that it had hitherto done, the value of the old Grammar Schools.

SIR JOHN COLBORNE CONSTITUTES HIMSELF THE THREE ESTATES OF THE REALM.

In this spirit of thankfulness to the old and tried friends of higher education a new House of Assembly met on Friday, Jan. 7, 1831. [45] On the 21st of the same month [46] an Address was passed requesting His Excellency to lay before the House all documents relating to the Grammar School Reserves. The Assembly proceeding on the documents which

39 From the evidence of the Rev. Dr. Harris (Journal Ass. 1835, App. Vol. 1,) the first Principal of U. C. C. it appears that the annual fee was \$36. The fee hitherto exacted for Grammar School instruction in York had not been quite one-fourth of this amount.
 40 See William L. Mackenzie's description of Upper Canada College given below. 41 Journal Assembly, 1830, Message, Thursday, Feb. 4. 42 Journal Assembly 1835, App. Vol. I. Evidence of Rev. Dr. Harris. This neglect to keep a proper record of the attendance, afterwards gave rise to the most contradictory returns of the number of pupils for the earlier years of the institution's career. 43 Journal Assembly 1835, App. Vol. 1, Document No. 112. 44* Journal Assembly, 1829, Friday, March 20, 14th Resolution.
 44 Journal Assembly, 1832-3. Appendix to 2nd Report of Committee on Education, Evidence of Sir J. B. Robinson and of Rev. Dr. Harris. 45 Journal Assembly, Session 1831. 46 Ibid, Friday, January 21.

in reply to their Address, were submitted, [47] and which showed that the Reservation had not as yet been seriously impaired, proceeded to take measures for its application to the support of the Grammar Schools. In order to prevent questions arising, at any future time, as to the extent of its jurisdiction, the House passed an Address to the Sovereign [48] expressive of its wishes in regard to the Reservation. Then the Governor sent down to the Assembly a Message [49] which fell into their midst as a thunderbolt from a cloudless sky! He has the sublime effrontery to inform the Legislature of the Province that "lately 66,000 acres have been set aside [from the Grammar School Reserves] for the support of U. C. College."—Set aside, quotha! Who set this land aside? Who but Sir John and the interesting Family Party, around the table of the Executive Council assembled? And this in spite of the pledges which the Governor had given the preceding Parliament. [50] that the endowment of this institution should not be at the expense of the Grammar Schools. But the Parliament of that day had not the opportunity of fully appreciating the duplicity of the Governor. *At the time that he sent down his Message (Dec. 24th, 1831) we have the most conclusive evidence that he had not granted to U. C. College a single acre out of the Grammar School Reserves!* The dates of the grants to that institution sufficiently prove this.

DATES OF THE U. C. GRANTS AND THEIR LEGAL EFFECT.

The grants to U. C. College out of the Grammar School Reserves, were three in number and they date as follows: Nov. 16, 1832, 20,000 acres; July 4, 1834, 1080 acres; May 16, 1835, 42,188 acres. Add difference in exchange of land with Government in 1846, 589 acres. Total 63,857 acres. The unblushing prevarication of which, therefore, the Governor must stand convicted, was evidently resorted to as a means of forestalling the Legislature in their intended application of the Reserves to the support of the Grammar Schools. Notwithstanding, however, the representations of the Governor, the House of Assembly DID NOT RECOGNIZE THE ALLEGED GRANTS, but persisted in forwarding the Address to King William IV. An answer was in due time returned by the Imperial Government [52] surrendering to the Legislature the disposition of the lands "*which had not already been alienated.*" Now, from the dates above given, it appears that the grants to U. C. College had not been made at the date of that Despatch (July 5, 1832). It is obvious, therefore, that those grants, made subsequently, made also without consent of Parliament, were invalid and, consequently, that the sales based on those grants were void *ab initio*.

Though the House of Assembly believed that an appropriation from the Grammar School Reserves had actually been made, as represented by the Governor, yet it could not help regarding such procedure as an intolerable usurpation of its most important functions. Accordingly, at the next assembling of Parliament this matter formed the subject of the first

47 Ibid, Wednesday, Feb. 2. From an Address on the same subject passed on the following day, it would appear that Sir John Colborne attempted, in the first instance, to evade the demand of the Assembly. 48 Journal Assembly 1831-2, Friday, Dec. 23, 1831. 49 Ibid, Monday, Dec. 26. 50 Journal Assmly, 1829, Saturday, January 17.

51 These dates are not unfrequently quoted by the Bursar in his Financial Statements, *c. g.* Statement for 1855.

52 Journal Assembly 1832-3, Friday, Nov. 9, 1832. Sir John Colborne alluded to this Despatch in the Speech at the opening of Parliament, Tuesday, November 6.

two notices of motion. [53] The hostile relations, however, which, at the time, subsisted between the two branches of the Legislature prevented any effective measures being taken.

WHAT THE MERE ESTABLISHMENT OF U. C. C. COST THE PROVINCE.

The mal-appropriation of sixty thousand and odd acres of Grammar School land, formed, then, the FIRST SOURCE OF INCOME for U. C. College.—What the other sources were we shall now see.

SECOND SOURCE OF INCOME : SPOILIATION OF THE ROYAL GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

There had long existed an arrangement in connection with the Grammar Schools of the Eastern, Midland, and Niagara Districts, by virtue of which they were subsidized as Royal Grammar Schools. This distinction had been conferred on the Grammar Schools of Cornwall, Kingston, and Niagara, both on account of these towns being, at that period, the chief centres of population, and on account of the reputation of their Schools.—A Royal grant of £250 cy. annually, added to the usual Parliamentary grant of £100, had enabled these Schools to extend their reputation beyond the limits of the Province, and to produce scholars that bore away the highest honors in Oxford and Cambridge. [54] Just at the period of the greatest prosperity of these academies the monopolists of the Home District began to cast wistful eyes on their Royal Endowments, and, by bringing influence to bear on the Lieutenant-Governor, actually succeeded in getting ALL THREE GRANTS transferred to the grasping little village of York. [55]—The distribution of the Provincial population, at that time, would not, of course, have warranted this nefarious transaction. Kingston had nearly one-half more inhabitants than York, and the population of the Midland District exceeded that of the Home District by more than 8,000. [56] This extraordinary act of spoliation, which had been accomplished not long before the foundation of U. C. College, formed a SECOND SOURCE OF revenue to that institution, and yielded it £750 cy. per annum. It will be interesting to follow up so remarkable a transaction far enough to see what disposition U. C. College made of this money. Well, the salaries of the French Master and the first Drawing Master would cover £500 of the amount : [57] the remaining £250 may be supposed to have gone for the payment of the Second and Third Drawing Masters. [57] In view of this application of Provincial money we recognize the peculiar propriety of the question put by the Committee of the House of Assembly to certain

53 Journal Assembly 1832-3, Tuesday, November 6.

54 The Venerable Archdeacon Stuart, as Chairman of the Kingston Board of Grammar School Trustees, refers with justifiable pride to the honors borne away by the Midland District School. Journal Assembly, 1830, App.

55 This is the explanation of the following item occurring in the U. C. C. accounts : "Appropriation to U. C. C. and Royal Grammar School, £750." Jour. Ass. 1835, App. Vol. I. It was pretended that a Despatch from the Imperial Government authorized this transaction, but on the House of Assembly demanding the text of the Despatch, it was found that the Despatch was *unfortunately* lost. For other examples of such mythical Despatches, consult the Final Report *passim*. 56 In 1823 the population of York was 2235, while that of Kingston was 3210; so the population of the Home District was 22,927, while that of the Midland District was 30,960.—Jour. Ass. 1829—Population Returns.

57 Mr. J. P. De la Haye, the French Master, was appointed at a salary of £200 stg. per annum; Mr. T. A. Drewry, 1st Drawing Master, enjoyed a salary of like amount; Mr. J. G. Howard, 2nd Drawing Master, (Architectural Drawing) was in receipt of £100 stg. per annum; Mr. J. A. Saunders, 3rd Drawing Master, (Ornamental Drawing) received.

of the York monopolists : " Are the people of York less able to pay for the instruction of their children in these branches [French and Drawing] than the people of the other Districts?" [59]

THIRD SOURCE OF INCOME : THE CASUAL AND TERRITORIAL FUND.

A THIRD SOURCE OF INCOME which U. C. College enjoyed almost from its very commencement [60] down to 1860 was an annuity of \$4444.44 which was paid in the first instance out of the Casual and Territorial Fund, and when that Fund was afterwards transferred to the control of the Legislature the transfer was made subject, as it was contended, to this annual charge. This payment of an annuity out of the Provincial revenue was, like every other payment to U. C. College, wholly unsupported by legal authorization, and when in 1838 a question arose regarding its legality, the only argument advanced for its continuance was the precedent derived from four years' uninterrupted payment! [61] In 1860 Parliament declined longer to submit to what had been from the first simply an imposition, and relieved the revenue of this burden.

FOURTH SOURCE OF INCOME : CONFISCATION OF HOME DISTRICT SCHOOL PROPERTY.

With the Lieut.-Governor's connivance U. C. College had, in the most tranquil manner imaginable, and though presumably " something more than a Grammar School," appropriated for its own benefit, the town lots belonging to the old York Grammar School. In fact in July and September of 1829, before U. C. College had any actual existence at all, Sir John Colborne caused to be sold by auction, for its benefit, some of the most valuable lots which the generosity of private individuals had assigned for the support of the Home District School. [62]

He retained, however, for his favorite institution among certain other parcels of town property that block on which in 1830 its buildings were erected. The illegality of all this was of course unquestionable. Both Sir J. B. Robinson and the Rev. Dr. Strachan, when examined before a Parliamentary Committee acknowledged that the transaction would not bear a moment's scrutiny. [63] Then, why has this gross injustice never been repaired? and why is the Toronto Grammar School still domiciled in an obscure building in an obscure part of the city, while U. C. College is permitted to retain its ill-gotten plunder? William Lyon Mackenzie assailed this shameful transaction in his usual honest out-spoken fashion. In the Colonial Advocate of Jan. 5, 1832 he accuses the Governor of attempting to lay the foundation of " a dangerous system of education : " " By exposing for sale the lands set apart for a District School in the Home District, as well as the School House and Offices, without the consent of the people or the authority of the Legislature, and appropriating the proceeds according to his own pleasure and without accounting to the country."

we believe, a salary similar in amount. 59 Journal Assembly, 1832-3, Appendix to 2nd Report of Com. on Education. 60 For 1830 the grant was £200 stg.; on January 1st, 1831, it was raised to £500 stg.; this allowance continued to January 1st, 1834, when it was raised to £1000 stg., at which last figure it remained down to 1860. (Final Report, page 115.) An attempt made in 1859, by the Hon. George Brown, to relieve the Revenue of this annual charge, will be noticed below.

61 Final Report, page 115.

62 Accounts of the Treasurer of Upper Canada College for 1829—Journal Assembly. 1830—App.

63 Journal Assembly, 1832-3—Appendix to 2nd Report of Com. on Education.

FIFTH SOURCE OF INCOME: APPROPRIATION OF COMMON SCHOOL MONEYS.

At the very time that the Common School Teachers throughout the Province were, on the testimony of the President of the General Board of Education, receiving only £5 per annum, and at the time, when, through the alleged lack of funds, there was danger that the allowance would be reduced to £2 per annum, [64] the Board, on the order of Sir John Colborne, advanced to U. C. College no less a sum than £6,392 18s 2d. [65]

SIXTH SOURCE OF INCOME: INROADS ON THE UNIVERSITY ENDOWMENT.

Advances from this source have been so many in number, and so important in their effects as to require a more detailed notice at a subsequent stage of this statement.

U. C. College was thus provided for by the ruthless plunder of every class of our educational institutions; and, as it began, so it has continued.—ever singularly true to its mission!

III. U. C. COLLEGE DOWN TO 1850.

U. C. College had given, even during the first year of its existence, extremely unfavourable impressions regarding itself. During 1831 the popular discontent was constantly on the increase. [66] William Lyon Mackenzie was but the mouth-piece of the country when, about this period, he described the new foundation as “a place of learning for the children of persons holding situations under the Local Government, and a few other wealthy and influential individuals, at great public cost, but placed beyond the control of public opinion, and from which the sons of the yeomanry derive no benefit or advantage.” [67] We have here an instance of the late Mr. Mackenzie's happy power of characterization. *How many words in the above description require to be changed, to correctly characterize U. C. College as it continues to exist at this hour?*

64 Journal Assembly, 1829, Appendix—“Report from the President of the General Board of Education.” Also, Journal Assembly, 1832-3, Appendix—3rd Report of Select Committee on Education.

65 Journal Assembly, 1836, Appendix Vol. I—Board of Education Accounts.

66 Evidence of Dr. Harris before Select Committee—Journal Assembly, 1832-3, App.

67 Quoted in Journal Assembly, 1835, App. Vol. I—Document No. 62.

PARLIAMENT MAKES THE INCOMPETENCY OF U. C. COLLEGE THE SUBJECT OF INVESTIGATION.

The year 1832 witnessed such an outburst of popular indignation that the House of Assembly was compelled to make the incompetency of the new institution the subject of a searching investigation. [68] Among the witnesses examined before the Parliamentary Committee, were several of the Trustees. For it must be borne in mind that U. C. College commenced its career under a Board of thirteen Trustees. The Trustees would naturally palliate, so far as was possible, the inefficiency of an institution for whose faults they would, in a measure, be deemed responsible, but all that Dr. Strachan could find himself authorized to affirm was that some improvement was perceptible. [69] That some improvement was perceptible where so much ground for dissatisfaction had existed was, indeed, but faint commendation! Even the Vice-Principal of U. C. College himself thought the immediate re-establishment of the Home District School imperatively required. [70] After a long and laborious investigation the Committee in their 3rd Report [71] recommend that the appropriation from the Gr. S. Reserves, made by Sir John Colborne, BE NOT RECOGNIZED; that a loan of £10,000, which had been raised by illegal sale of the Grammar School lands be withdrawn from that institution and be invested in good securities for the benefit of the District Schools. The Committee comment severely on the advances which they discovered had been made to U. C. College out of the funds of King's College; and as the general result of their investigation the Committee state that U. C. College "does not seem to them to be necessary, and that it certainly was NEVER CONTEMPLATED BY HIS MAJESTY when granting a charter and endowment to the University." Finally, to obviate any pretence for the continued existence of U. C. College, they recommend the immediate opening of King's College. The above Report was adopted by the House without amendment, [72] and a Bill was framed to carry out the recommendations of the Committee, [73] but owing to the strenuous opposition of the Governor the matter was subsequently permitted to drop.

PARLIAMENTARY ADDRESS TO WILLIAM IV. ON THE SHAMEFUL MAL-APPROPRIATION OF THE GR. S. RESERVES.

The House of Assembly, early in the following Session, passed an Address [74] to King William IV., complaining in strong terms of the treatment to which the Grammar Schools had been subjected. After reciting the various misappropriations of the Grammar School Reserves the Address thus proceeds: "It is therefore obvious that a very incon-

68 Journal Assembly, 1832-3, App.

69 Ibid.—Dr. Strachan's answer to Question No. 10.

70 Journal Assembly, 1832-3, Appendix, page 67—Letter of Rev. Dr. Phillips, Vice-Principal of Upper Canada College.

71 Journal Assembly, 1832-3, Appendix, page 69.

72 Journal Assembly, 1832-3, Friday, January 18.

73 The Committee had in their 2nd Report (Appendix, page 58,) recommended similar measures. But since the preparation of their 2nd Report, evidence had come to light which convinced the Committee that the safety of the University depended on the immediate suppression of Upper Canada College. Hence the 3rd Report is, in the main, an emphatic reiteration of the Second. The Bill referred to was read for the first time on Friday, December 14, 1832.

