

EDUCATION, IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

EDUCATION, IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE:  
AN EXAMINATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER  
EDUCATION IN NINETEENTH CENTURY ONTARIO

By

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## Abstract

The main argument of this thesis is that higher education in Ontario was promoted and financed by members of the dominant class who have developed an educational system to suit their needs and interests. Popular ideas concerning the need for and function of the early universities as espoused by the early educational promoters such as John Graves Simcoe, John Strachan and Egerton Ryerson are examined. During the stages of natural production, independent commodity production and industrial capitalism, it was found that higher education served as a major socialization agency by preparing students ideologically to accept and believe in the ongoing socioeconomic system.



## Preface

This work studies the rationality of the development of higher education in nineteenth century Ontario. Throughout, an attempt has been made to link the parallel development of the changing economic order to the evolving educational order. In a sense, the author believes that this work is a necessary preliminary study in preparation for a dissertation on the nature and function of higher education in advanced capitalism. Thus, the reader should be mindful that the author is searching for clues in the history of higher education in order to aid and complete an analysis of the modern institution's rationality.

Chapter one examines some of the major theoretical issues and problems which are analyzed concretely in the remaining chapters of the thesis.

Chapter two analyses the philosophies of the key promoters of higher education in early nineteenth century Canada. Of particular importance here is the question of the nature and function of the early universities as they were developed in the evolving Canadian political economy and social structure.

In Chapter Three, the evolution of a state supported higher educational system in Ontario is analyzed. Central to this chapter is the question of the various interests of the men promoting higher education in the nineteenth century.

Also analyzed are the reasons for removing education from the realm of the religious order and placing it under the jurisdiction of the Canadian state.

Chapter four compares the development of the universities of Toronto and McGill. This comparison was important in order to discover whether the history of Ontario's higher educational system was peculiar to that province or whether a close pattern of development was shared by institutions in a locality with a similar social structure. Because the leading Canadian commercial cities, Toronto and Montreal, are studied, this analysis leads to some important conclusions regarding Canada's political economy during the nineteenth century.

Chapter five investigates the university government, policies and curriculum under industrial capitalism. During the period studied, education clearly became more pragmatic and generally more related to the developing occupational structure. One of the central problems raised concerns the nature of the socialization process in the schools at this crucial period of the developing economic order.

This work does not claim to be an exhaustive treatment of the history of higher education in Ontario. Rather the intention of the author is to raise some relevant and critical questions with regard to the nature and function of higher education and the ideology of the university promoters within an economic framework. The area of higher education in nineteenth century Canada has largely been unexplored and it seems

that there is an absence of concrete, critical work in this field. It is hoped that this work will therefore make a contribution to Canadian education and political economy.

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## Chapter One

### Introductory Ideas

It is a widely held assumption that institutions of higher learning serve the "common good" by educating men and women who will make substantial contributions to the Canadian professional, scientific and managerial ranks as well as to perpetuate an intellectual culture. Educational histories have traditionally described the university system as the apex of the educational spectrum and have perpetuated notions of the universities' usefulness in their dedicated search for knowledge and scientific truths in their hallowed halls and ivory towers. Moreover, Canadian educational histories often conclude that the doors to the universities were opened in a humanitarian effort to allow the working classes to share the rewards and promises which were believed to be gained following a university career. The purpose of this writing is to analyze the development of higher education in Ontario and in the process to expose these myths by studying the nature of the university promoters' educational plans and ideology.

In this writing, the development of higher education is analyzed in two related ways. First, it will be argued throughout that higher education has historically been promoted and financed by members of the dominant class who in turn have shaped educational policies to serve their own interests. In

the process of development, the universities have, through their promoters, become intimately related to the economic order. In examining the relationship between education and economy it is important to avoid a simple mechanistic or an overly economistic argument. It is insufficient therefore to analyze education simply in terms of the mental skills it supplies to workers. In such a work it is essential to relate its social structure to forms of consciousness, interpersonal behaviour and the type of personality structure it fosters for the particular economic system in question.<sup>1</sup>

This writing covers an historical period which includes major transformations in the nature and type of economic production. The second major argument of the thesis is that with changes in the economy, the educational system was altered to fit the developing social order. One cannot however argue effectively that changes in the economy produced changes in the nature of education. Rather the argument is made that the type of educational system which developed was rational for and essential to the evolving capitalist order. By tracing the historical development of the universities, then, one can understand the rationality of the educational system as it became adjusted to the socioeconomic order.

In a sense, this writing studies the parallel development of education and economy. It is not, however, a global analysis of the development of the economy through the various modes of production (as that in itself could only be adequately accomplished in a sizeable book) but rather this study

investigates the various educational philosophies held by members of the dominant class as the modes of production changed. The ideas perpetuated by the educational system and its promoters have functioned to legitimize and therefore to maintain the evolving social order. Moreover, this function of educational as an agency of socialization and control has been central within the various modes of production although the type of ideas, teaching techniques and curriculum were altered in accordance with the requirements of the changing economic sphere. ✓

#### Economic Determinism and The Problem of Causality

An underlying assumption of this work is that of the ascendancy of the economic order. Although the higher educational system of both pre-capitalist stages of natural production and independent commodity production are studied in this work, a major theme throughout questions the nature of education and Canadian society in general in the evolving capitalist system. That the economic base dominates societal relationships and institutions is essential to the understanding of the capitalist system, yet such a statement runs the risk of conveying the idea of blatant economic determinism. As well, caution must be taken to avoid the error of understanding the ascendance of the economic order in terms of causality. That is, in terms of this work, the argument cannot be made that economy and education stand in a direct causal relationship

and that the economic order occasioned the particular development of the educational institution.

In his writings, Louis Althusser has dealt with the problems of economic determinism and causality. Althusser has adopted the Marxian conception of the theoretical structure of society. The structure of every society was, according to Marx, composed of "levels" or "instances" divided by a specific determination.<sup>2</sup> The infrastructure represents the economic base and the superstructure is composed of both the politico-legal (law and State) and the ideological "instances" or "levels." Althusser has devised a metaphor to simplify this theoretical abstraction:

It is easy to see that this representation of the structure of every society as an edifice containing a base (infrastructure) on which are erected the two 'floors' of the superstructure, is a metaphor, to be quite precise, a spatial metaphor.... this metaphor suggests....that the upper floors could not 'stay up'....alone if they did not rest precisely on their base. 3

Essentially, the autonomy of the superstructure depends on the relative "effectivity" of the economic base. For Althusser, it is a mistake to argue that any one of the three societal instances--the economic, political or ideological--"is a simple reflection of any other or that they can be reduced to each other."<sup>4</sup> In other words, the political and ideological orders are "never simple reflections of the economic level, they always possess their own relative autonomy."<sup>5</sup> In Althusser's words,

...it is no longer possible to think the process of the development of the different levels of the

whole in the same historical time. Each of these different 'levels' does not have the same type of historical existence. On the contrary, we have to assign to each level a peculiar time, relatively autonomous and relatively independent, even in its dependence, of the 'times' of the other levels. We can and must say: for each mode of production there is a peculiar time and history, punctuated in a specific way by the development of the productive forces; the relations of production have their peculiar time and history, punctuated in a specific way; the political superstructure has its own history...; philosophy has its own time and history...; aesthetic productions have their own time and history...; scientific formations have their own time and history, etc. Each of these peculiar histories is punctuated with peculiar rhythms and can only be known on condition that we have defined the concept of the specificity of its historical temporality and its punctuations (continuous developments, revolutions, breaks, etc.) The fact that each of these times and each of these histories are relatively autonomous does not make them so many domains which are independent of the whole: the specificity of each of these times and of each of these histories--in other words, their relative autonomy and independence--is based on a certain type of articulation in the whole and therefore on a certain type of dependence with respect to the whole. 6

On the idea of economic causality Marx argued that:

The economic level was rather the field in which politics and ideology operated and determined in the last instance. It was not to be interpreted either 1) logically, as a final cause in the sense of a destination at the end of a chain of reasoning; [or] 2) chronologically, as a basic economic cause which would be revealed at the moment of total crisis. 7

In attempting to clarify the relationship between base and superstructure, Althusser distinguishes between dominant and determinant instances. For Althusser the economy represents the field of possibilities within which the dominant instance can operate. Thus the driving forces within societies can be examined within the constraints represented by the economic

system. One conceptual tool used by Marx and Engels in analyzing the relationship between "levels" or "instances" of a society was that of the modes of production. By studying the modes of production and the gradual progression from one mode to the next, one can gain insights into the complex web of relationships between economic, political and ideological levels. While this writing is not by any means a comprehensive analysis of the stages of production in Canadian history, it does take into account the changing economic order so that the reader may understand, in Althusser's terms, the "field of possibilities" for the development of the educational order.

#### Ideology, Schools and The School Promoters

In this work the ideology of the promoters of the university movement is analyzed in order that an understanding of the relationship between the Canadian superstructure and altering economic base may be gained. It is most important that ideology is studied in terms of the social relationships in which it is embedded. According to Anthony Giddens, "we must study both the concrete processes which give rise to various types of ideas, together with the factors which determine which ideas come into prominence within a given society."<sup>8</sup>

An important tenet in the Marxian conceptualization of ideology is that man's social circumstances affect his ideas. From this, a related question of the diffusion of ideas in society throughout the class structure arises.<sup>9</sup> Both Karl Mannheim and

Karl Marx have extensively studied this question.

One of Karl Mannheim's main arguments was that:

...it is not men in general who think, or even isolated individuals who do the thinking, but men in certain groups who have developed a particular style of thought in an endless series of responses to certain typical situations characterizing their common position. 10

Although Mannheim explained that circumstances such as occupation, generation and location accounted for differences within and among groups, he nevertheless conceded that common situation or position (i.e., social class) was one of the most important determinants of thought.

Mannheim concerned himself with the question of how "identical human thought-processes concerned with the same world produce divergent conceptions of that world."<sup>11</sup> To answer this, he described the class specificity of ideology. He elucidated on the strength of the ideas of the higher strata when he wrote that the infiltration of ideas from the lower classes into the upper class would result in this latter group being "intellectually shaken" since this group understood the class nature of ideology.<sup>12</sup> Further, the men who seek to maintain the status quo perpetuate an ideology which cannot be subverted by unnecessary restrictions but which is fundamentally "immutable" and "absolute."<sup>13</sup> This dominant ideology perpetuated by the "higher strata" serves to make the position of this class more secure by negating the influence of social class and thus lessening the changes that the lower classes would perceive the existing social order as insensitive to

their interests.