74 Journal Assembly, Session 1833-4, Wednesday, December 4, 1833.

“siderable portion of the whole reservation has been left for purposes which in the minds of those individuals who made the Legislative application in the year 1797 to His Late Majesty, as well as in that of the Royal Donor, took precedence of every other object, and were entitled to a much more valuable endowment.” After stating that what is left of the Reserves is of “exceedingly bad quality,” the Address again proceeds: “For these reasons, as well as for many others which might be adduced, we are constrained to represent to your Majesty the serious injustice of the measure which deprived the people of Canada of that magnificent grant of land which was set apart for the diffusion of learning by the endowment of Free Grammar Schools in the several Districts.”

This powerfully-written appeal of the Commons of Canada for the restoration of the people's inheritance was based on one of the most careful, and even elaborate investigations [75] to be found on the records of our Parliament. But, through the machinations of an unscrupulous Governor, the Royal relief was withheld, and, though jurisdiction over all matters pertaining to the public lands has, happily, long since, been transferred to the Legislature, the gross injustice complained of STILL CONTINUES!! U. C. College is still permitted to squander the Grammar School Endowment; the Grammar School lands are but the poor residue of what was, at the best, land “of exceedingly bad quality.” So indifferent is this Grammar School land that, though situated in relatively old settlements, it was fetching as late as 1863 but \$2 per acre, [76] whereas that portion of the endowment misappropriated by U. C. College had in 1861 brought, on all sales, an average price of \$5 57 per acre, and an average on the sales effected in 1861 of \$7.85 per acre. [77] To the above Address of Parliament a tardy answer at length came; [78] but what that answer really was will probably remain matter for conjecture. For the Governor thought fit to communicate only “the substance of it,” [79] a resort hitherto undiscovered by him. Well, “the substance of it,” according to Sir John Colborne, was that only about 240,000 acres of such land as has been above characterized were available for Grammar School use!

PARLIAMENT AGAIN, ON INVESTIGATION, DECLINES “THE COLLEGE,” WITH THANKS.

In 1835 U. C. College was again made the subject of Parliamentary investigation [80] and was again, as has, indeed, been always the case, condemned as a useless incumbrance. Here is the Resolution of Parliament regarding it: [81] “It is upheld at great public expense, with high salaries to its principal masters, but the Province in general derives very little advantage from it. It might be dispensed with.” We have here, once more, to ask how many words in the above description require to be altered to characterize U. C. College as it exists in our time?—

75 Journal Assembly, 1832-3, Appendix.

76 Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands for 1863, page 17.

77 Bursar's Statements for year ending December 31, 1861: These Statements will be found among the Sessional Papers for 1863.

78 Journal Assembly, 1835, Thursday, March 19.

79 Ibid—Message of Sir John Colborne.

80 Journal Assembly, Session 1835—Address to the Lieut.-Governor, Tuesday, 3rd March, and documents in Appendix.

81 Journal Assembly, 1835, Appendix Vol. I—Document No. 21.

Thirty-three years ago Parliament possessed the will to relieve the Province of an incubus, but, unfortunately, lacked the way; in our more fortunate day Parliament possesses the means, let us hope that the disposition to act is not wanting!

PARLIAMENT DELIVERS A VALEDICTORY HARANGUE TO THE FOUNDER OF U. C. COLLEGE.

In 1836 the Legislature again addressed itself to the absorbing topic of the time—verdict as usual. The reply of the Assembly to the Speech from the Throne [82] contains the following passage: "We have also been "anxious in past years to make the means of education general and easily available, but it has only lately become known to the Legislature that "a bountiful provision in lands was made by the Crown about forty years ago, *though since deteriorated by a secret unfavourable exchange for inferior lands.* "Nor ought we to fail to notice that large appropriations have been made "out of the University fund, not to the District [i. e. Grammar] Schools "and Township [i. e. Common] Schools, undeservedly neglected, but to "sustain U. C. College in this city, in which the sons of all the wealthiest "families are educated, and which ought therefore to be supported without "so questionable an encroachment on public funds." A few days after the above words had been addressed to Sir John Colborne he was succeeded in the administration of the Government by Sir F. B. Head. [83]

THAT DISMAL AFFAIR OF 1837.

The grievances complained of by the people of Upper Canada had been enumerated to the Imperial Government in the celebrated Seventh Report, [84] and among those grievances, the maintenance of U. C. College obtained a chief place—the cost and uselessness of that institution being recited in words already quoted. The cry of the people for relief from their burdens was, unhappily, disregarded. Then the air became heavy with ominous murmurs. The supplies were, for the first time in our annals, stopped, [85] and soon after this, the affrighted Province witnessed the actual effusion of blood. [86] U. C. College thus enjoys the most undeniable distinction of being one of the causes of the civil contest of 1837! The support of that School had been made by the people a chief cause of complaint; and, in 1839, after the contest was over, and when the Earl of Durham was reviewing the causes that led to that unhappy outbreak, he felt himself forced to mention the alienation of the Grammar School Reserves for the aggrandizement of U. C. College! [87] After

82 Journal Assembly, 1836, Wednesday, January 20.

83 The above words were addressed to Sir John Colborne on January 20; on the 25th of the same month, Sir Francis Head assumed the administration of affairs.

84 Journal Assembly 1835, Appendix Vol. I—Document No 21.

85 Journal Assembly 1836, Wednesday, April 20.

86 December 4, 1837—Narrative drawn up by MacKenzie at Navy Island.

87 Report on the Affairs of British North America—Upper Canada—Lord Durham uses the following language: "Of the lands which were originally appropriated for the support of Schools throughout the country, by far the most valuable portion has been diverted to the endowment of the University, from which those only derive any benefit who reside in Toronto, or those who, having a large assured income, are enabled to maintain their children in that town, at an expense which has been estimated at £50 per annum for each child." Though the fact of an unfair division of the Grammar School Reserves having been made, in the interest of the University, is undeniable, yet, from Lord Durham's speaking of the institution as in actual operation, it is quite evident that he really makes chief reference to Upper Canada College. King's College was not put into operation for five years after the date of Lord Durham's tour of observation.

the failure of the ill-judged insurrection under Mr. MacKenzie, the party of Educational Progress, whether cognizant of his schemes or not, were in disrepute and in despair. U. C. College thus remained, for a time, almost unmolested by Parliament. [88] Another cause, however, and a much more honorable one, secured, for a short time, its freedom from molestation.

REV. DR. McCAUL BECOMES PRINCIPAL OF U. C. COLLEGE.

Towards the beginning of 1839, [89] fortunately for U. C. College, Dr. McCaul became its Principal. He appears to have taken in, at a glance, the true position of affairs. If ever U. C. College was to be tolerated, it would only be so, by becoming what the Assembly had insisted on, when assenting to its foundation [90]—by becoming a University. But since the day that the Assembly had given a conditional assent to the establishment of U. C. College, the University Question had become wholly changed. The Episcopal Party had wisely yielded to the outside pressure; had, to a considerable degree, liberalized the Charter of King's College; [91] and the buildings for the reception of that institution would soon be in course of erection. Dr. McCaul must, therefore, have been conscious that, in any case, the functions of the Minor University [92] which had been placed under his supervision must be, at best, only provisional; must occupy for the time being, in our Educational System, the place of that more important institution whose foundation had been contemplated as far back as 1798. Notwithstanding, however, such considerations which, we say, must have occurred to his mind, the new Principal of U. C. College addressed himself to his duties with the greatest zeal and ability. The four short years of Dr. McCaul's Headmastership [93] form the only period during the thirty-eight years of this institution's existence, on which the mind can rest with any degree of satisfaction. These four years, however, soon glided by; King's College was opened in 1843; [94] the Province found a more worthy field for Dr. McCaul's abilities in the new University, and appointed him its first Vice President. With these events, then, the mission of U. C. College, which must in any case have been regarded as vicarious, came to an end, and, with the termination of its temporary mission, its existence ought also to have terminated. Even the late Principal of U. C. College seems to have been of this opinion. Dr. McCaul is said to have represented, in the strongest manner, to the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Charles Bagot, the inexpediency, and even the *illegality* of

88 A Report of Finance Committee, adverse to Upper Canada College—Journal Assembly 1837-8, Feb. 23, 1838.

89 Dr. McCaul's duties appear to have commenced with 1839, though the appointment had been made in 1838.

90 Vide supra.

91 Speech of Rev. Dr. Strachan at opening of King's College. The good Bishop seems to have stood aghast at the extent of his own concessions to the popular feeling.

92 Dr. Strachan strongly insists on its provisional character, and calls it "The Minor College," in a document, written in 1833, and contained in the Final Report, page 170.

93 The date of Dr. McCaul's appointment to the Vice-Presidency of King's College, is Nov. 21, 1842—Final Report, page 171. Dr. McCaul's duties began in 1843.

94 June 8, 1843.

appointing a new Principal to U. C. College. [95] In these representations, moreover, the Rev. Dr. Strachan, as President of the University, is stated to have wholly concurred. [96] To the permanent injury of our educational institutions, the suppression of U. C. College was not then accomplished.

U. C. COLLEGE IS DISCOVERED TO HAVE ABSORBED MUCH
THE GREATER PART OF THE WHOLE UNIVERSITY
ENDOWMENT!!

In 1839 Sir George Arthur, then Lieutenant-Governor, had accidentally glanced through certain Returns, relative to U. C. College, that had been prepared for Parliament; [97] and, though accustomed to the extensive educational establishments of England, he expressed himself "much surprised at the outlay." [98] An investigation followed, the result of which will be best stated in the words of the late Mr. Justice Burns, and his fellow-commissioner, Dr. Workman. [99] "According to the statements then furnished U. C. College had received advances from the University amounting to \$137,639 03; and its expenditure from the commencement (January 1830) i. e. for nine years and a half, had been \$241,051 53, of which amount \$121,031 05 was for salaries to masters. It was also discovered that \$8618 11 of its own funds *constituting the entire balance on hand* was held by three parties, officers of the University and the College. Of the above \$8618 11 the College collector, according to his own shewing, had appropriated \$6156 78 to his own purposes." In a healthy state of public opinion such a disclosure as the above would have been fatal to the continuance of an institution which was, at best, existing only on sufferance. U. C. College was, however, permitted to proceed in its mission of undermining the Provincial University, and when the next investigation, (in 1843) [100] occurred, it was found that the interval between 1839 and 1843 had not been left unimproved; for during the four years, 1840-1843 inclusive, the University fund had been depleted to the amount of \$29,735 03. [101] During the brief thirteen years of its existence (1830-1843) not only had U. C. College plundered all the Grammar Schools indiscriminately by the appropriation of more than sixty thousand acres of their endowment; not only had it appropriated the Royal Grants formerly bestowed on the Grammar Schools of Kingston, Cornwall, and Niagara, amounting, in the gross, to \$3000 annually; not only had it preyed on the Casual and Territorial Fund of the Province to the annual amount of One Thousand Pounds Sterling; not only had it applied

95 We derive this statement from various sources,—among others, from a Pamphlet, [page 76,] entitled "The Origin, History, and Management of the University of King's College, Toronto." Toronto: George Brown, 1844. How happens it that Upper Canada College, assailed as it is in the above Pamphlet, and *elsewhere*, so mercilessly, and yet so justly, nearly a quarter of a century ago, is now permitted, unmolested, to continue its expensive and purposeless existence? Is truth, after all, mutable?

96 "Origin, &c., of King's College."

97 Journal Assembly 1839-40—Address to the Lieut.-Governor, March 13, 1839.—Documents in Appendix, pp 467 sqq.

98 Final Report, page 24.

99 Final Report, page 341. In the extract from the Commissioners' Report, we have substituted for £ s d Cy. the equivalent amounts in dollars and cents.

100 Journal Assembly session 1843—Appendix No. 1.

101 Return to an Address from Legislative Assembly, dated June 18, 1851.

to its own use, the property of the Home District School ; not only had it spent \$26,000 of Common School money [102] but it had actually absorbed more than one half of the whole University Endowment. In 1843, before a single lecture had been delivered in King's College, the Bursar of that institution informs us [103] that loans to no less an amount than \$240,000, inclusive of interest, had then been advanced out of the funds of the Provincial University to U. C. College ; and to raise these loans the richest and otherwise most valuable part of the University Endowment had been sold at a sacrifice. [104] We have called these advances to U. C. College, *loans* ; we should rather have named them, *benevolences* ; for however diverse in other respects the advances to that institution were, singularly uniform were they in their result, which may be summed up in the words—neither payment of interest nor restitution of principal.

The means by which U. C. College had been enabled to deplete, to this frightful extent, the University, can be readily rendered intelligible.

THE CANADIAN COURT OF STAR CHAMBER, SIR JOHN COLBORNE PRESIDING.

During the Administration of Sir John Colborne, and subsequently, the favorite expedient to cover an illegal transaction was an ORDER IN COUNCIL. To such an excess was this resort carried that the functions of Parliament were at one time virtually suspended. [105] It will be remembered that the endowment of U. C. College out of the Grammar School Reserves was based only on these Orders in Council. And one of the last administrative acts [106] of Sir John Colborne while Lieut.-Governor of U. Canada, was the endowment, in 1835, by means of an Order in Council of 57 Rectories. The endowment of the latter had certainly been contemplated by the Constitutional act of 1791 ; [107] and the Clergy Reserves had been set aside as the special source of their endowment. [108] And yet when Sir John Colborne, in 1835, undertook by Order in Council, to endow those Rectories out of the Clergy Reserves, the Imperial Government, on the highest legal authority in England, declared the act invalid. [109] Can it then be supposed that the Gov. was authorized to endow by Order in Council, an institution never contemplated by the Legislature, out of an endowment specifically set aside by the law for the maintenance of the Grammar Schools ? We have already seen that the mere dates of the grants to the U. C. College would alone prove fatal to the validity of its endowment, and now we find that in any case, and irrespectively of

102 References in verification of the above particulars have already been supplied.

103 Journal Assembly 1843, Appendix No. 1.—King's College Accounts, with Bursar's note.

104 Final Report. Dr. Gwynne's Statement, page 194 ; also, remarks by Commissioners, page 344.

105 The House of Assembly was practically prohibited from legislating on certain classes of public questions, *e. g.* Education. For a partial list of interdicted subjects, *vide* Journal Assembly 1831-2, Thursday, January 5, 1832.

106 Lord Durham calls it " his last public act."

107 31 Geo. III, cap. 31, §§ 38, 39, 40.

108 *Ibid*, §§ 36, 37.