In a famous and often quoted passage from The German Ideology, Karl Marx asserted that the ruling class perpetuates a set of dominant ideas which serve to maximize and maintain its position in the class structure:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time, its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationship, the dominant material relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of dominance. | 14

The dominant class is able to do so because of its occupation of the key positions within the ideological producing institutions. | On this point, Frank Parkin has stressed that

...to accept Marx's proposition regarding the genesis of 'ruling ideas' is not to subscribe to a conspiracy theory of society; it is rather to acknowledge that moral and political rules hold sway not because they are self-evidently 'right', but because they are made to seem so by those who wield institutional power. 15

Hence, "by virtue of the institutional backing they receive such .... [dominant] values often form the basis of moral judgements of underprivileged groups."<sup>16</sup> | The lower class incorporates this ideology as its own although such ideas are in reality inimical to the improvement of its material position within the social structure. Thus when the subordinate class adopts the dominant ideology which perpetuates that class'



"political, material and social subordination", it may be that "the dominant class has been especially successful in imposing its own definitions of reality on less privileged groups."<sup>17</sup> (

Within a capitalist formation, Nicos Poulantzas points out, the dominant ideology plays an important role in its attempt to impose upon the ensemble of society a 'way of life' through which the state can be experienced as representing society's 'general interest', and as the guardian of the universal vis-a-vis 'private individuals'.<sup>18</sup> Further, the dominant ideology functions to mask class domination and exploitation. Poulantzas argues that the masking function of class domination is reflected in the close relation between ideology and the capitalist state and is clearly seen in the capitalist state's takeover of education and its general regimentation of the cultural domain.<sup>19</sup> In education, ideology is hidden as organizational.<sup>20</sup> Within this framework, it is maintained that ideology exists as a specific instance within the particular mode of production. It is therefore constituted within the limits fixed by the mode of production.<sup>21</sup> )

In his analysis of ideological state apparatuses, Louis Althusser argues that schools are state agencies where the dominant ideology is reproduced and further that the connection between the state and the dominant ideology is perpetuated through the schools.<sup>22</sup> [ Along with education, the religious institution, the family, the legal and political

system, the media and the trade unions are what Althusser calls "ideological state apparatuses." The most important of these "socialization agencies",<sup>23</sup> however, is the school.<sup>24</sup> Central to his thesis is the fact that "no class can hold State power over a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over and in the State Ideological Apparatuses."<sup>25</sup> Ideological state apparatuses function primarily by ideology and secondarily by repression.<sup>26</sup> What is important in the Althusserian sense is how they function rather than whether or not they are public or private.<sup>27</sup> Thus, in the context of this paper, one may ask whether the secularization of the universities freed them from repressive ideological binds.

The position of education as the dominant ideological state apparatus, according to Althusser, is a product of the capitalist economic formation.

In the pre-capitalist historical period....it is absolutely clear that there was one dominant Ideological State Apparatus, the Church, which concentrated within it not only religious functions but also educational ones, and a large proportion of the functions of communications and 'culture'.<sup>28</sup>

In this writing, it will be argued that education was raised from a seemingly secondary position within the religious order and recreated as a major institution under the guidance of the state. However, its central role as a principal socialization agency was not altered in this process although the students were fitted with new skills and an ideology necessary for the maintenance of the evolving socioeconomic system.

On the question of the educational role in the re-

production of labour power necessary for the economic system, it is important to understand that this was not a critical role of the universities on a massive scale until well into the twentieth century. During the latter decades of the nineteenth century and with the development of industrial capitalism, it was apparent that the institutions were preparing themselves for this function by adopting more practically oriented policies and curriculum. However, this is not to say that the universities during the nineteenth century were not adequately preparing students for life and work in the Canadian political and economic system. Thus,

The reproduction of labour power thus reveals as / its sine qua non not only the reproduction of its 'skills' but also the reproduction of its subjection to the ruling ideology or of the 'practice' of that ideology, with the proviso that it is not enough to say 'not only but also', for it is clear that it is in the forms and under the forms of ideological subjection that provision is made for the reproduction of the skills of labour power. 29

In other words, education promotes the ideology necessary for the acceptance of both its role in teaching essential skills and its perpetuation of a belief in the economic base.

# Footnotes

1. See Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and The Contradictions of Economic Life, (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1976), p. 9.
2. Louis Althusser "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)" in Lenin, Philosophy and Other Essays, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), p. 134.
3. Ibid., pp. 134-5.
4. Stuart Macintyre and Keith Tribe, "Althusser and Marxist Theory" (Cambridge: Octopress, 1975), p. 6.
5. Ibid., p. 6.
6. Louis Althusser and Etienne Balibar, Translated by Ben Brewster, Reading Capital, (London: New Left Books, 1975), pp. 99-100.
7. Macintyre and Tribe, op. cit., p. 7.
8. Anthony Giddens, Capitalism and Modern Social Theory: An Analysis of the Writings of Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 41.
9. See Ibid., pp. 40-5.
10. Karl Mannheim, Translated by Louis Wirth and Edward Shils, Ideology and Utopia, (New York: Harvest Books), p. 3.
11. Ibid., p. 9.
12. Ibid., p. 8.
13. Ibid., p. 87.
14. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, edited by C.J. Arthur, The German Ideology, (New York: International Publishers, 1972), p. 64.
15. Frank Parkin, Class Inequality and Political Order, (England: Paladin, 1973), p. 84.
16. Ibid., p. 83.
17. Ibid., p. 84.

18. Nicos Poulantzas, Political Power and Social Classes,  
(London: New Left Books, 1975), p. 214.
19. Ibid., p. 215.
20. Ibid., p. 215.
21. Ibid., p. 208.
22. Althusser, 1971, op. cit., p. 133.
23. Althusser states that all ideological state apparatuses  
perform the function of socialization. Ibid., p. 143.
24. Ibid., p. 155.
25. Ibid., p. 146
26. Ibid., p. 145.
27. Ibid., p. 144.
28. Ibid., p. 151.
29. Ibid., p. 133.