109 Journal Assembly 1837-8, February 5, 1838. The legal opinion, which will be found in full in the place cited, concludes with the following unmistakable words:—" Thirdly, we are of opinion that the erection and the endowment of the 57 Rectories by Sir John Colborne are ~~not~~ valid and lawful acts."

the particular date, the Governor's proceeding was wholly unauthorized. *And these invalid Orders in Council, it should be most carefully borne in mind, constitute the only authority under which the Grammar Schools were ruthlessly plundered, and under which U. C. College continues at this hour, to enjoy the fruits of its plunder!*

With like deadly effect have these Orders in Council been used against the Provincial University. We would not be understood as saying that in all, aye, or in a majority of the cases where pecuniary advances were made to U. C. College, even this shallow device was resorted to. [110] The very ease with which Orders in Council could, at any time, be evoked obviated the necessity for their frequent use. And when to the easy possibility of Orders in Council we add the circumstance that the Principal of U. C. College enjoyed, from the very beginning, [111] a seat in the governing body of the University, it will be seen how immensely the spoliation of the Provincial University must have been facilitated. The College Council had the control of the financial affairs of the University; [112] five members constituted a quorum; [113] and, when only five members were present, the Principal of U. C. College was almost always one. Take the following as an illustrative example of the practical working of this system. [114] There were between July 15, 1840, and April 27, 1842 (inclusive), sixteen meetings of King's College Council, at only one of which (October 21, 1840) a quorum was present. Notwithstanding the informal character of the remaining fifteen meetings, at eleven out of that number, most important business was transacted, such as the execution of Deeds of Conveyance, and at ten out of the eleven meetings at which the University Endowment was thus illegally disposed of, the Principal of U. C. C. formed one of the three or four members present. We have no desire to press this matter particularly against the then Principal of U. C. College. We do not find that, in such matters, he acted otherwise than his predecessor had done, or than his successor likewise did. Such unwarrantable alienation of University property was essentially part and parcel of the system of things inaugurated simultaneously with the establishment of U. C. College. Now the theory of the University Act of 1837, [115] which constituted U. C. College "an appendage of the University," [116] was, that while the financial affairs of two institutions were to be kept entirely distinct, U. C. C. was to be "subject to the jurisdiction and control of King's College," but in 1843 it was found that in practice their relative positions had become exactly reversed, and that the University was in a state of helpless pupillage to U. C. College!

"FINAL REPORT" ON U. C. COLLEGE.

Notwithstanding the startling disclosures of 1843 things went on continually growing worse until, in '48, the state of affairs had become so alarm-

110 It may surprise some to learn that as late as 1860 one thousand pounds stg. of University money were given (not lent) to Upper Canada College, "by Order in Council."—*Barnes's Statement for 1860, Appendix to Journal Assembly, 1863.* JOURNAL OF ASSEMBLY 1862

111 Pamphlet entitled "Proceedings at the Ceremony of Laying the Foundation Stone of King's College." Toronto: Rowsell, 1843. Appended List of Officers, &c., 1828-1843. SS. PAPER 1

112 Charter of King's College, bearing date March 15, 1828.

113 Ibid. These provisions were retained in the Act of 1837.

114 The particulars which follow can be readily verified by consulting the Final Report, page 137-146.

115 7 Wm IV. cap 16.

116 Ibid. § 2.

ing that Lord Elgin appointed a Special Commission [117] to investigate the condition of U. C. College conjointly with that of the University. The acting Commissioners were Dr. Joseph Workman and the late Mr. Justice Burns. The result of this thorough and most laborious Inquiry is an oct. volume of 366 pages entitled "Final Report on K. C. University and U. C. College." The Commissioners, after complaining of the infinite evasion and ingenious obstacles which were used to defeat the Inquiry, not only by U. C. College, but we greatly regret to say, by the Council of King's College, [118] proceed to details. And such details probably no Commission of Inquiry ever before had to report, and, probably no Commission will have ever again to report, unless, indeed, the financial history of U. C. College since 1848 may furnish materials for a second such volume. No extracts would do full justice to the Final Report. So complete was the confusion that it was with the utmost difficulty that the actual land sales could be verified. [119] The Collector of U. C. College dues frankly stated that from the very outset he had not kept even a Cash Book! [120] The Bursar's Office, as it existed in 1845, is described as exhibiting "a series of scandalous transactions which the Commissioners could have hardly believed could take place in any public office in Canada." [121] After glancing through the printed results of this investigation one is surprised to find that the Report was not in a very obvious sense "final" as regards U. C. College. That it was not *fatal* as well as *final* was no doubt owing to the simple, yet most discreditable circumstance that Toronto was the scene of the institution's operations. One fact, however, brought to light, could not afford to be despised. It appeared that BUT TWO-FIFTHS OF THE QUARTER MILLION OF ACRES THAT ONCE CONSTITUTED THE UNIVERSITY ENDOWMENT NOW (1848) REMAINED. [120] Very nearly all the rest had been sunk in the bottomless quagmire situate in Russell Square, Toronto. [123] It was clear that if the solvency of the Provincial University were to be maintained, that institution must be instantly relieved of the exhausting drain on its resources. Accordingly the University Act of 1849, [124] (Baldwin's Act) cut adrift U. C. College, giving it a separate corporate existence. [125] As the enforcement of the University claims against U. C. College would have rendered the existence of the new corporation a purely spiritual one, [126] a clause was inserted in the Act, [127] cancelling by a single stroke of the pen the grievous wrong U. C. College had inflicted on the University, and, through the University, on the whole Province.

117 The Instrument appointing the Commissioners bears date July 20, 1848.

118 Final Report, pp. 9, sqq.

119 Final Report *passim*. It was found that 49,088 acres of the University Endowment were endangered by what is technically known as "adverse possession." Vide page 6 of final Report.

120 Vide the "Prefatory Observations" of Collector aforesaid. Final Report, page 360, and remarks by Commissioners, page 341.

121 Final Report, page 32.

122 Final Report, page 341.

123 Or, as the Commissioners (page 35)^{too} gently to phrase it, "in the nurturing of U. C. College at the heavy charge of the University."

124 12 Vic. cap 82.

125 Ibid § 51.

126 Final Report, page 357.

127 12 Vic. cap 82, § 68.

CONDITION OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOLS DURING THOSE
TWENTY YEARS (1830-1850).

While resting for a moment at this period of the History of U. C. College, it may be advisable to see how that institution had, during the first twenty years of its existence, affected the Grammar Schools. The diversion to U. C. College of the Royal Grants from the Grammar Schools at Kingston, Cornwall, and Niagara, fairly, for a time, prostrated them. Most energetically did the Kingston Board of Trustees protest against that shameful act of spoliation and most piteously did they represent its disastrous consequences on what had been a most flourishing School. In 1829, again in 1830, again in 1832, again in 1833 [128] do these faithful Trustees, with the late Venerable Archdeacon Stuart at their head, implore assistance. That highly-esteemed and most amiable minister had been the first Master of the Kingston Grammar School, [129] and was then Chairman of its Board of Trustees. In 1835 [130] the Trustees make a last appeal in a document which even at this distance of time, we can hardly read without emotion. They appeal to "His Excellency's sense of justice" in behalf of a District School which has been so much neglected at the "very time when an immense expense both in building and endowing U. C. College has been incurred" "In a very short time the present Schoolhouse will be altogether uninhabitable; and, unless funds are placed at the disposal of the Trustees, there will be absolutely no place in which the master can teach, unless he himself hire one at his own expense." But no relief came; the Kingston Grammar School fell into ruins; and had not the noble-minded Archdeacon surrendered, for the use of the pupils, *his own parlor*, the School would have been dispersed. The like fact is recorded regarding the Niagara School. This Grammar School which, in 1823-4, could boast an average attendance of 85 pupils,—among those pupils some of our most eminent practising lawyers at this hour,—[131] became, through the diversion, to U. C. College, of its grant, so reduced that it was, until quite recently, compelled to take shelter under the hospitable roof of its Headmaster! To the infinite credit of the Kingston Grammar School, and many of the others, it is on record that in those, the days of their direst adversity, they continued to dispense free instruction to a number of poor boys. [132] And herein how honorable to the Grammar Schools, the contrast between their conduct and that of U. C. College, whose first act it was, and whose unvarying policy it has since been to haughtily repulse from its door the sons of the poor! [133]

On the records of Parliament we find during this period, many representations similar to that of the Kingston Trustees. In 1830 [134] the Gore

128 Reports of District Schools in Appendices to Journals Assembly, 1830, 1831, 1832-3, 1833-4.

129 "University Reform." Report of a Public Meeting held at Kingston, March 6, 1861. At this meeting the late Venerable Archdeacon stated that he had been "the Teacher of the first public Grammar School established in the City of Kingston."

130 Journal Assembly 1835, Appendix, vol. 2, pp. 11 sqq.

131 Journal Assembly 1828, Appendix.

132 Journal Assembly 1830, Appendix.

133 The Institution has occasionally (as in the case of the late D. Ryle) for the purposes of advertising, conferred an Exhibition on a talented boy, whose University preparation has been already almost, or quite, completed in the County Grammar Schools. On this subject more will be said afterwards.

134 Journal Assembly 1830, Appendix.

(Hamilton) Master complains of the great discomfort of his School-room. In 1833 we find the Niagara Trustees imploring help ; so again in 1836. [135] Frequent representations were made by the Master of the Newcastle District (Cobourg) School [136] regarding the neglect of that Grammar School. In the winter of 1835 [137] the newly-appointed Brockville (Johnston District) Master thus sadly describes with chattering teeth and desponding heart, his School and its furnishings : room. " cold and uncomfortable ;" furniture, " two or three old benches and tables of no use."

CAUSE OF THIS CONDITION OF AFFAIRS NOT YET REMOVED.

The cause of this distressed condition of the Grammar Schools is very intelligible ; and, as it concerns the Grammar Schools of our own day as much as those of thirty or forty years ago, it deserves careful attention. The provision made by the Legislature in 1807 [188] for this class of Schools was, as shewn above, of an *interim* character. The allowance of £100 cy. per annum was assigned as the nucleus of a modest stipend for the master. The several Districts, in order to avail themselves of this Parliamentary bounty, erected each a school house by private subscription. But the average lifetime of a school-house,—when its lease of life has not been periodically renewed by extensive repairs,—does not exceed the average professional lifetime of a School Master. It will, then, be no matter for surprise that buildings erected in 1807 had, in 1830, fallen into utter ruin. No fund had then, or for that matter, HAS YET been provided for the building, or the repair, or the equipment of Grammar Schools. The unreliable mode of voluntary subscription had utterly failed to raise the fund necessary for extensive repairs, and just at the moment when the actual sale of the Grammar School Reserves was contemplated as the solution of the difficulty, it was discovered that the most valuable portion of that endowment was already fraudulently alienated. Every effort made by the Assembly to re-imburse the Grammar Schools, or otherwise provide for the higher education of the masses was rendered nugatory by a military despot, who would tolerate no rival of U. C. College ; or the effort was defeated by the bigotry of the Legislative Council who saw, even in Common Schools, the fancied enemies of King's College. [139] The injury thus done to the Grammar Schools has never yet been repaired. The whole amount now accruing from the interest of the Grammar School Fund supplemented in each locality by a Municipal grant affords but a very scanty pittance and is therefore very properly, by Act of Parliament [140] restricted to the payment of Masters' Salaries. This scanty provision may, as we shall afterwards see, at once, be most materially increased by a very simple and unobjectionable expedient—the *immediate restoration to*

135 Journal Assembly 1833-4, Wednesday, Dec. 18, 1833 Petition of Niagara Trustees. Journal Assembly, 1836, Monday, Feb. 15, Petition of Niagara Trustees.

136 Journal Assembly 1836, Friday, Feb. 5 Journal Assembly 1836-7, November 14, 1836. Ibid, Jan. 12, 1837. Journal Assembly 1837-8, January 19, 1838.

137 Journal Assembly 1835, Appendix Vol 2. Sess. Paper No 45.

138 47 Geo. III., cap. 6.

139 As exhibitions of this feeling, we have the repeated rejection, by the Legislative Council, of Money Bills, intended for the relief of the Grammar and the Common Schools, or intended for the assistance of such institutions as the Grantham Academy.

140 Consolidated Grammar School Act § 8 ; Grammar School Improvement Act, (1865) § 6.

the Grammar School Fund of the U. C. College Endowment which was fraudulently abstracted therefrom. There is, however, a difficulty of another kind still remaining to be provided for. As matters now stand, there is absolutely no source from which a Grammar School can be repaired, can be warmed or can be provided with the most necessary school apparatus, unless, indeed, fees are imposed on pupils in order to meet such expenses. But these fees are, except in a few schools, of the most trifling character and are annually becoming more distasteful, on account of the happily increasing number of free Common Schools. This is a problem which is constantly becoming a source of greater perplexity and the solution of which cannot be longer deferred. The Common School Trustees can by the right of taxation which has been conceded to them raise the most bountiful provision for the schools committed to their charge; but the Gr. Schools have hitherto been left helpless. The natural result has been the union of the Grammar and Common Schools. But in such unions the Grammar School Trustees are at a great disadvantage. They are now in towns and cities, far outnumbered by the Common School Trustees; and though cases happily do exist in which the latter most honorably abstain from abusing their advantage, still this grossly unequal representation of interests, must, in a clear majority of cases, prove the fertile source of injury to Grammar Schools. It is simply waste of argument to discuss whether a union of Grammar and Common Schools is, in itself, injurious. Such a union is, as matters now rest, absolutely essential to the very existence of nearly every Grammar School in the Province; and any measure looking towards the dissolution of such unions must be PRECEDED, NOT FOLLOWED, by a measure adequately providing for the independent maintenance of the Grammar Schools.

The first union on record arose out of the depredations of U. C. College. The Master of the Niagara Grammar School, [141] having found himself unable, owing to the loss of the Royal Grant, to provide assistance in teaching, struck on the expedient of uniting the not then numerous attended Common School to his own, and thus gaining the services of an assistant Master.

IV. U. C. COLLEGE 1850—1867.

Baldwin's University Act [142] came into force on the first of January 1850. This Act, which converted King's College into the University of Toronto, cut U. C. College adrift and bestowed on it a separate corporate

141 Journal Assembly 1829, Appendix.

142 12 Vic. cap. 82.

existence. [143] As before mentioned, the Statute condoned the insolvency of the latter [144] and enabled it to re-commence, with a clean balance sheet, what we must call the Third Phase of its existence. It had been launched into being with thirteen unincorporated Trustees as its guardians; it had, in March, 1833, [145] by a simple act of the Lieutenant Governor, and, subsequently, in March, 1837, by a formal Act of the Legislature, [146] been transferred to the control of King's College Council; now in 1850 the experiment was to be tried of giving it an independent corporate existence. The general management was to be confided to the Principal and four others, the latter to be appointed by the Crown.

U. C. COLLEGE UNDER THE BOARD OF ENDOWMENT.

To watch over its financial concerns the Act constituted a Board of Endowment. [147] consisting of five persons, three of whom were to form a quorum. The same Board was to exercise the like control over the University finances. [148] The Statute enters into the most elaborate details calculated to check the improvident sale of the U. C. College-Endowment; to check also the borrowing of money. [149] Finally, in order to keep the expenditure within the income, it was provided by Section LXXV, that any deficiency in income was to be made good by a *pro rata* deduction from the various salaries, which in terms of Section LXXIV were to constitute the fifth charge on the Income Fund. We enter into these details, first, in order to show that the most careful legislation has hitherto failed to effect any improvement in U. C. College; and, secondly, because regulations to almost precisely the same effect have, within two years, been again resorted to, by Order in Council. [150]

U. C. COLLEGE AS A BODY CORPORATE.

It may have been fairly anticipated that, out of mere shame for the way in which the Institution had previously abused the forbearance of the country, U. C. College would, for a time at all events, have refrained from acts of extravagance. But at the close of the year 1850, the first year of its corporate existence, there was a deficit of \$670.45; and at the end of the following year (1851) a deficit of \$978.90. For the year ending Dec., 1851 the mere "Incidental Expenses" amounted to \$5183.91. [151.]

While this experiment in Legislation was yielding results so hopeless, it was found that the buildings in which the Institution was housed, were in the same delapidated condition as the Institutions' credit. In 1851 the Principal of U. C. College makes lugubrious laments on the ruinous state

143 § 51.

144 § 68.

145 Final Report, pages 169, 170.

146 7 Wm. IV., cap. 16.

147 12 Vic. cap. 82, §§ 21, 59.

148 § 22.

149 §§ 60, 65, 71.

150 Upper Canada College. Return, laid before the Ontario Assembly, 1868, p. 8.

151 Reports of the Board of Endowment for 1850 and 1851, respectively.

of the whole structure. [152] And yet, up to Dec. 31st, 1849, there had been expended on the buildings the enormous sum of \$81,762.20. [153.]

THE LAST EXPERIMENT IN LEGISLATION.

With such results from all previous legislation, it does seem nothing short of judicial infatuation to have again experimented in the same direction. The University Act of 1853, [154] ("Hincks' Act,") which still continues in force, terminated the short and discreditable corporate existence of U. C. College, and once more placed it under the management of the Senate of the Provincial University. Its financial affairs, as heretofore, were to be kept wholly distinct from those of the latter Institution and were to be managed by a Bursar, under the direction of the Governor in Council.

ILLEGAL REVIVAL OF THE BOARD OF ENDOWMENT.

The Act of 1853 having repealed [155] that of 1849, under which latter the Board of Endowment had been constituted, and having substituted a new system of management, it of course followed that the Board was *ipso facto* dissolved. But, as we suppose, in compliment to the Board's brilliant management of the U. C. College finances, from 1850 to 1853 inclusive, this expensive superfluity then happily, and, as it was hoped, for ever defunct, was revived by means of the old cabalistic device—an Order in Council. [156.] The next step was quite in keeping with the foregoing. In compliance with a memorial of the Bursar, the Executive attached a salary of \$400 per annum to his position as Chairman of this Board. [157] Not only so: arrears at the same rate were paid from 1854, the year in which the office had been abolished by Act of Parliament. [158] Mr. David Buchan appeared before the University Select Committee of 1860, in his two-fold character of Bursar and Chairman of the Board of Endowment. While explaining his somewhat ghostly functions he is good enough to observe: "I and the Board of Endowment with me have had "to make the income to a great extent." The peculiar propriety of the order of words, [159] "I and the Board," which by the way strongly reminds us of the "*Ego et Rexmeus*" of Cardinal Wolsey—becomes apparent when we mention that on the examination of Mr. David Buchan in 1860, the Chairman appeared to be the only representative of the Board. It appeared that this "advisory body," as the Bursar is pleased [160] to designate it, was well nigh defunct for the second time.

SCENE IN PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE:

Examination of Mr. David Buchan, Chairman of Board of Endowment:

"Question 286. How many meetings were there last year? *Ans.* There have not been many meetings.

152 "Report of the Principal of Upper Canada College for 1851"

153 Bursar's Return, laid before Legislative Assembly in 1856, page 52.

154 16 Vic. cap. 89 (Consolidated Statutes 22nd Vic. cap. 62).

155 *Ibid* §1.

156 Evidence taken by University Commission, 1861.

157 *Ibid*.

158 Report of University Commission, 1861.

159 Proceedings of University Select Committee, 1860.

160 *Ibid*.

"Question 287. Were there more than two? *Ans.* I cannot tell. I will not say there were.

"Question 289. How many persons attended that *one* meeting which occurred in 1859. *Ans.* Three persons."

After the foregoing, no difficulty will be found in understanding the conclusion at which the University Commission of 1861 arrived: "Very grave doubts may be entertained as to the necessity for the office of Chairman of the Board of Endowment." In [161] accordance with the foregoing recommendation the Board of Advice appears to have been suppressed amid the audible titters of the Public; and the Bursar has ever since been left to toil on unadvised and unconsolated, save by a numerous staff of Clerks.

We have hitherto found that with every succeeding change in the administration of U. C. College, greatly increased expense has been the result. This rule, which is all the more remarkable as being a rule without an exception, meets with its most abundant illustration during the period (1850-1867) which brings us down to the present time.

PRESENT FINANCIAL CONDITION OF U. C. COLLEGE.

We have above given the deficits and some other items relative to 1850-3. We shall now proceed to the subsequent years. For the year 1854 the expenditure exceeded the income by \$3864.90. The accounts for that year [162] are stated with some degree of detail and we become thereby aware of some singular facts regarding the economy of the establishment. For instance we find that "Plumbers' ordinary repairs" cost (the country and the County Grammar Schools) \$180.66; we find a carpenter's bill amounting to \$2406.36. The year 1855 was an ever-memorable one in the annals of U. C. College. There was actually in that year [163] a saving effected to the amount of \$410.08 out of an income which exceeded \$21,000. There *was* actually a surplus in spite of such items as the following: Plumbing \$329.51; "management" \$1619.70. It is not irrelevant to inquire whether the "management" of this rather *unruly* establishment includes the cost of "rattan canes" which, in some years we find to constitute a really formidable item. We do not find the accounts for 1856 and 1857 among our Parliamentary papers. Pass we on, therefore, to 1858. [164] Expenditure \$33,139.55; Income \$30,955.39; Deficit \$2184.16. In that year's items we find an answer to our above query regarding "management." We find that the cost of management was \$2300.00 and that "rattan canes" cost \$4.88 extra.

RECENT ADVANCES TO U. C. COLLEGE OUT OF UNIVERSITY FUNDS.

We find that in the same year (1858), the University Senate advanced to U. C. College (inclusive of 45 day's interest) \$1750.00, which had been received from the Bishop of Toronto in settlement, we presume, of a note

161 Report of University Commission, 1861.

162 Bursar's Statement for 1854.

163 Bursar's Statement for 1855. "Income Fund Account."

164 "Upper Canada College. The Bursar's Statement of Cash Transactions for the year ending December 31, 1868."

held against him by the University. Notwithstanding, however, this advance there was still the enormous deficit above mentioned. We have now before us the Bursar's Statement for 1859: Income \$26,694.69; Expenditure \$32,766.98; Deficit \$6072.29. [165] Now we have those for 1860: Income \$28,604.59; Expenditure \$35,962.26; Deficit \$7357.67. [166] This year witnessed another and still larger advance to U. C. College made by the University Senate out of University Funds. And yet this gift of £1000 sterling did not prevent the above deficit in the U. C. College accounts. It will not be surprising to any one to hear that this scandalous transaction was shielded by the old resort—an Order in Council. [167] Was the Provincial University in a position at this time to lavish Provincial money on a Toronto School? Let us see! At the close of the very year which witnessed this advance, we find that the Provincial University was in debt to the large amount of \$28,201.79 and that there was a net deficit for the following year alone of \$11,057.07. [168] Still more amazed are we to find in this latter year (1861) the Senate attempting to make good their advances to U. C. College by reducing the number of University Scholarships, and reducing the value of the Gold and Silver Medals! [169] The Scholarships given for the assistance of indigent talent must needs be cut down from 61 to 32, [170] though the attendance of students was 229 in 1861 against 206 in 1860; and the Gold and Silver Medals must needs be clipped, and all for what? to supply U. C. College with the means of indulging its senseless extravagance. The paltry sum representing the cost of Medals and Prizes must be reduced, when the year immediately preceding the reduction a sum amounting to very many times their total cost had been presented as a free gift to U. C. College. As to the reduction in the number of Scholarships: that number, when placed at 61, may possibly have been excessive,—though, in a country circumstanced as Canada is, we doubt it,—but the reason for the reduction assigned by the Senate most distinctly precludes any such consideration. It was simply owing to lack of funds, and this lack of funds was itself owing to the amount advanced in the previous year to U. C. College. If the number of the Scholarships in the Provincial University be excessive, then, *on that ground*, reduce the number, but we must most vehemently protest against this reduction being made in order to advance Provincial funds to a Toronto School. The number of Students on the University Register to-day is, we believe, rather more than twice the number in 1861, and yet the number of Scholarships in 1868 [171] is very little in excess of half the number as it stood in 1860. From all of which we infer that the following extraordinary rule prevails: the number of Scholarships awarded is inversely as the number of students competing! The reason for this state of things is, alas! too manifest. The University is, at the present moment, reeling under the weight of a debt amounting to between *sixty and seventy thousand dollars*. [172] This debt, of course,

165 Ditto for 1859.

166 Ditto for year ending 31st December, 1860.

167 University of Toronto. Bursar's Statements for 1860.

168 University of Toronto. Bursar's Statements for 1860, 1861.

169 Report of the Senate of the University of Toronto for 1861. Sess. Papers for 1863.

170 Ibid.

171 The number of Scholarships now offered annually for competition is as follows: in Arts, 24; Medicine, 4; Law, 4; Total, 32. Whereas, in 1860, the total number was, as above stated, 61.

172 Toronto University. Return, 1868.

effectually prevents the institution from expanding with the requirements of this rapidly growing country. Now, as a very small fraction of the sum which has, from time to time, been extorted from the University by U. C. College, would be sufficient to efface this enormous debt, is it unfair to attribute the present crippled condition of the University to the continued existence of U. C. College? While Toronto newspapers have been making a silly bugbear of the so-called Denominational Colleges as if they threatened the prosperity of the University, the very EXISTENCE of that institution is being imperilled by a nondescript School which continues, unmolested, its operations in Toronto itself!

MR. CHRISTIE'S "RETURN."

While the public mind is occupied with the dangers threatening the Provincial University, it will, we fancy, be too indignant to award much attention to the precise amount of the most recent deficits in the U. C. College accounts. The duty has, however, been committed to us of exploring the whole ground occupied by our subject, and the exploration must be proceeded with accordingly.

Leaving out of sight the Journal of the recently-constituted Local Legislature, no Statement since that of 1861 exists on the records of Parliament; nor do we find any mention of a rejection of these Statements by the Printing Committee. The accounts for 1861 appear, moreover, only in connection with the Journal for 1863. [173] All this is of course in direct contravention of the University Act of 1853 (Consolidated Statutes 22 Vict. cap. 62 § 72) which enacts that it shall be the duty of the Bursar to lay annually before the Legislature a Detailed Account, "and such Annual Account shall shew, among other things:" (clauses 1, 2, 3, 4.) The number of acres of land disposed of; the amount received for the same; the number of acres remaining unsold &c. : (clause 5.) the amount of capital invested and the amount expended to the end of the preceding year: (clause 6.) the Income and Expenditure with details regarding the same. On the violation of this express provision of the law being made known to Robert Christie, Esq, M. P. P. for North Wentworth, Mr. Christie with a sense of public duty for which he deserves the gratitude, not alone of the Grammar School Masters, but of the whole Province, brought the matter under the attention of the Assembly, and secured a Return [174] which partially supplies the information that ought to have been voluntarily afforded by the Bursar in each year. This Return affords, and that only in abstract, the information (1861—June 30, 1867) required by clause 6 above cited. The particulars required by the remaining clauses of the Statute continue still unsupplied, except, as previously stated, in the case of 1861, the accounts for which year will be found in the Journal of the Legislative Assembly for 1863. On opening Mr. Christie's Return and referring to 1861 the first matter that arrests our attention is the apparent discrepancy between this Statement for 1861 and the one contained in the Journal for 1863. In the latter, the Bursar of U. C. College informs us that the total Expenditure for 1861 was \$32,493 15 and now, in the recent Statement for the same year, the Expenditure is stated at only \$26,425 60. On closer examination we find, however, that the discrepancy

173 Journals Assembly 1863. "Sess Papers 15—79."

174 Upper Canada College. Return to an Address by the Legislative Assembly, dated 14th February, 1868.

is only apparent. The Balance is the same and the more favorable result is obtained by the judicious use of a system of offsets placed in inner columns. Whatever the object of this device may have been,—a device the Bursar in no previous Parliamentary return had resorted to,—the effect of thus arranging the figures is to give U. C. College the illusory appearance of spending much less than that institution actually does. Thus in the accounts for 1861, on the Bursar's two modes of exhibiting the expenditure, there is a difference amounting to \$6,067 55. As we have above stated the Balance is the same, this Balance being the debt, (exclusive of interest and University advances.) incurred by U.C. College from 1850 to 1861 inclusive, and this debt amounting to \$11,967 or an average annual deficit for those twelve years of nearly \$1000. Correcting the accounts for the following year (1862) as above indicated, that is to say as they would formerly have been exhibited, and taking the Balance at the Bursar's shewing, we obtain the following results : Nominal Expenditure \$35,050 05 ; Real Expenditure \$40,227 05 ; Net Deficit for the year 1862, as stated by the Bursar, \$3627 22. [175] In addition to the above enormous expenditure on account of the Income Fund for 1861 and 1862, we notice also that inroads to an extraordinary extent were made, during those years, on the Capital Account,—[176] in 1861 to the amount of \$2400; in 1862 further inroads amounting in the gross to \$7,183 55 As may have been anticipated the wanted Orders in Council came to the rescue! In 1863 there was a surplus, which is not to be wondered at when we remember the merciless depletion of Capital that occurred during the two preceding years. In 1864 the normal condition of things was resumed, that is of course there was a large deficit, no less an amount than \$5,254 26. The debt of the institution accumulated since Jan. 1 1850, was at the end of 1864 \$19,839 76 exclusive of interest. The year 1865 was a broken one, owing to the assimilation of the U. C. College fiscal year, to that of the Province. [177] In 1865 the extravagant outlay of U. C. College appears to have attracted the attention of the Governor-General, for we find an Order in Council, dated Dec. 21, 1865, [178] laying down rules of management almost identical with those fruitless regulations to be found in the University Act of 1849. [179] Curious to discover whether a mere Order in Council could effect, in behalf of U. C. College, what repeated Acts of the Legislature have wholly failed to accomplish, we turn up the accounts for 1866 [180] and we are not disappointed: Net Deficit \$1657 18! For 1867 the Receipts in the Income Appropriation Account exactly covered the Expenditure. [181] 1867 has, no doubt therefore been already celebrated, in turgid College verse, as *Annus Mirabilis*—"The Year of Wonder."

THE RESULT OF THE LAST ATTEMPT TO LEGISLATE FOR U. C. COLLEGE.

We are now in a position to estimate the success that has attended the latest Legislative experiment in behalf of U. C. College. As we approach the present time we find the average annual deficit constantly

- 175 Mr. Christie's Return. Bursar's Statement of Income and Expenditure for
1862
176 Notes appended to Bursar's Statements for 1861 and 1862.
177 Mr. Christie's Return, page 6.
178 *Ibid.* page 8.
179 *Vide supra.*
180 Mr. Christie's Return, page 9.
181 *Ibid.*, page 16.

increasing, and if we particularly consider the six and a half years ending with June, 1867, [182] the average annual deficit becomes truly appalling. During this period, which coincides with the incumbency of the present Headmaster, the debt of the Institution has increased from \$11,967.26 (Dec. 31, '61,) to \$17,524.77, (June 30, '67,) that is the debt has had added to it (excluding interest) \$5,557.51. [183] If to this sum be still added the inroads on capital, made in 1861 and 1862, with a view to meeting working expenses, [184] we obtain the net deficit for the last six years and a half, of \$15,141.06, or an average annual deficit of \$2329.39! How accurately did the Chief Superintendent of Education characterize the career of U. C. College, when, a few years ago, he stated: "Successive enquiries have been made, and new Boards of Management have been appointed; and yet U. C. College is confessedly less efficient and less beneficial to the country, while it is very much more expensive, now, than it was twenty years ago."