## Chapter Two

### The Role of Higher Education in the Developing Economy:

#### The Educational Ideas of Simcoe, Strachan and Ryerson

In a study of Canadian history and society, the early nineteenth century is of particular importance since it was during this time that the basis of the present Canadian social structure and institutional order was developed. During this period also the institutions of higher learning were founded. The universities were built in response to the political and economic demands of their promoters and financiers. For some, these institutions were to serve as a panacea for the problems of a developing nation. The history of higher education, then, should be studied as an integral part of the forces and institutions which shaped the Canadian political economy.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the competing interests of the groups of men promoting higher education in Upper Canada during the nineteenth century. In the analysis the political and economic situation of the developing Canadian social structure is taken into account. In particular this chapter examines the problems of the early university promoters as well as the various educational policies and ideals of those men acting as the vanguard of the university movement in Canada.

The Upper Canadian Social Structure, 1791-1830

After the British Conquest and the American Revolution, Secretary of State, William Wyndham Grenville proposed a solution to Britain's financial problems in maintaining the "most considerable of the King's remaining provinces in America."<sup>1</sup> Grenville's proposal was instituted in 1791 when the Constitutional Act was proclaimed. The Act split the colony into two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada, and provided each province with its own representative assembly. The new Canadian governments were then able to impose taxes, thereby alleviating Britain's heavy colonial expenses.<sup>2</sup>

While it was claimed that the passage of the Constitutional Act would solve the difficulties of the Canadian inhabitants who lived mainly in scattered settlements along the St. Lawrence River system, the reform proved instead to create new difficulties as well as to exacerbate old ones. The most serious problem for the merchants of both provinces was that of political and economic unity. The economic system, based on trade, depended upon the use of the waterways and since the major port was situated in Lower Canada at Montreal, for decades numerous struggles ensued. For Lower Canada, the political division left a minority group of merchants who were largely English-speaking centred at Montreal in charge of a French majority. The French were largely antagonistic toward the mercantile group which established itself as the local economic and political elite known as the Chateau Clique.

Difficulties in Upper Canada mainly centred around trade. As an inland colony, this province's most pressing need was easy access to a viable ocean route.

The difficulties created for the merchants by the Constitutional Act seemed to be inconsistent with Grenville's intention of creating conditions supportive of economic progress in Canada. However, upon closer examination, it is clear that it was not Grenville's intention to create hardships for the merchants but rather he anticipated a revision of the commercial code to accommodate the interests of the group.<sup>3</sup> Significantly, the division of the Canadas followed the aftermath of the American Revolution when Britain was trying to protect its interests and maintain its dominance in its colonies. British officials were concerned with the question of whether the Canadas would submit to rule from abroad after witnessing the neighbouring country's achievement of independence. By granting liberal concessions like the responsibility of local government, the Constitutional Act, according to Grenville, would prevent "the growth of a republican or independent spirit."<sup>4</sup>

To understand the consequences and functions of political measures such as the Constitutional Act, it is important to be aware of the existing social and economic formations, the activities of the inhabitants and the class structure. The activities of the people and their relationship to the productive process, according to Karl Marx and



Frederick Engels, are intrinsically related to the development of ideology.<sup>5</sup> For example, pre-capitalist societies have fostered political climates which have changed with the gradual progression to the capitalist mode of production. Where the inhabitants were forced by necessity to work and clear the land, build roads and maintain the family unit, production relations were largely independent, although based fundamentally on the logic of the evolving capitalist system. With the development of capitalism, the formation of an urban, landless working class, and the emergence of cooperative production relations, there was generally greater involvement in political and economic affairs by the workers whose lives were affected daily by such matters. In terms of the Marxian theory of the relationship between ideology and the productive process, an examination of the development of the political economy of Canada is essential to the study of higher education since this institution functions as an ideological producing mechanism.<sup>6</sup>

By 1812, Upper Canada's population numbered between sixty to eighty thousand.<sup>7</sup> Of this figure, the overwhelming majority, approximately 80%<sup>8</sup> were United Empire Loyalists while the remaining 20% were mainly from British origins. In 1783 a statute granting Loyalists free tracts of land in Upper Canada was passed. Under the scheme, heads of families received one hundred acres plus an additional fifty acres for every member of their families.<sup>9</sup> The plan was designed to attract those people who had remained loyal to Britain into an area where the British spirit would be fostered. To further

encourage the immigration of Loyalists and the settlement of Upper Canada, the acreage allotted was increased in 1787.

Upon their arrival in Upper Canada, the Loyalists were faced with a vast, sparsely settled land, thick with uncut forests and wilderness. The main preoccupation of most people was to clear enough land to farm and to maintain the household. In terms of its economic development, according to Leo Johnson, Ontario appeared to be at the stage of "toiler" or natural production.<sup>10</sup> During this stage of production, "there was little specialization, productivity was low and commodity exchange was carried on primarily through debt relationships."<sup>11</sup> In the "toiler" society the family units were generally self-sufficient; everyone contributed to the household by performing certain essential roles, including growing and preparing food, making clothing, building and maintaining adequate shelter, and obtaining other necessities and small luxury items through trading or by making them. Because of the nature of the work and the productive process itself, by 1820, the majority of Upper Canadians were "independent small landowners living in isolated settlements."<sup>12</sup>

In studying the transformation of the Canadian economy through the various modes or stages of production, it is impossible to measure exactly when each change took place. There are a number of factors which make it difficult to simply explain the progression. First, within the various stages of production, one can find features of both the successive and the previous stages of economic development. Secondly, the

various sectors of the economy may progress at different rates. This may be due to, among others, geographical, cultural, or climatic factors. Also, the relationship of the nation's economy or sector of the economy to other economies may affect the rate of development in one or many sectors. For these reasons, according to Leo Johnson,<sup>13</sup> it is most accurate to look for the "central tendency" in the developing order. Within the stage of natural production, then, it is important to consider the social forces which led the progression to the consecutive stage. For this, it is necessary to study the activities and power of the dominant class.

In Upper Canada, political and economic power was held by a small group of merchants, landowners and the colonial ruling aristocracy who were mainly British in origin and who "depended for their power on toadying to the British Colonial administrators, and for their wealth on the toil of the Canadian settlers and Indian trappers."<sup>14</sup> The key to the Family Compact's power, according to R.E. Saunders, lay in its occupation of the major decision-making bodies, the Executive and Legislative Councils and other key government posts. "Between 1820 and 1837," writes Saunders, "some twenty-two men had occasion to sit in the Executive Council."<sup>15</sup> Among prominent Compact members were:<sup>16</sup> William Allan, D'Arcy Boulton, John Beverley Robinson, Peter Robinson, John Strachan, Christopher Alexander Hagerman, William Dummer Powell, George Herchimer Markland, Thomas Ridout and Jonas Jones.

The Compact members' ability to maintain their positions

of power and authority was facilitated by Great Britain's strict control of the colony. In fact, Upper Canada's local ruling executive "was but an outlying branch of a bureaucracy which had its headquarters in the Colonial Office in London."<sup>17</sup> Bills and policy or constitutional changes of any kind were to be sent to the Colonial Office to receive Britain's rubber stamp of approval. Moreover, the Colonial Office was responsible for appointing Upper Canada's Lieutenant-Governor. Aileen Dunham describes the structure of government in Upper Canada in this way:

At the head of the provincial administration stood the lieutenant-governor, always a military officer from Great Britain, appointed by commission under the sign manual during pleasure.....From the Colonial Office the governor received definite instructions, and with it he corresponded in detail. An executive council was appointed according to the governor's instructions. All councillors were selected by the governor, with the confirmation of the Colonial Office.... 18

The seemingly liberal allowance for local representation guaranteed by the Constitutional Act was, therefore, filled by men who would function to promote and maintain Canada's colonial position vis-a-vis Britain.

The Family Compact's activities were not, however, confined to government affairs. According to Lord Durham:

...The bench, the magistracy, the high offices of the Episcopal Church, and a great part of the legal profession, are filled by adherents of this party: by grant or purchase, they have acquired nearly the whole of the waste lands of the Province; they are all-powerful in the chartered banks, and, till lately, shared among themselves almost exclusively all offices of trust and profit. 19

Compact members were involved in the various development projects and business concerns. For example, John Strachan, often credited as the leader of the group, along with J.H. Dunn, H.J. Boulton and William Allan, held among other positions, directorships in the Welland Canal Company.<sup>20</sup> War Claims Commissioner John Galt<sup>21</sup> headed the Canada Land Co. chartered in 1825 and William Allan was President of the Bank of Upper Canada while the Compact's Boultons, Jarvises, Robinsons and Strachans<sup>22</sup> held directorships. Allan N. McNab was President of the Great Western Railway and was responsible for the founding of Gore Bank. That Compact members simultaneously or successively held political and economic posts is evidenced by the fact that "twelve of the original fifteen directors [of the Bank of Upper Canada] were...--or soon became--executive councillors, legislative councillors or officers of government."<sup>23</sup>

Through their relationships to the political and economic orders, Family Compact members were not only able to maintain their tenure on positions of dominance but were often granted fringe benefits--special privileges and political favours. The most vivid examples of this concern the question of the disposal of the Crown Lands. The scheme of land grants to Loyalists placed large tracts of land into ungrateful hands and acted subsequently to open doors of opportunity for businessmen. The amount of land given to Loyalist families was far more than they could use. In fact, Gary Teeple notes that "of the free grants prior to 1838 in Upper Canada alone, the Loyalists had given 3,200,000 acres of land of the total 5,786,946 acres

distributed in 'non-fee' grants."<sup>24</sup> Many Loyalists had been professionals in the United States and did not wish to continue farming as the means of their livelihood.<sup>25</sup> The land grants represented potential capital which could be realized upon their sale. Government imposed settlement duties were rejected by the group and speculators thus accumulated large holdings in return for cash.

On a smaller scale, land was also parcelled out to former military men, government officials, and others among the "higher circles." Among those who received such gifts were: John Graves Simcoe, John White (Attorney-General, 1791-1800), Hon. John McGill (Executive Councillor), Mrs. John McGill, Hon. John Elmsley (Chief Justice), Mrs. Elmsley, Elizabeth Russell (sister of the Hon. Peter Russell) and the Macauleys.<sup>26</sup> "James Buchanan, Hon. Alexander Grant, William Allan, Richard Cartwright and Samuel Sherwood, as well as the great Montreal merchant house of Alexander Auldjo and Co."<sup>27</sup> were recipients of similar gratuities.

Until 1826, when the system of free land grants to ordinary (i.e. non-Loyalist) settlers was abandoned and "the office of the commissioner of crown lands was created, the [Executive] Council had the entire supervision of the land-granting department."<sup>28</sup> The situation was not at all radically altered, however, since Peter Robinson, member of the Executive and member for life of the Legislative Councils,<sup>29</sup> was appointed Crown Land Commissioner and Surveyor General of the Woods. By the mid-1820's most of the desirable land in Upper

Canada was in the hands of speculators or the newly formed land companies.<sup>30</sup> The Canada Land Company was indeed awarded its share. In 1826, the Company was awarded 1,100,000 acres<sup>31</sup> of very fertile and attractive land in the western part of the province, later known as the Huron Tract. Furthermore, the company "paid the nominal price of from fifty cents to one dollar an acre."