Before taking a temporary leave of these Bursar's statements there is one thing connected with them which we readily profess ourselves unable to comprehend. Year after year we find the actual payments exceeding, by large sums, the actual receipts—which implies a feat popularly supposed to be impossible—but a feat which in U. C. College is annually accomplished without even a remark. Now we beg to ask, *how are these annual deficits made good?* By abstraction from the Capital? or still worse by advances from the Provincial University? It is true we are assured in the recent Return (p. 17,) that, "no amount has been advanced to U. C. College, out of the Funds of the University of Toronto, for the several years, 1861—1867 both inclusive." But, really, after looking through the documents connected with these two institutions, we have found that advances of this kind have been so repeatedly disguised under a mere trick of words, that we have become incurably distrustful.

A MILLION OF DOLLARS!

And now looking back over the whole financial history of U. Canada College, we ask ourselves what sum in the gross, has this institution cost the country? Fortunately, we can make a close approximation. The Bursar, in reply to a query from Parliament in 1861, [185] gave the total expenditure, (inclusive of the trifling capital invested, but exclusive of interest which would immeasurably exceed the former sum,) up to Dec. 31, 1861 as \$801,540 15. If to this be added the expenditure of U. C. College for the last seven years, [186] the grand total will exceed ONE MILLION OF DOLLARS! And what has this Province to exhibit for such frightful expenditure? What visible results for the 38 years' existence of this institution, every year of which has cost the country, on an average, \$26,316? We shall leave to others to answer this question. As for ourselves, we can conscientiously say that we are unable to discern a single good result that could not have been better attained without U. C. College; and we witness many evil results for which that institution must be

182 The date to which the Bursar's Statements extend.

183 Mr. Christie's Return, page 2; also, page 12.

184 In 1861 \$2,400 was withdrawn from the Permanent Fund; in 1862, two sums amounting, in the gross, to \$7,183 55, vide Bursar's notes to Statements for 1861 and 1862 respectively.

185 Bursar's Statements for 1861. Sess. Papers for 1863.

186 Bursar's Statements in Mr. Christie's Return.

held responsible—not least among these evil results, the permanent impoverishment of one hundred Grammar Schools, and the well-nigh accomplished ruin of the Provincial University.

INNER LIFE OF U. C. COLLEGE.

It has been, from the first, the singular privilege, or, to speak more correctly, the singular misfortune, of U. C. College, to enjoy immunity from public inspection. As early as 1835, [187] the House of Assembly made representations on this subject to the Imperial Government. And the shallow mystery, in which the institution thus contrived, at the beginning to wrap its proceedings, has been perpetuated to this hour. The present Principal of U. C. College reminds us that the inspection of that institution is in the hands of a Committee of the Senate of the University of Toronto. It is quite true that a Statute of the University [188] makes provision for the appointment of such a Committee and prescribes its duties, but it is equally true, that such Committees, if really operative at all, have never yet laid before Parliament that full and particular information which is exacted by the Educational Department of the humblest School in the land. Only once or twice on the records of Parliament, can we find a Report of the Senate, relative to U. C. College, exceeding a few lines in length. Of the very few exceptions to this general rule the Report for 1860 [189] constitutes one; and that Report is almost wholly occupied with an antediluvian discussion on Corporal Punishment. It was actually then decided, that the wholesale employment of "rattan canes," [190] was not *absolutely* essential to the acquisition of knowledge. Happy decision! Happy, happy College Masters!! Thrice happy College boys!!! We ought not to complain of the length of the Committee's Report for 1860,—though its relevancy is certainly rather problematical,—for we find, as above stated, that length is not the prevailing vice of the few Reports scattered throughout the Sessional Papers. In 1862 the whole Report regarding U. C. College occupies six lines of print, and those six lines do not contain half that number of instructive facts. The most prominent place in the Report is afforded to the exhilarating circumstance that a large additional sum of Grammar School money had been then recently squandered on the U. C. College Boarding House. All the small residue of the Report consists of the vaguest generalities regarding an institution whose total expenditure for that year, (1862) was, as the Bursar informs us, \$35,050 05, (192). Now this brief Report for 1862 is the latest to be found among the Parliamentary Papers, and it is not probable that the Reports of so august a body as the Senate of the University of Toronto, would, if really presented,

187 Journal Assembly 1835, Appendix Vol. I.

188 University Statutes. Toronto: Rowsell. Statute LII. (repealing § 1 of Statute XXVI.) fixes the number of the "Committee of U. C. C." at five members,—three to form a quorum. The duties of this Committee are defined by Statute XXVI. §§ 2—5.—By the way, why are not the University Statutes now published? Do these unpublished Statutes constitute the *Lex Non Scripta* of University Jurisprudence?

189 Journal Assembly 1861. Sess. Paper No. 17.

190 *Vide supra*.

191 Journal Assembly 1864. "Sess. Papers 4C—73."

192 *Vide supra*.

have been slighted by the Printing Committee of the Legislature. For this neglect we are not disposed to blame the Committee of the Senate. The ruling body of the University ought never to have been burdened at all with the care of this hopeless institution. The members, moreover, of the Committee of Supervision are Professors, whose duties proper, are laborious and incessant, and whom it is unfair, in the public interest, to trouble with the minute, but necessary details of a School.

Through want of properly-prepared Reports regarding U. C. College, the Legislature has had,—in the face of peremptory enactments compelling such information,—to resort to Addresses to the Governor, in order to secure Returns. And, even then, Parliament may congratulate itself if the demand is complied with. In 1856 [193] the Legislative Assembly addressed His Excellency for a detailed Report regarding U. C. College. The reply was a very incomplete Return, which dismissed, in the most contemptuous manner, the demands of Parliament. It became actually necessary for the Assembly again [198] to address His Excellency, before the desired information was forthcoming. So true is U. C. College to its traditions, that, remembering it had been established in 1830, in defiance of a weak Legislature, it ventured, in 1856, on the perilous experiment of giving the rebuff direct to a Body in possession of full Legislative powers. And so again we find it acting in 1868, when the Assembly demands, by an Address, [195] a "detailed statement" of the attendance of pupils during 1867. The Assembly, in 1856, understood such a Report to mean one giving "the number of Students, distinguishing the Day Students, their residences, religion, and age;" but, when Parliament in 1868 demands a "detailed statement," the reply of the Principal of U. C. College is: "1867 total, 244." [196.]

The practical result of the system of supervision pursued in U. C. College has been that the Legislature has been kept wholly in the dark, and that the casual visitor at the institution has been permitted to see just so much of its working as the Principal has thought proper. Mr. Cockburn enlarges, rather gratuitously, on the facilities afforded by him to visitors, and takes especial credit for an invitation extended to the Grammar School Inspector. We think that if the Principal of U. C. College reconsiders the matter, he will remember that, in this particular instance, the request came to him, not from him. We are, further, of opinion that, on more extended acquaintance with the late Grammar School Inspector, Mr. Cockburn would have found him,—possibly to his advantage,—to be not only "*an intelligent man*," but a most accomplished scholar. The Principal of U. C. College states that "*he courts inspection*." He will then surely credit us for our humble efforts to make his *suit* successful,—meaning by inspection, such PARLIAMENTARY INSPECTION as will remove the accumulated injustice of nearly 40 years! Let us hope that the Legislature will not permit U. C. College to become, by length of days, such a Castle of Indolence as the anomalous, irresponsible

193 Journal Assembly 7th March, 1856.

194 Journal Assembly 1856, 14th April.

195 Journal Assembly 1868, February 14.

196 Mr. Christie's Return p. 17.

Foundations of England have, in too many cases, become, [197] degenerate Schools in which the ambition of the youth has come to be the Captaincy of a Cricket Club; Schools in which the boys display more skill with the broad-sword than in intellectual fence.



V. U. C. C. AND THE OTHER GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

U. C. COLLEGE REPRESENTATION IN THE UNIVERSITY SENATE: HOW IT AFFECTS THE OTHER GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

We have already witnessed the immense injury done to the financial interests of the University by the presence in its Senate of the Principal of U. C. College. We shall now see how such representation has affected the County Grammar Schools. As before stated, the quorum of the Senate was originally fixed at five members. At that number it still remains. [198] We have had occasion also to observe that the meetings of the Senate were, formerly, as a rule, thinly attended; and that the Principal of U. C. College was almost invariably present. These observations apply with equal force to the present time, and to the present subject.

U. C. College Masters examine their own pupils for University Honors:

One of the chief functions of the Senate consists in the selection, annually, of University Examiners. With so limited an attendance of members at the meetings of that body, one would have been prepared for errors of judgment, in matters requiring unusually nice discrimination. But one would certainly have never anticipated that the gross and obvious impropriety would have been committed of appointing the Masters of a Grammar School as the Examiners, for University Honors, of their own and of rival pupils. When the reputation of the University for impartiality, was paramount to every other consideration, it does seem utter fatuity to have made choice, for such appointments, of men whose duty and whose interest must, evidently, have come into direct collision.

197 Schools Inquiry Commission, (England,) 1868, Report Vol. I; the Commissioners in this Report use the following language: "Hardly anything, as we believe, would be more likely to prevent a man from founding a school at the present day than the spectacle presented by many of those founded three centuries ago."

As if to remove all excuse for falling into so grave an error, the University Senate have had before them the practice in such matters of the University of London. That distinguished University,—the institution on which the University of Toronto has been modelled,*—wisely spends a very considerable portion of its whole income in providing as Examiners, individuals whose daily pursuits will not conflict with their duty to the University. In this respect, however, the Provincial University has wandered very far, indeed, from its model. As particularly regards the appointment to Examinerships of U. C. College Masters, the following Table, extending over eleven years, will illustrate the practice complained of.

TABLE. (199)

Year.	Name of Examiner.	Subject of University Examination.	Position held by Examiner in U. C. C.
1856	James Brown, B. A.,	Mathematics.	Teacher of Mathematics.
1857	Rev. W. Stennett, M. A.	History and Eng. Branches.	Principal of U. C. C.
	M. Barrett, M. D.	Chemistry.	Eng. Master & Lec. on Chemistry and Physiology.
1858	Rev. E. Schluter.	Modern Languages.	Teacher of German Lan.
	Rev. W. Stennett, M. A.	History and Eng. Branches.	Principal of U. C. C.
	James Brown, B. A.	Mathematics.	Teacher of Mathematics.
	M. Barrett, M. D.	Chemistry.	Eng. Master & Lec. on Chemistry and Physiology.
1859	Rev. E. Schluter.	Modern Languages.	Teacher of German Lan.
	W. Wedd, M. A.	Classics.	Classical Master.
	Henry Haacke.	Modern Languages.	Teacher of German Lan.
1860	W. Wedd, M. A.	Classics.	Classical Master.
1861	G. R. R. Cockburn, M. A.	History and Eng. Branches.	Principal of U. C. C.
1862	M. Barrett, M. D.	Physiology and Com. Anat'y	Eng. Master & Lec. on Physiology and Chemistry.
	Rev. E. Schluter.	Modern Languages.	Teacher of Mod. Languages.
1863	Rev. E. Schluter.	Modern Languages.	Teacher of Mod. Languages.
1864	M. Barrett, M. D.	Physiology and Com. Anat'y	Eng. Master & Lec. on Phys.
1865	M. Barrett, M. D.	Do do	Do do
1866	M. Barrett, M. D.	Do do	Do do

From the above Table it appears that in 1857 three of the Masters of U. C. College were Examiners in the University. By a singular coincidence, in that year, U. C. College had no less than two representatives in the University Senate, viz. : Rev. W. Stennett and Dr. Barrett ; and by a coincidence, more singular still, these two representatives in the Senate were also Examiners. It is surely not possible that these gentlemen nominated themselves to Examinerships ? It also appears from the Table that, in 1858, no less than four of the Masters of U. C. College were Examiners at the University. The two coincidences above noticed, again, unfortunately meet us here. We are aware that it has been urged that, because Dr. Barrett was also connected at that time with a School of Medicine that, therefore, he ought not to be regarded as the representative of U. C. College. But this is solemn trifling ; for U. C. College, no doubt, obtained, by his presence in the Senate, an additional vote where her interests were in question. And thus it happened

* 16 Vic. Cap. 89 § 20.

199 Compiled from the University Examination Papers for the various years.

that in meetings of the University Senate, when only a quorum was in attendance, U. C. College required but the casting vote of the Chairman to carry any measure whatever! In his letter to the Toronto newspapers Mr. Cockburn affirms that when, in 1861, he acted as University Examiner he was not Principal of U. C. College. But here, as in innumerable other passages of that audacious epistle Mr. Cockburn's memory appears to be treacherous. We have now before us evidence which would go to show that Mr. Cockburn was made Principal in June, 1861; and that the University Examinations took place during the Fall of the same year. And in this connection it appears to us somewhat strange that Mr. Cockburn has not, as an Examiner, represented U. C. College more than once, while his subordinates have been repeatedly chosen, since 1861, to fill that position. Mr. Cockburn assumes, rather unnecessarily, that while Examiner in the University, he filled that position as the representative of the Grammar School Masters. The Masters will probably decline such involuntary representation; nay more, they will no more permit one of their own number to occupy a seat in the Senate, than they will the Principal of U. C. College.

On once more referring to the Table, it will be seen that it is precisely in the least excusable direction that these most objectionable appointments have been made, viz., in the subjects of Chemistry, Physiology, and Modern Languages. Now, there is certainly, in Canada, no such lack of scientifically-trained Physicians on the one hand, or of highly cultivated Frenchmen and Germans on the other, no such lack, we repeat, as to compel a resort to U. C. College Teachers as Examiners in those subjects. It is quite possible, also, we conceive, to find, beyond the pale of that institution, gentlemen possessing a competent knowledge of History and of the English Branches. It will not do to say, "We cannot procure a supply of Examiners," until a visible effort has previously been made to do so. It is customary with the University of London [200] to invite, by means of annual advertisements, stating the amount of remuneration offered, applications for Examinerships. Has the University of Toronto ever done so? If the remuneration offered is not sufficiently large to attract men of cultivation, then increase the remuneration! It is certainly not in this direction that a saving should be attempted. Judging from the needy advertisements constantly recurring in the English papers, there would be no difficulty experienced in bringing out annually, as Examiners, Honor Graduates of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, provided a small remuneration beyond their actual travelling expenses were offered. "Lack of funds" may not be pleaded in arrest of judgment! Certainly the gratuity of £1000 stg. [201] bestowed by the University of Toronto, in 1860, on U. C. College would have been amply sufficient to have defrayed such expenses for that year, and have thus saved the University a scandal. Nor would there be any difficulty experienced in holding all the University Examinations at the same period of the year, provided the desire to do so were sufficiently strong. Whatever arrangement may be made, it is felt by all to be high time that the examination of University students by their own Teachers

200 *Vide* the London *Athenæum* for many years past.

201 Bursar's Statements above quoted.

should cease, whether those Teachers be known as Professors, or Lecturers, or Masters. No Teacher, no matter how lofty his designation, will suffer injury from a distinct consciousness, that the exertions put forth in behalf of the students, will, at the close of each Session, be dispassionately estimated.

As to the action of the Senate in making the particular appointments to which we have above alluded, we have no hesitation in saying that a more disastrous course of conduct could hardly have been taken. It would be idle, if not wrong, to conceal the fact that the frequency of such appointments as the above has created in the minds of the Grammar School Masters, a feeling of uneasiness and insecurity which nothing but the suppression of U. C. College will remove. This unfortunate result has been favored by many occurrences.