This Company, it was charged in the Provincial Parliament, then fraudulently evaded taxation by not taking out a patent until it sold the land to individuals, and then the buyers had to pay the tax. 32

Within fifteen years after the land was purchased by the Company, the Huron Tract acquired a population of approximately six thousand settlers in over twenty townships.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, by 1833, John Galt excitedly examined his profit of at least £300,000 from what he called "the most buoyant security in the London market."<sup>34</sup>

The huge profits of the Canada Land Company and other such enterprises were made possible partly because of the growth in the Canadian population with the massive increase in immigration. Between 1825 and 1841, Upper Canada's population expanded by approximately 125% from 157,923 to 455,688.<sup>35</sup> A large number of the immigrants, who were mainly poor and were destined to become part of the working class, were from the British Isles<sup>36</sup> while others travelled across the border from the United States. Both groups sought land grants which they believed were still offered by the government but were forced instead to deal with the Company and its associates. In

addition, the company's outrageous prices coupled with the virtual monopoly conditions in parts of the province fattened the pocketbooks of Galt and his friends. The settlers, however, were resentful but faced little chance of reconciliation with the company.

Although the stage of natural or "toiler" production lasted in Upper Canada until the 1850's, patterns suggestive of progression and change, such as the development of a landless labouring class were apparent. The farmers began to turn from merely subsistence agriculture--the production of food and other necessities for use within the family unit--to the production of various other crops for trade. Canada's merchant class diversified its trading by adding to the fur staple supplies of potash, wheat, and lumber for export.<sup>37</sup> These new commodities were introduced to Upper Canada by the Loyalists who had accomplished their share of the settlement of the province.

During the 1820's and 1830's, distilleries, gristmills, sawmills, tanneries, woollen mills, woodworking establishments, paper-making plants, and blacksmith and wheelwright shops<sup>38</sup> became part of the Ontario landscape and inhabitants engaged in different activities<sup>39</sup> such as tobacco growing, stone quarrying and brick and pottery making, mining and smelting iron ore and constructing canals and roads. Nevertheless, economic and political affairs remained under the auspices of the dominant class, the Family Compact, for at least another decade. Within this society, the religious and educational institutions, as



agencies engaged in the practice of control, socialization and legitimacy took on increasingly important roles.

John Graves Simcoe: Imperialist, Colonizer and Champion of Higher Education

When John Graves Simcoe arrived in Upper Canada in 1791 as the province's first Lieutenant-Governor, he found an unsettled sparsely populated colony dominated by a rather small group of fur merchants. His major goal for the province was to create an agricultural settlement and his overriding concern was with the maintenance of loyalty to the British Crown. In all matters Simcoe believed that:

...the utmost attention should be paid that British Customs, Manners and Principles in the most trivial as well as serious matters should be promoted and inculcated to obtain their due Ascendency to assimilate the Colony with the parent state and to bear insensibly all their habitual influence in the support of that British Constitution... 40

Even his schemes to populate Upper Canada incorporated ideology regarding the supremacy of British customs and practices and the need for Canada to maintain its colonial status.

Simcoe himself was a protagonist of the land grant system described above. Although he feared the penetration of American ideas into the colony and occasionally expressed concern over the republican tendencies of the Loyalists, generally he assumed that this group had the potential to build a strong loyal colony.

Because the U.S. was agriculturally more advanced than

Upper Canada, the Governor believed that the Loyalists would "bring in with them an experience in this kind of labour, which renders them superior to the Europeans."<sup>41</sup> Further, and perhaps more important in Simcoe's analysis, these people were "allured by the advantages of the British Government"<sup>42</sup> which he believed they had always revered, especially during the American Revolution. That most Loyalists had been convinced that the British way of life was supreme was clear in Simcoe's frame of reference. Other American emigrants without strong political convictions who took refuge in Canada to secure the advantages of the land grant schemes or to avoid the after effects of war, would according to the Governor, be easily socialized into adopting English manners, customs, habits and ways of life. On this matter, he wrote:

There are thousands of the inhabitants of the United States whose affections are centred in the British Government and the British name; who are positively enemies of Congress and to the late division of the Empire, many of their Connections have already taken refuge in Canada and it will be true Wisdom to invite and facilitate the emigration of this description of people....

It being obvious that from such Emigrants their descendants (and in some measure all classes of people) will adopt the habitual attachment to the British Nation which is a great bond of Union between the subjects of any State and a powerful barrier against any attempts which may be made to overthrow or undermine the existing form of Government.....

Other classes of Americans will emigrate to better their fortunes and whose indifference to any form of Government may be converted into zealous attachment to that under which they shall live, whenever they shall feel the advantages of its beneficence and wisdom, of the equality of its laws and its protection from the probability of foreign invasion. 43

For the "habitual attachment to the British Nation" to be

instilled in the immigrants in the midst of the pioneer settlement, a capital would have to be set up where people could gather and "transfuse their manners, principles, and attachments through the whole colony."<sup>44</sup> Simcoe chose York (later Toronto) for this purpose.

To create the colony Simcoe envisioned "in the image of Britain and its Constitution,"<sup>45</sup> it was important for him to populate and settle the land, to re-create or maintain an aristocracy, and to strengthen or build institutions which upheld the belief in the British state. Simcoe's years as Lieutenant-Governor would, then, be geared toward programmes which would incorporate those objectives.

While Simcoe allied himself with the Executive and Legislative Councils which were attended by the fur traders of the district, he nevertheless did nothing to protect the interests of or stimulate the business of the fur merchants. In fact, on one occasion, infuriated by the opposition of two legislative council members and fur merchants, Messrs. Hamilton and Cartwright, he called Hamilton "an avowed Republican" and accused Cartwright of "vanity and sordidness."<sup>46</sup> Simcoe believed that trade not only acted to hold back settlement but more seriously from an ideological point of view, worked to debase the morality of the inhabitants.<sup>47</sup> On one occasion, Simcoe wrote to Henry Dundas, Secretary of State for the Colony:

I consider the Fur trade on its present foundation to be of no use whatever to the colony of Upper Canada; an open trade may result from the happy form of government that is to be established in that country, but it appears doubtful whether even that

would add to its prosperity; it certainly would detract from its population, and ultimately debasing the morals of the country by the ill habits of the Courreurs des Bois, would injure its industry, the source of its future revenue.... 48

Although it is debatable as to whether or not trade hampered the development of an industrious people, it is, however, argued by a number of prominent historians that Canada's colonial, mercantile economy acted as a deterrent in the advance of Canadian industrialism.

Unsympathetic to the needs and requests of the supposedly corrupting fur merchants, Simcoe nevertheless believed in a hierarchical political arrangement for Upper Canada. Power and authority for him were to be vested in a landed aristocracy. By handpicking government officials whose political loyalties lay with the British Crown, the Governor would, in his terms, avoid the mistakes of the Americans. In Simcoe's analysis, the principal cause of the American Revolution was, in his words, "the want of an Aristocratical Power."<sup>49</sup> That America had not developed an aristocratic class but that it had instead allowed for free election of representatives had led indeed to the nation's downfall and subsequently to its break from Britain. The Upper Canadian aristocracy was to exhibit paternalism toward the lower classes and its members were to set examples of proper conduct, attitudes and principles for the inhabitants. Ironically, what the improvident Governor did not anticipate was that this aristocracy "had no intention of becoming country gentlemen on... [the] broad acres [granted to them]... but instead expected to sell them profitably in the future."<sup>50</sup>

What Simcoe did realize was that the mere existence of an aristocratic class was not adequate insurance against the infusion of anti-British sentiment into the province. It was important, then, for him to promote institutions or programmes which strengthened the State's position. The institutions most fitted to carry out the assignment of socializing people into the British way of life and of serving to maintain the status quo were those of religion and education. Together these institutions which were not to be clearly separated were to become important ideological producing mechanisms in colonial mercantile Canada.

In colonial Canada and throughout the early nineteenth century in general, the church was a central social institution, controlled like other branches of the government, through political patronage.<sup>51</sup> The connection of church and state in Canada was largely a product of eighteenth century England when religious and state interests were hardly separable.<sup>52</sup> To the Family Compact--the men of wealth and power--and the governor, religion of just any church, including and especially those religions brought into Upper Canada from the U.S. by the Loyalists, was not acceptable. What was important to this group was that an Established Church be maintained at public expense. This was not an unfair request, according to the dominant class, because one of the provisions of the Constitutional Act of 1791 was that one-seventh of the lands granted in each township be set aside "for the support and maintenance of a Protestant Clergy."<sup>53</sup> When these lands, appropriately called the "clergy

reserves", were, in effect, handed over to the Church of England, the beginning of the religious discord which marked the history of Upper Canada for at least half a century resulted.

The purpose of an Established Church was to maintain or create a feeling of loyalty among the inhabitants. Simcoe expressed his opinion on the matter in this way:

... a regular Episcopal establishment, subordinate to the primacy of Great Britain, is absolutely necessary in any extensive colony which England means to preserve, etc. The neglect of this principle of overturning republicanism in former periods, by giving support and assistance to those causes which are perpetually offering themselves to affect so necessary an object, is much to be lamented; but it is my duty to be as solicitous as possible, that they may now have their due influence, etc.... 54

Simcoe's plan necessitated the importation of an Anglican bishop as well as a number of missionaries. The missionaries were to be "learned men of just zeal and primitive manners"<sup>55</sup> but were not to be overeducated in case they would be unable to relate to the pioneers. Loyalty and morality rather than education and refinement were the characteristics required for the job of spreading the state church's gospel.

State-sponsored religion was supposedly a method of "preventing enthusiastic and fanatic teachers from acquiring that superstitious hold of the minds of the multitude which... [they] may pervert and are generally inclined to pervert..."<sup>56</sup> Yet the dissemination of religious doctrines, albeit British in origin, was not enough. Simcoe realized this and suggested in a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, that:

Schools have been shamefully neglected--a college of a higher class would be eminently useful, and would give a tone of principles and of manners that would be of infinite support to Government. 57

The proposed university was designed to be closely aligned with the Church of England. In the suggested scheme, the head (Chancellor, principal and other officials) and the professors were to be Anglican<sup>58</sup> and more than once the institution was referred to as a "Seminary."<sup>59</sup> With the marriage of religion and education, the university would become a convenient training ground for Anglican clergymen while lending its support to the church in performing essential ideological functions.

During its first years in Upper Canada, education was ✓ neither popular nor extremely important. At the time, while the religious institution occupied a primary place alongside the "master" institutions, the political and economic orders, education was but an arm of the Established Church. On the ideological level, religion and education combined with the political institution to reinforce its role of safeguarding the British interests in Canada. With respect to the importance of education during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, one social scientist<sup>60</sup> has found:

... in relative terms, education did not seem to be an overly important issue during the entire period. This may be verified, in part, by the fact that, in the years from 1800 to 1827, matters of education rated mention in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of each session of the Legislature on only four occasions and only two of these, in 1816 and 1827 made reference to the proposed university. 60

What was important though was that the dominant class realized

that it needed more communication with Upper Canadian inhabitants. In time, education would, to a greater or lesser extent than anticipated, fill this requirement.