TREATMENT OF U. C. COLLEGE BY THE UNIVERSITY, AND ITS TREATMENT OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

The contrast throughout between the treatment of U. C. College, by the Provincial University, and its treatment of the County Grammar Schools, is unhappily too well marked. And yet every well-wisher of the University knows that the strength of that institution consists in the friendship of the Grammar Schools; and that its weakness consists in its connection with U. C. College. When Mr. Vice-Chancellor Langton was examined before the University Commission of 1861, he expressed himself [202] surprised that the University should be assailed, and not U. C. College. The former was evidently to his mind,—and we trust it may yet be *made* to be,—an impregnable fortress, the latter an outlying pile of brick work, undefended and indeed indefensible. He, on the same occasion, threw out a suggestion, in which he was anticipated by a now-repealed Act of the Legislature, [203] a suggestion however which does him infinite credit, and for which he deserves the grateful remembrance of Grammar School Masters. He proposed that the surplus income, if any, of the University, should be devoted to assisting the Grammar Schools. The Vice-Chancellor spoke with truth of the liberal support of these schools, as “an object in which all the Colleges have an equal interest, and not only the Colleges, but the whole country.” What, however, is the extent of the favor shewn by the University of Toronto to the Grammar Schools? The Masters of these Schools have continued now, for a series of years, sending up their annual quota of Students, proving thus, in the most practical and valuable way their attachment to the University; but of this service they have received what is indeed but scant acknowledgment. In their day of need—which is not yet passed—the University has never been able to find a single cent to contribute to their support, while it has bestowed on U. C. College more than one half of its total Endowment. It has rewarded their constancy by appointing as Examiners of their Students, the Teachers of an institution which the Grammar Schools have always regarded as the usurper of their birth-

202 Journal Assembly 1863, Vol. of Appendix, entitled “Session Papers 15—79.”

203 2 Vic. Cap. 10 § 3. This Act was repealed by 4 and 5 Vic. Cap. 19.

right. Later still, the University has subjected the Masters of the County Grammar Schools to the gross indignity of depending for a first knowledge of a change in Curriculum on the boys of U. C. College. (204) At a meeting of the G. S. Masters held in Toronto, Jan. 4, 1868, it was shewn that the pupils of U. C. College had been engaged on a new Curriculum *more than three months* in advance of the publication of that Curriculum by the University! No official announcement has even yet been made to the Grammar Schools of any change—an announcement to which, we conceive, they are, by law, entitled.

And, at the present moment, the University is annually publishing, under its *imprimatur*, Honor Lists which attribute to U. C. College the honestly-won honors of the Grammar Schools. Take up at random any of the recent lists,—say for Sept. 1865. [205] Here we find attributed to U. C. College the credit of preparing that youth of great promise, D. Ryrie, whose early death the Province has not yet ceased to mourn. But the credit of his preparation undoubtedly belongs to the Toronto Grammar School. This every Master *knows* to be the case, and the outer world can verify the fact for itself by enquiring what position Ryrie occupied in U. C. College on his admission to that School. But perhaps the answer to this will be,—that, for the sake of brevity, the University ascribes to that institution, from which the student immediately proceeded to the University, the credit of his preparation. To this, the most appropriate and the most effective reply would be,—*that truth ought never to be sacrificed to brevity!* We shall not, however, avail ourselves of this rejoinder, but proceed to the examination of another list. We have now before us the Honor List for 1867. [206] We find the preparation of M. Kew attributed to U. C. College. Did this young man enter the University directly from that institution? Nothing of the kind! He had so far completed his University preparation at the Beamsville Grammar School as to enter the highest or next-to-highest form of U. C. College. He then spent within its walls, five terms,—which, in the division of the school year there adopted, average ^{rather less than six months} each,—he next returned to the Beamsville Grammar School, and, finally, after spending there ~~a second interval of longer duration than that consumed in U. C. College,~~ ^{five calendar months under the Grammar school tuition} he entered the University. These two illustrations, selected at random, will enable the public to characterize the system pursued, and to judge how severely the loyalty of the Grammar School Masters to the Provincial University has been tried. THE MASTERS, AS A BODY, MOST EARNESTLY DESIRE TO SEE THE INTEGRITY OF THE UNIVERSITY MAINTAINED; but, in respect for the positions they occupy, they DEMAND that this institution, U. C. College, which, from the day of its foundation to the present, has been constantly used against them as an instrument of injury and insult,—be forthwith suppressed. Thus, and thus only, will their confidence in the purity of University administration be restored.

204 The *Toronto Globe* of Jan. 6, 1868, assumes, editorially, to correct this statement, a statement unanimously sustained by a large meeting of Grammar School Masters.

205 Published by H. Rowsell, Toronto.

206 Toronto: H. Rowsell.

U. C. COLLEGE EXHIBITIONS. [207]

Mr. Cockburn apparently justifies the insult which he at present annually offers to Grammar School Masters, in his Exhibition Circulars, by the following considerations: 1. The alleged assistance given to poor boys by means of these Exhibitions. 2. The alleged fact that U. C. College is "something more than a Grammar School." 3. The alleged fact that, in any case, the quality of the teaching done at U. C. College is superior to the instruction offered by Grammar Schools. These allegations we shall proceed to examine *seriatim*.

1. *How far are poor boys assisted in preparing for the University by obtaining U. C. College Exhibitions?*

These Exhibitions are awarded annually on an examination in the subjects of the 4th and the 5th forms. That is to say, a boy must have completed the most important part of his University preparation before he is assisted in preparing for the University! That the most important part of his preparation has then been accomplished, is manifest from the following considerations. The "forms," through which U. C. College pupils pass, are six in number, and represent as many years of study. [208] It is, therefore, evident that boys who have completed the course prescribed for the 4th form have, *even in the contemplation of U. C. College*, completed also four-sixths or two-thirds of their University preparation. Now this is the lowest standing which boys must occupy who compete for these Exhibitions. But, as even the least advanced of the boys entering the fifth form, has completed two-thirds of his University preparation, it is manifest that a County Grammar School boy who obtains an Exhibition over all the other boys entering the fifth form, must have completed considerably *more* than two-thirds of his preparation for the University. Similarly, when a County Grammar School boy obtains an Exhibition on his entrance into the *sixth* form, he must have already acquired, elsewhere, considerably more than five-sixths of *his* University preparation. And it is from such boys as have respectively acquired in the County Grammar Schools considerably more than two-thirds and more than five-sixths of their University preparation, that the University Honor-men claimed by U. C. College, are chiefly recruited. Daniel Rylie, in this way, owed to the Toronto Grammar School, considerably more than five-sixths of his Classical and Mathematical training. On the whole, then, it appears that U. C. College defers assistance by her Exhibitions until assistance has become unnecessary. This is the first point. And the second point is the value to the recipients of the Exhibitions themselves.

There are, in the subjects of each of the 4th and 5th forms (tenable in the next higher form respectively), four Exhibitions, [209] the first

207 Mr. Cockburn, while on the Exhibition question, singles out, for his impotent malice, two of the Masters, and states that their pupils "have never carried off even the lowest of these eight Exhibitions." This statement is certainly intended to convey the injurious impression that the pupils of those Masters *competed* for Exhibitions. *which they have never done!*

208 *Vide* any of Mr. Cockburn's numerous vain-glorious circulars.

209 *Ibidem* !!

entitling the holder to \$80 and free tuition, the 2nd to \$40 and free tuition, the 3rd and 4th to free tuition only. Now, in practice, it almost invariably happens that the Exhibitioners reside within the walls of the College. And, as in the case of all Boarders, the tuition fee is \$5 per term, or \$20 per annum, we have the means of estimating the total pecuniary assistance which the possession of these Exhibitions will afford to poor Scholars. The value of the highest Exhibition will be \$100; of the second \$60; of the third and fourth, each, \$20. But the Boarding House fee is \$40 per term or \$160 per year, and if to this be now added the tuition fee payable by Boarders (\$20), the total cost per annum of Board and Tuition in U.C. College will be \$180. To meet this payment, a first Exhibitioner obtains, as we have seen, \$100; a second Exhibitioner, \$60; a third, or a fourth Exhibitioner, \$20. It appears, therefore, that a poor scholar, if holding an Exhibition in U. C. College, so far from being benefitted in pocket, will actually be at a large pecuniary loss! For, if he hold a first Exhibition, he will contribute to the revenue of U. C. College \$80 more than he receives; if he hold a second Exhibition, \$120; if a third, or a fourth, \$160. And the worst feature of the matter is that a percentage of this tax on indigent talent, is paid into the purse of the very individual [210] who, in January last, was all aglow with philanthropy! Such are the "eight Scholarships" which, to use Mr. Cockburn's words, "U. C. College offers, by Statute," from its scanty Endowment, as an aid to higher culture."

We need hardly say that a boy is not permitted, after obtaining an U. C. College Exhibition, to return to his own Grammar School. That would never do for *advertising purposes*! The object is to retain these boys a few short terms or months [211] and then, on their admission into one of our Universities claim the credit of their preparation. And herein,—to compare small things with great,—lies the difference between U. C. College Exhibitions, and the Scholarships of the University of Toronto,—a difference which the public will not fail to recognize, but which Mr. Cockburn, as may be expected, fails to see. A young man on obtaining a Scholarship at the University, if he does not feel able to attend lectures in University College, is quite at liberty to return home and pursue his studies under the frugal roof of his father; but if a boy wishes to hold an U. C. College Exhibition, he is compelled to leave his home, to forfeit the supervision of his parents, and their careful guardianship of his morals; to pay a formidable sum for the privilege of doing so; finally, to associate with Grammar School boys of expensive habits.

2. *Is Upper Canada College anything more than a Grammar School?*

But Mr. Cockburn alleges that U. C. College is "something more than a Grammar School." Against this statement we might content our-

20 From Bursar's Statement for 1867 (Mr. Christie's Return, page 16) it appears that during that year Mr. Cockburn received three-fortieths of the Board dues, which yielded him the sum of \$336.34.

211 In estimating the time spent by any pupil at U. C. College, it is to be borne in mind that, after deducting the vacations, the College year consists of about nine months.

selves with setting the reiterated declaration of the Legislature that it has been, at times, something considerably *less* than a Grammar School! The very revival of the old Home District School, which is to-day known as the Toronto County Grammar School, is sufficient evidence of the estimate placed by the Legislature on U. C. College. It may, however, be instructive to see what the institution is, at its own modest shewing.

The boys of U. C. College are classified in six forms, the 1st and 2nd of which, that is the two lowest in the School, being double. The boys in the highest or sixth form are engaged in preparing for the University; and this form will therefore correspond to the University Class of a County Grammar School. On the other hand, Mr. Cockburn informs us [212] that for admission to the 1st, or lowest form, a knowledge of the following subjects is required: "Reading, Spelling and Dictation, Writing and the first Four Rules of Arithmetic." From this it appears that no knowledge whatever of English Grammar is presumed in boys occupying the First Form of U. C. College. The use of the word "College" in connection with such a fact forms a fine example of anti-climax! As a matter of course boys entering the "College" in such a state of mental destitution as regards the Grammar of their mother tongue must naturally spend a very considerable portion of their time on this neglected branch. We accordingly learn from Mr. Cockburn [213] that in "the First and Second Forms the studies are mainly English." Mr. Stennett, the predecessor of the present Principal, is even more exact. He informs us that [214] in these forms of the College, "*more than two-thirds of the time are devoted to the elements of an English Education*,"—an amount of time and attention which, under the circumstances, we should be very far affirming, is excessive! Mr. Stennett, furthermore, informs us [215] that "boys generally enter at the age of eight or nine years." Judging from the extreme severity of the Matriculation Examination, we should have conjectured that six or seven years would be the average age of these infant aspirants for "Collegiate" Honors. Now, inasmuch as, in addition to higher qualifications in other respects, the Grammar School Inspector demands from pupils entering the Grammar Schools that knowledge of English Grammar which, it appears, is only acquired in U. C. College, by assiduous attendance on Lectures, it is manifest that, before we compare the cost of U. C. College considered as a Grammar School, with the other Grammar Schools of the Province, we must previously reject from the attendance, those interesting, though backward, children who belong to the First College Form. It is in fact exceedingly questionable whether a majority of all the pupils in the Second Form would pass the scrutiny of the Grammar School Inspector. Concede, however, this to be the case. Now the attendance of First Form pupils will certainly constitute not less than one fourth of the total attendance of the "College." [215*] It will therefore, become necessary

212 U. C. College Circular, dated Sept., 1866, and signed Geo. R. R. Cockburn, M. A.

213 Ibid.

214 U. C. College Circular, dated 1859, and signed Rev. W. Stennett, M. A.

215 Ibid.

215* We have derived this fact from the few detailed Reports dispersed throughout the Sessional Papers. In some years the proportion has been much higher than one-fourth e. g. in 1826, it approached one-half. *Vide* Return for that year.

in estimating the cost to the Province, as we shall afterwards do, of a High School Training, as acquired in U. C. College, to take as the basis of calculation, three-fourths of that institution's nominal attendance.

The facts which we have just recounted will, we trust, suffice to show that U. C. College is, after all, but a more imposing name for what is at once an ordinary and an extraordinary Union Grammar School—ordinary in discipline and results, extraordinary in expenditure, in privileges, and in pretensions.

3. *Alleged superiority of the teaching done in U. C. College over the instruction offered in the Grammar Schools.*

The third reason by which Mr. Cockburn justifies the drafting of pupils to U. C. College from the Grammar Schools is, in every respect, worthy of its modest author,—the alleged superiority of the teaching done in the former. This, we presume, is what the Principal of U. C. College means when he asserts, in his letter, "that a College boy's training is worth \$6 per annum more than the training received in the Kingston Grammar School." The actual difference between the cost of the two is, not \$6 but rather more than five times six dollars. [216] This, however, must not divert us from the essence of the statement itself. The first remark on this head that we feel compelled to make is, that comparing the academical career of Mr. Cockburn, with that of the various Masters, there is certainly no reason why the teaching of the latter should be, in any respect, inferior. In the case of those Masters who are Graduates, we believe that there is not a single Master who would not gain by such a comparison. And in regard to those Masters who are not Graduates, it is only proper to observe that they have honorably won their right to teach a Grammar School by passing a thorough Examination on the subjects therein taught; and, furthermore, that they have all graduated with distinction in that University to which a practical Teacher will regard every other University as but the vestibule,—the SCHOOL-ROOM.

But luckily on this subject we are not left to *a priori* reasoning. A truthful list of Toronto University Honors will give the most direct contradiction to Mr. Cockburn's arrogant assumption. This mode of comparison is unduly favorable to U. C. College, and, in many respects, wholly unfair to the Grammar Schools. Many of the latter, as the Schools situated at Kingston and Cobourg, will naturally send their students to the nearest University, rather than to the University of Toronto; and, in any case, the number of pupils sent to the Universities will wholly fail to represent the more important part of the Grammar School work. Even in wealthy England, not more than 35 per cent of all the Grammar School boys proceed to the Universities. It is true that, by a

216 For 1866, Mr. Cockburn tells us that the total attendance of U. C. C. was 284, (Mr. Christie's Return p. 17,) and the Bursar tells us (p. 7.) that the total expenditure was \$19,887.51. For the same year the total attendance of Kingston Grammar School was 83 (Report of Chief Superintendent for 1866, p. 102.) and the total expenditure was \$3271.77, (Ibid p. 92.)

judicious system of Government Scholarships, sufficiently liberal to support a student, during an academical career of four years, at that University which, by its discipline is acceptable to his parents, or by the superiority of its teaching is attractive to himself—it is true, that in this way the flow of students towards our various Universities may be greatly increased; yet, after all, the Grammar Schools must remain what they have hitherto been both in England and Canada, the Seats of Learning for the masses of the people. Not a few of the greatest writers in our language owed all their education to Grammar Schools. England is not likely soon to forget that she is indebted for Shakspeare to the Free Grammar School of Stratford-by-the-Avon.

Well, now for the result afforded by Toronto University Lists! And on this delicate matter we shall permit another than a Grammar School Master to speak. An able and careful writer who has given our system of Grammar Schools and Universities much attention thus states the result of his inquiry. [217] “In the University Papers it is recorded that, of eight Scholarships obtained in 1858 by pupils of Grammar Schools, only one was obtained by U. C. College! In 1859, of nine scholarships in the Faculty of Arts, the pupils of this School again obtained only one, the other eight were carried off by pupils from the Grammar Schools. The pupils of U. C. College have in some cases, the advantage of being examined by their own Masters.” If we now take the period from 1859—1867, will Mr. Cockburn kindly inform us, how many Matriculation Scholarships, in excess of one per annum, can U. C. College honestly claim? How many Honor Men, the more important part of whose University preparation was not, even in Mr. Cockburn's contemplation, acquired elsewhere than in U. C. College? It will no longer do for the Principal of U. C. College to indulge in such frenzied statements as abounded in his last literary effort. He must, however reluctant to be taught, learn from us to quote authority. Come, come, no diffidence! Give us the names, Mr. Cockburn!

Injurious to the Grammar Schools as has been the premature withdrawal of advanced boys, it could easily be shown, were it now worth while, that this system must have been not less injurious to U. C. College itself. The Teachers in that Institution instead of vigorously addressing themselves to the task of working up the pupils from the lowest forms, will, from the habit of receiving supplies from the Grammar Schools of 4th, 5th, and 6th form boys, have naturally come to consider the junior pupils as unworthy of attention. This conjecture would seem to derive confirmation from the University lists. How few boys do we there find that have worked up their way to the University from the lowest form of U. C. College! Some there undoubtedly are; but so few are they in number, that one is inclined to say that those boys who have succeeded in accomplishing this feat have done so rather *in despite of* the system pursued, than *by means of* it; that they owe more to their own indomitable energy, than to that of their Teachers.

217 “Extravagant Expenditure in Toronto of the U. Canada University Endowment,” by the Rev. W. H. Poole. 2nd Letter, dated Cobourg, March 6, 1860.

We have bestowed this large measure of attention on the U. C. College drafting system, not only because it has been excessively injurious to the Grammar Schools, but because it has given rise to the most absurd misconceptions regarding the character and functions of U. C. College. The prodigious extent to which that institution has carried its vain-glorious advertising, [218] has greatly tended to mystify the public on these points. It was doubtless under some such misapprehension that the Legislature *permitted the insertion* in the Municipal Institutions Act (1866) of that clause [219] to which Mr. Cockburn triumphantly alludes, and in which we think we discover a strong flavor of his own peculiar diction. This misapprehension has been shared by even Grammar School Masters. On no other supposition are we able to account for the fact that Masters have laid themselves open to the charge of incompetency, aye, and even of dishonesty, by accepting the salaries attached to their Masterships, and then transferring to U. C. College what the law declares [220] to be one of their most important duties,—the preparation of youth for the Universities.

Mr. Cockburn emblazons, in gold, on the walls of U. C. College, the names of distinguished students, the success of many of whom, both there and at the University, must be mainly or wholly attributed to the Grammar Schools. These golden letters reflect the least possible lustre on Mr. Cockburn. Instead of appropriating, by means of these delusive inscriptions, the previous labors of the Grammar Schools, and depreciating their merits, how much better might Mr. Cockburn have expended this gold leaf in the emblazoning of the Decalogue, certain precepts of which are of obvious application in the past history and present administration of U. C. College.

AN ENDOWED BOARDING HOUSE.

This peculiar feature in U. C. College, deserves some attention. We have here the only part of that institution which is even nominally Provincial, and, on the ground that it is nominally Provincial, the Province has had to pay pretty roundly for its support. As in all similar institutions, whose support is not made dependent on prudent management, the mismanagement in this Boarding House has been frightful. With three or four exceptional years, it has never paid expenses for the entire thirty-eight years of its existence. In 1851 it had been in operation for twenty-one years; and yet the Principal tells us that it was in that year for the first time in its history, self-supporting. [221] And this proved to be but a spasmodic effort to keep the expenses of the Boarding House within its income; for, in 1856 there was a deficit of \$422 40, [222] in 1857, a deficit of \$1172 85.* In 1858 the Senate of

218 The account for advertising amounted in 1866 to \$151.49; in 1867 to \$154.87, Mr. Christie's Return, p. 9, and p. 15.)

219 29 and 30 Vic. Cap 51 § 288. Mr. Cockburn incorrectly cites the section as "208."

220 Consolidated Grammar School Act [22 Vic. Cap. 63] § 12.

221 Report of the Principal of U. C. College for 1851.

222 Evidence taken by University Select Committee, 1860. Reply of Bursar to question 253.

* *Ibid.*

Toronto University conclude that portion of their Report which relates to U. C. College,—[223] and which by the way occupies just nine lines of print,—with a congratulation that “the Boarding House for “the first time for many years has become self-supporting.” The congratulations of the Senate were alas! premature. For the Bursar when before the University Select Committee of 1860 [224] testified that the Receipts on account of the Boarding House were for 1858 \$7508.60 while the Expenditure was \$8477 35, giving rise of course, to the large deficit of \$968.75. The Bursar tried to reduce the deficit by stating that certain alterations were made in the furniture of the Boarding House during that year just as if the renewal of furniture does not constitute one of the most commonly-recurring items in the accounts of every Boarding House in the world! In 1861, [225] though the number of Boarders appears to have fallen immensely, there was a deficit of \$531 27; in 1862 of \$885 50; in 1863 \$300 46; for the six months ending June 30, 1866, [226] a deficit of \$162 55. An Order in Council dated 23rd April, 1866 [227] made the usual pompous arrangements for keeping the expenditure of the Boarding House within its income, but within six months after this, we find Mr. Cockburn [228] issuing his counter-proclamation. Lest, as we suppose, it should be thought an Order in Council was sufficient to control U. C. College, he informs us that “the Boarding House will *continue* to be conducted strictly as an integral part of the “institution, its disbursements paid out of, and its returns paid into the “general fund.” If the word “continue” has, in this passage, any significance whatever, it must mean that the deficits will, as heretofore, be met by attacks on the Endowment. The reason assigned by Mr. Cockburn for the continuance of this system is excessively amusing, in its matter and its manner. [229] “In this way is thought that the domestic economy will be shielded from the suspicion of interested parsimony.” (For the benefit of those of the Public who are not acquainted with the dead languages we may say that Mr. Cockburn means “lest it should be thought that the institution was managed economically.”)

A singular circumstance connected with the Boarding House accounts is, that though deficits have always been met by inroads on Capital, a profit, when such a phenomenon has occurred, is never carried to the Capital Account. Thus, when at the close of the fiscal year 1867, a Balance occurred in favor of the Boarding House, the greater part of that Balance became simply an accretion to the already enormous salary of the Head-Master. [230.]

223 Journal Assembly, 1853—Sess. paper No. 12.

224 *Vide* Note No. 222.

225 Mr. Christie's Return. Bursar's Statement for 1861.

226 *Vide* Statements for said years in the Return.

227 Quoted in the Return, page 8.

228 U. C. College Circular, dated Sept., 1866.

229 *Ibid.*

230 During 1867, Mr. Cockburn received from this source \$336 34. Bursar's Statement for 1867.

PRINCIPLE IN THIS ENDOWED BOARDING HOUSE BAD.

The principle involved in the maintenance of this Endowed Boarding House is essentially bad, and constitutes a most unwarrantable interference with private enterprise. (231) It has been repeatedly proved that, without aid from public sources, Grammar School Masters can, at a fair profit to themselves, maintain most efficient Boarding Houses.—The immense establishment which has been for years administered with the utmost skill and success, by Mr. Tassie in connection with the Galt Grammar School is, surely, ample proof of this. The result in that case, and in all similar cases, has been accomplished by private energy and enterprise, without the slightest assistance from the Province. It must then be evident to all, that the maintenance of this Endowed Boarding House for the especial benefit of Toronto Shop-Keepers, is as unjust as it is unnecessary.

ITS ADMINISTRATION STILL WORSE.

Bad as is the principle involved in this Boarding House, the administration of the institution is, if possible, still worse. The University Statute which governs the internal management of U. C. College still continues to be, we believe, No. XXVIII. [232] The sixth section of this Statute enacts: "The Bursar shall pay the expenses of the College Boarding House out of the Income Fund (i. e. of U. C. College) upon the order of the Principal." The infatuation implied in thus compelling the Bursar to honor the demands of the Boarding House to the whole extent of the institution's income, if necessary,—for no limit is assigned,—is really amazing! The temptations thus held out to extravagance of outlay, not to speak of misappropriation of "supplies" will, we believe, be sufficiently manifest. Unfortunately, however, in this matter we are not left to conjecture. It was discovered by the Commission of Inquiry of 1848 [233] that the custom had been established of not only bestowing free tuition on the sons of certain wealthy residents of Toronto, but of even boarding them at the public charge! For aught that we know to the contrary, they may have been clad also at the expense of the Province! However that may be, certain is it that *the sons of well-salaried University Professors, of well-salaried College Masters, and of other well-salaried residents of Toronto, obtained tuition and board on these unnecessarily-easy terms.* And this is the way in which the Parliamentary provision for the support of Grammar Schools has been rioted in at Toronto, while Trustees throughout the Province have been at their wits' end to provide the most scanty pittance for the Masters of the Grammar Schools. And, while U. C. College could not spare free tuition for the sons of the lowly, the sons of men rich in this

231 To save Mr. Cockburn the trouble of surmises of a purely personal character, we may state, in this note, that we have never had, at any time, any interest in any Boarding House.

232 University Statutes. Toronto: Rowsell.

233 "It would seem that not only was the College open to certain individuals as a free school, but books, stationery, and even board and lodging, were had on like terms. Nor was this system of accommodation confined to the period prior to 1839: it prevailed until a comparatively recent date, as in 1845 the Professors of the University and the Bursar, by Order of the Council, availed themselves of the privilege."—Final Report, page 341—cf. also page 353.

world's goods were bountifully provided, at the public charge, with tuition, with books, and even with food. How far this truly scandalous system has been amended we know not. We find, however, on Mr. Cockburn's testimony, [234] that even still, three boys, the sons of well-salaried Masters, obtain free tuition. Though it is not stated in the accounts that the present Principal of U. C. College obtains "supplies" from the College Boarding House, it is most distinctly stated [235] that in 1867 he received out of the Board dues \$336 34, and the difference between receiving from the Boarding House \$336 34 in cash, and receiving from the same source the same amount in the form of "supplies" is, we confess, a difference quite invisible to us.

AN OASIS IN THE DESERT!

If the Accounts of the U. C. College Boarding House for the various years were stated in minute detail, they would furnish some perhaps instructive, and certainly many amusing items. Stated even in the gross as they are now, the effects of contrasts is sometimes truly laughable. Thus, in the Accounts for 1855, [236] the total amount paid for bread was \$422 40, while for the same year the amount paid for vegetables was no less than \$602 50; worse still was the disproportion for the previous year: [237] "Bread, flour, etc., \$210 45; Vegetables, \$521 50." It appears that turnips in those days constituted the favorite refectation at the table of U. C. College. For this fact we are indebted to certain of the pupils who remember even still, with a tinge of bitterness, the prominence given, in the College exercises, to the study of the *Terrestrial Globes*. In view of this circumstance, taken in connection with the contrasts above observed; we are irresistibly reminded of the state of Sir John Falstaff's Account-Current with his favorite tavern, and we involuntarily exclaim, "O monstrous! but one half-penny worth of bread to this intolerable deal of turnips!" It is a principle in popular philosophy,—although the adage, owing to its brevity, is not to be found in the proverbial poet, Tupper,—that it is impossible to extract the vital fluid from a turnip! Let us trust that, for their own peace of mind, the College boys placed no confidence in proverbs! While traversing the arid waste of U. C. College Accounts, we would fain tarry amid the immense expanse of verdure implied in such items as the above, but there still remains an important portion of our journey unaccomplished.

COMPARATIVE COST OF U. C. COLLEGE AND THE GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

In view of certain particulars above supplied, it would be an insult to the Universities of this and of the Lower Provinces to classify U. C. College among them. We shall, however, for a moment, flatter the vanity of Mr. Cockburn by contrasting together their relative expenditures. Well, what is the result? A writer to whom we have once before been

234 Mr. Christie's Return, page 17.

235 Ibid, page 16.

236 Bursar's Statements and Accounts for 1855.

237 Ditto for 1854.

indebted here again comes to our aid. [238] Result as it stood in 1857: "The outlay in behalf of U. C. C. for all purposes amounted to \$45,662, *an amount greater than was expended the same year by Trinity, Victoria, Queens', Regiopolis and McGill's Colleges, adding their outlay altogether.*" But it has already been made sufficiently plain that U. C. College is really only a pretentious name for a UNION GRAMMAR AND COMMON SCHOOL. It will, therefore, be necessary to consider it as (1) a Grammar School; or (2) as a Common School; or (3) as a Union of both. Mr. Cockburn will certainly prefer the first of these methods and we shall, accordingly, give him the advantage of it. The attendance of U. C. College is stated by the Principal himself [239] to have been for 1867, 244 pupils. This number, it must be carefully borne in mind, represents, not the average daily attendance, but the total number of names on the Register of U. C. College. It has already been proved, on Mr. Cockburn's own shewing, that at least one-fourth of this nominal attendance must be rejected as ineligible for a Grammar School. The corrected attendance will, therefore, be three-fourths of 244, that is, will be, 183 pupils. Now the Grant to U. C. College from its Endowment, was for the same year (1867) \$12,500 [240] It is then quite evident that for the privilege of placing each boy's name on the Register of that Institution the Province paid out of the old Grammar School Endowment an average sum of a little more than \$68. But this amount very inadequately represents the cost to the Country of a High School training, as obtained in U. C. College. When we include fees, &c., payable, which differ in character, from the sum arising out the Endowment, merely as a direct tax differs from an indirect one, we find that the total expense to the Province of those 183 boys,—some of very tender years—was no less than \$17,403 60 [241] or a little more than \$95 each. If we now open the last Report of the Chief Superintendent laid before Parliament (242) we shall find that the number of pupils admitted by the Inspector to the Grammar Schools was 5,179; (243) and that the total cost, direct and indirect, of their education was \$113,887 (244) or not quite \$22 each. As the cost per pupil in U. C. College was rather more than \$95, it follows that *it costs this Province between four and five times as much to educate a boy at U. C. College as it does in the County Grammar Schools.*

Even if we do not regard the correction for the attendance, above proved to be necessary, the relative cost of these institutions will be sufficiently startling. The conclusions arrived at, on this topic, by a disinterested observer, will be valuable: [245] "We have (1860) in

238 "Extravagant Outlay in Toronto." Rev. W. H. Poole's 2nd letter, dated Cobourg, March 6, 1860.

239 Mr. Christie's Return, page 17.

240 The recent Return, page 8, supplies the following information: "The sum of \$12,500 is assigned as the ESTIMATED AVERAGE INCOME FROM THE ENDOWMENT OF U. C. COLLEGE; which, together with the fees and miscellaneous receipts not coming under the head of rents, interest on instalments, and interest on investments and cash balances, is held to be the available income of U. C. College until 30th June, 1871."

241 The fees for 1867 were \$5312 40. In our estimate we have taken only three-fourths of this sum, as corresponding to the three-fourths attendance above struck.

242 "Annual Report of the Normal, Model, Grammar, and Common Schools in U. Canada, for the year 1866."

243 Ibid, p. 11.

244 Ibid.

245 "Extravagant outlay at Toronto," Rev. W. Poole's second Letter.

"Canada West 75 Grammar Schools, many of them of long standing and of great utility. Some of them are united with the Common Schools in their immediate locality, and although very limited in their means, they equal, and, in some cases, outnumber in pupils, this richly-endowed Toronto School (U. C. C.). Their total outlay during the last three years amounted to \$86,232. while, during the same time, this one School in Toronto, expended more, by \$25,172, than the whole 75 put together, or 96 times as much as the average allowance for each School." The Chief Superintendent of Education, when subsequently examined before a Select Committee of the Assembly, corroborated this statement in every particular. [246]

Equally striking is the comparison when we descend from general statements to particular items. Take, for example, the mere cost of management. We have, throughout the towns and cities of this Province, Boards of Trustees administering Union Schools, varying in attendance from three hundred to three thousand pupils, [247] and yet these men nobly devote themselves to their work without fee or reward. On the other hand, we see in Toronto a Union School with a paltry registered attendance of 244 pupils, [248] which, forsooth, requires for its "management" \$1,000 per annum. [249] Take again, for example, the salaries given in U. C. College, and those in the Grammar Schools. The Grammar School Masters have had always to complain, that, while the duties of their positions require more varied and more exact information than those of, perhaps, any other class of literary men in the community, the provision for their maintenance is of the scantiest character. As a consequence of this, many of their number, after a few years of teaching, become disheartened, and gravitate away towards the far more lucrative, and far less exhausting professions of Law and Medicine.

SALARIES IN U. C. COLLEGE. [250]

While the Grammar School Masters are thus living in the lack, not only of those important technical works, which men, occupying their positions, should be in a position to acquire, but many of the Masters in the lack of even the ordinary comforts of life, here are the salaries paid in U.C. College: PRINCIPAL: Salary at rate originally settled, (in 1830) \$2400; Proportion of Tuition Fees, \$183.87; Proportion of Board Dues, 336.34; [251] Free House, valued at \$300,—Total, \$3220.21. We are in doubt whether we have included, in the above, all the perquisites of the Principal. It is not improbable that he may be "interested" in each and every one of the following large, but vague items, which we find

246 Proceedings of University Select Committee, 1860.

247 The total registered attendance of the Hamilton Union School closely approaches 3,000.

248 Mr. Christie's Return p. 17.

249 Ibid, p. 8.

250 The salaries here mentioned are quoted from the Bursar's Statement for the year ending June 30, 1867—vide Mr. Christie's Return pp. 14 and 15.

* \$450 per annum would not be an excessive estimate for the rental of the Principal's residence.

251 Mr. Christie's Return, p. 16.

in the accounts for 1867 : [252] "Grounds, \$252.00 ; Fuel, \$297.42 ; Stationery, \$224.02 ; Repairs, \$216.03 ; Incidents, \$551.14." It will be noticed that in the regular items of the Principal's salary as above given, the mere Tuition Fees, and Board Dues, make a total of \$520.21. Is this considerable item, in any degree, the secret of Mr. Cockburn's excessive anxiety for County Grammar School boys ?

FIRST CLASSICAL MASTER : Salary at original rate, \$1336 ; Proportion of Fees, \$195.87 ; Residence, \$240. [253] Total, \$1771.87.

SECOND CLASSICAL MASTER : Salary, including proportion of Fees, \$1519.87 ; House, \$240. Total, \$1759.87.

MATHEMATICAL MASTER : Salary, including fees, \$1531.86 ; House, \$240. Total, \$1771.86.

ENGLISH CLASSICAL MASTER : Salary, including fees, \$1395.87 ; House, \$240. Total, \$1635.87.

FRENCH & GERMAN MASTER : Salary, with proportion of fees, \$1077.16.

FIRST ENGLISH MASTER AND LECTURER ON CHEMISTRY : Salary as Eng. Master, including proportion of fees, \$995.87 ; as Chem. Lecturer, \$300 ; as Medical Attendant, \$100 ; House, \$240. Total, \$1635.87.

SECOND ENGLISH MASTER : Salary, and proportion of fees, \$995.87 ; House, \$240. Total, \$1235.87.

Leaving out of sight, altogether, the enormous salary of the Principal and just taking the total of the above seven regular assistant-masters, [254] we obtain a grand total of \$10,888.37 giving an average yearly allowance of \$1555.48—that is to say, the average salary of Upper Canada College assistant-masters, will exceed the *highest* salary paid (in 1866) (255) to the Headmaster of any County Grammar School, and, of course, immeasurably exceed the average salary paid to Grammar School Masters. While in full view of such facts, how does the following statement of Mr. Cockburn (256) (Jan. 1868) appear : "For years the salaries (in U. C. C.) as reduced by Statute, have been so low, that not a few Grammar School Masters would scorn to accept them." Unfortunately, Mr. Cockburn cannot plead ignorance of the matter regarding which he deliberately wrote the above, for he wrote with the Chief Superintendent's Report lying open before him ! This we know from the accurate quotation from that Report which he immediately subjoins, after citing that document by name. One quotation more from Mr. Cockburn's letter, and we have done with that veracious gentleman : "Mr. Hunter again returns to the charge, informing the Convention that U. C. College had an income of

252 Ibid, p. 15.

253 The commutation for house rent has always been, in the case of the Principal \$300 ; in the case of the Assistant-Masters, \$240.

254 "Regular" because U. C. C. not infrequently maintains a troop of Light Cavalry in the way of sub-assistants.

255 The date of the latest of the Chief Superintendent's Reports.

256 Letter addressed to the Toronto Newspapers.

“\$30,000 per annum ; (257) while, after deducting the necessary expenses of management IT DOES NOT POSSESS ONE-FOURTH OF THAT SUM.” We presume Mr. Cockburn is aware that one-fourth of \$30,000 is \$7,500. Now the expenses of management for the year ending June 30, 1867, are stated by the Bursar (258) to have been \$994.70 ; and deducting this from the gross income which the Bursar states for the same year at \$18,731.70 we obtain the net revenue of U. C. College for the year above mentioned, \$17,737.00—whereas the Principal of that institution makes a solemn declaration that it was not \$7,500 ! Is it credible that Mr. Cockburn was ignorant of the fact that the mere grant from the Endowment is fixed by Order in Council (269) at \$12,500 ; is it credible that he was unaware of the circumstance that his seven chief assistants received, in their salaries alone, more than twice \$7,500 ; is it credible,—nay, is it POSSIBLE, that he did not know that his own salary amounted to nearly, if not quite, one-half of \$7,500 ? We shall dismiss this topic with the expression of a hope that the Senate of the University will not imperil that Seat of Learning by associating it, in the public mind, with U. C. College, and with Mr. Cockburn’s letter.

U. C. COLLEGE PENSIONS.

Our sketch of U. C. College administration would be incomplete without some notice of its Pension System. Changes in Masterships, which in County Grammar Schools are effected without difficulty, become in U. C. College just ground for serious apprehension. Such changes are invariably made the occasion for large gratuities or even magnificent pensions. Thus in 1835 it was thought that a speedy removal of the Vice-President would be highly seasonable. He had, even in a document addressed to the Legislature, expressed himself nauseated with the general chaos prevailing in U. C. College. His removal was accomplished by means of a pension of \$1777 60 (260) per annum. In 1856 it was found advisable to make a change in the Head-Mastership. The then Principal was forced to resign, as one witness afterwards in Parliamentary Committee testified, (261) on account of incompetency, and on the testimony of another witness on account of “grossly improper conduct.” (262) Notwithstanding all this, however, the Principal was pensioned off at \$1000 per annum. (263) At the same time the Mathematical Master was dismissed, but not without a gratuity which was after-

257 The *Globe* [Jan. 4, 1868.] reports the statement thus: “Mr. Hunter replied that it had an income of \$20,000 to \$30,000 per annum.” This assertion was perfectly justified by the Bursar’s Accounts for 1861, the latest submitted to Parliament when the above statement was made. They [Sess. Papers, 1863.] represent the net payments for that year as being \$25,135.48. Mr. Hunter could hardly have anticipated that within the next seven unreported years the income had, through extravagance, been reduced 25 per cent.

258 Mr. Christie’s Return, p. 14.

259 *Ibid.*, p. 8. The Orders in Council are dated 21st Dec., 1865, and 23rd April, ’66.

260 Journal Assembly, 1835. App. Vol. I. “Accounts of Treasurer of U. C. College for year ending Dec. 31st.”

261 Proceedings of University Select Committee, 1860.

262 *Ibid.*

263 Journals Assembly, 1857. Session Paper No. 28 : U. C. College Income Fund Account.

wards enlarged into an annual pension of \$300. (264) About the same time the French Master was pensioned off at \$600 per annum. So scandalous was the payment of these pensions felt to be that when, during the Session of 1859, a motion was made in the Legislative Assembly to grant to U. C. College the usual annual allowance of £1000 stg. it was moved in amendment by the Hon. George Brown, seconded by the Hon. M. H. Foley that the grant be made only on the condition that these three pensions be discontinued. (265) Extraordinary to say the amendment was lost! The pensions continue to be paid to this hour, and that, notwithstanding the fact that two of the pensioners have long ago resumed teaching. Three years after the resignation of the French Master above alluded to, we find his successor retiring on a gratuity of \$800. (267) In 1861 the resigning Principal of U. C. College received a gratuity of \$4800 00, (268) and in 1864 the First Classical Master retired on a gratuity of \$2400 00. (269) In the last two transactions we once more meet our old acquaintances,—Orders in Council. We dismiss this subject of pensions without further remark, as we believe the Province will be able, in the absence of external assistance, to characterize the whole system pursued.

VI. CONCLUSION.

We have thus minutely examined the claims of U. C. College to continued support. We have found that the changes in its administration have been manifold, but that every change has been followed by immensely-increased and fruitless expense. We have found, in short, that the very design of U. C. College is, in itself, irredeemably vicious. Parliament has repeatedly declared the institution to be a useless incumbrance; but its inutility has not prevented it from being a perpetual menace to the University and the Grammar Schools.

264 "U. C. College. The Bursar's Statement of Cash Transactions for the year ending Dec. 31st, 1859."

265 Journal Assembly, 1857. Session Paper No. 28. U. C. College Income Fund Account.

266 Journal Assembly, 1859, Tuesday, 5th April.

267 "U. C. College. The Bursar's Statement of Cash Transactions for the year ending Dec. 31, 1859." Income Fund Account. This extraordinary transaction received the sanction of a solemn ordinance of the Senate. University Statutes 1857-1859, No. XXXVIII. Toronto: Rowsell.

268 Mr. Christie's Return. Statement for 1862, p. 3.

269 Ibid, Statement for 1864, p. 5.

Even on the low ground of EXPEDIENCY, the continuance of U. C. College would be most undesirable. No thoughtful man will contend that U. C. College sends annually to the Provincial University one student more than would otherwise go thither. Its highest Forms are wholly recruited from two classes of pupils. The first class consists of the sons of wealthy men, who would give their sons a training for the University though U. C. College never existed. The second class consists of Grammar School boys who are already well on their road to the University, before they enter U. C. College, and whose premature removal from School, renders it doubly difficult to find their successors. How much more to the real benefit of the University if the hundred Grammar Schools which are now, in the great majority of cases, languishing, and repeatedly losing their Masters, through the insignificance of the stipends—how much better, if these Schools were at once raised to comparative affluence by the division among them of what is righteously their own. The division of the income annually arising from the U. C. College Endowment (\$12,500) [270] would suffice to add \$125 to the salary of every one of the hundred Masters. U. C. College Masters may look with supercilious sneer on so trivial a sum, but we can assure them that, to the vast majority of Grammar School Masters, \$125 means more books, and more of the ordinary comforts of life. The increased stability which would thus be conferred on the Masterships would soon yield fruit in the form of an increased flow of students towards the University.

And when we rise from the low ground of expediency to the higher ground of JUSTICE, the cause of the Grammar Schools becomes irresistible. Even though U. C. College were the very model of efficiency, and economical management, it would still be unjust to the Province at large to spend annually, in Toronto, which is already possessed of a County Grammar School, \$12,500 of Grammar School money. The Toronto newspapers have persistently maintained that this immense Province is not sufficiently extensive, or sufficiently populous, for the existence of more than one Endowed University. Will they now maintain that Toronto is sufficiently extensive, or sufficiently populous, for the co-existence there of two Endowed Grammar Schools? As things at present exist, that city possesses no less than two such Schools,—U. C. College, and the Toronto Grammar School. Of these two, the latter is the older by nearly thirty years, and, relatively to its expenditure, much the more efficient. Then why not abolish the other, sending its children of tender years to the Ward and Model Schools, and the more advanced boys to the Grammar School. Why should the College Masters expect at their dismissal any better terms than those conceded to the University Professors who were dismissed in 1853, on one year's salary? (271) Why not restore to the Trustees of the Toronto Grammar School,—as the only reparation now possible,—the buildings of U. C. College, and all its city property that still remains undisposed of? Why not restore to the County Grammar Schools what now represents their old Endowment? This is the plain course that justice to the whole Province demands, and if it be not followed, the Province will not fail to exact a satisfactory reason. Are U. C. College Masters entitled to any more consideration than University Professors? Are the Ward Schools of Toronto not able to indoc-

270 *Vide supra.*

271 16 Vic. Cap. 89 § 53.

trinate, in the principles of English Grammar, the First Form pupils of U. C. College? Are the Model Schools not sufficiently aristocratic for the precocious gentlemen of the Second Form? Is the Toronto Grammar School not sufficiently select for the supercilious minors of the remaining College Forms? If it offends these dainty youths that the son of an honest yeoman should come between the wind and their nobility, then the course of conduct is plain,—their fathers must pay for the isolation they affect. In truth, the fees now annually paid into U. C. College will continue to secure those young gentlemen from contact with the stronger intellects of less aristocratic boys. The sum arising from this source in 1867 (272) would have provided them with a staff of five Teachers (or one for about every forty boys in daily attendance) at the following salaries: \$1500, \$1000, \$800, \$700, \$600, and still leave \$700 for management and repairs.

The further maintenance, at the public expense, of U. C. College is thus, on every conceivable ground, indefensible. Let us then, the Grammar School Masters of this Province, go fearlessly forward in the sacred duty of recovering, for those Schools whose honor and fortunes have been committed to our charge, that Endowment which successive Parliaments have declared to be their just inheritance. Let us hear of no truce; no compromise; no dangerous delays. Finally, let us—strong in the goodness of our cause—confidently demand of the Legislature, **JUSTICE** against that Institution which the Legislature's own Journals declare to have been begotten of Fraud and nurtured by Plunder!