According to Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, with a university in Upper Canada, Canadians would no longer be tempted to send their children to the American universities where "their British principles... [may be] perverted."<sup>61</sup> Since Simcoe and others wanted to guard the colony against republican ideas or tendencies, then it seems logical that they should have advocated education for all. However, this was not the case. Simcoe himself said that he favoured "education of the superior classes"<sup>62</sup> and that "provisions [should be made] for the education of the rising generation, who must take their due lead in society....and principally fill up the offices of Government."<sup>63</sup> This, he stressed was a "national concern."<sup>64</sup> As for education for "people in the lower degrees of life", he stated that this "necessarily require[d]....little expense" and was to be "provided for by their connections and relations."<sup>65</sup> In simple terms, the lower classes had little power. Hence, it was not as important that they were socialized into the prevailing socioeconomic order.

Simcoe and others realized the urgency of schooling the successive generations of officials and powerful men in manners, customs and ideas favourable to the ongoing political system, the mercantile economy and in general, British imperialism. The education of the higher classes, for Simcoe, was synonymous to the perpetuation of the dominant ideology. It was expected



that the upper class would transmit its ideas through politics and policy-making to the lower classes who would, in turn, hold similar beliefs. Fortunately, the system was not impenetrable. Lower class people did and still do point to the inconsistencies in the dominant rationality. What is important is that ideas perpetuated by the dominant class, as Poulantzas points out,<sup>66</sup> serve to mask class domination and inequalities. Hence the lower classes are often unable to accurately perceive their clearly subordinate positions within the class hierarchy.

#### John Strachan and The Founding of Ontario's First University

As a result of the influx of the Loyalists into Upper Canada, education was strongly influenced by Americans. By 1812, while many of the teachers were Anglican clergymen from Britain, the remainder were American. Anti-American sentiments were expressed by some Canadian residents who were of the opinion that American teachers using American textbooks in the classrooms were "'completely calculated to train up...[the]... children as citizens of the Republic, and to divert them from every affection and respect for the parent country.'"<sup>67</sup>

Antagonism between British and American forces characterized early nineteenth century education in Canada. This struggle, however, was not localized within and peculiar to education. Rather, the conflict within the educational sphere was part of a wider struggle within the political and economic orders.

Most important, the clash between the British and American forces in education dramatized the colonial status of Canada.

The "Simcoe tradition"<sup>68</sup> in education fostered the idea of classical schools and a university in Upper Canada. Simcoe's vehement expressions of opposition to mass societal education had the net effect of disseminating the ideology of elite education. No concrete action was taken in the actual establishment of the institutions until Bishop John Strachan arrived in York in 1812.

By 1812, the population of Upper Canada had reached 70,000. Of that figure, 800 had settled in the village of York,<sup>69</sup> (later Toronto), the future and permanent capital. As the locus of government and because of its geographical position, which made possible a prolific and profitable trade centre, it was in this village in Upper Canada that the men of the land companies, mercantile houses and other business operations and the political figures congregated. It was to this place also that the Anglican Bishop John Strachan was sent as missionary, master of the Home District Grammar School and chaplain<sup>70</sup> to the military during the American invasion.

For his activities during the War of 1812 in defending the colony, the government awarded Strachan an honorary seat in the Executive Council in 1815, a position "which I neither applied for nor coveted,"<sup>71</sup> he wrote to a friend. The seat was indeed an honour--in the Executive Council, he would take his place among other Family Compact members to eventually become one of the "inner circle." The importance of becoming a member

of the dominant class was clear. For Strachan this meant that he would have "greater influence in forwarding the interests of religion and education through the province."<sup>72</sup>

The Bishop undoubtedly considered himself fit for and deserving of the position. Before his appointment, upon receiving knowledge of the possibility of such an honour, he wrote to a friend that a "person zealous for the promotion of religion and the establishment of schools [was] absolutely necessary"<sup>73</sup> in the administration. And as far as qualifications were concerned, Strachan proudly boasted: "I have done more to promote true religion and the sound education of the people than any other man in Upper Canada."<sup>74</sup> This assertion was based on the report on the state of education in the province which he had submitted to and which had been accepted by the government during the war.

Strachan's influence grew and eventually permeated the various branches of the government. By 1817 his honorary appointment to the Executive Council became a regular one; he was made a member of the Legislative Council in 1820 and appointed President of the Board of General Superintendency of Education in 1823. Furthermore, he was Sir P. Maitland's "chief adviser"<sup>75</sup> during Maitland's ten year assignment as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada from 1818 to 1828. Ever since his arrival in Canada in 1799, Strachan used to his advantage the contacts he had made within the dominant class through his pupils at the Cornwall Grammar School. Within a few years after his arrival in Upper Canada, Bishop Strachan

carried with pride his intangible yet most cherished award-- the label of "leader" of the Family Compact. This achievement would give him the power and position to carry out his detailed plans for education in the upper province.

John Strachan's educational philosophy was related to his ideas concerning British imperialism and the future of Canada as a British colony. Along with Bishop Alexander Macdonnell, a Roman Catholic who expressed strong pro-British sentiments, he set out to carry on with Simcoe's educational plans for Upper Canada. American ideas of democracy and republicanism, therefore, were not tolerated. Rather, institutions and ideas upholding the value of hierarchy and rank were promoted in order to lessen the undue influence of those hostile political philosophies coming into the country from across the border. Clearly, education was to become the most important medium of correct ideas in the colony.

Like former Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, Bishop Strachan insisted on the marriage between education and religion, referring in fact, to the Education Ministry as the "Church and Education Department."<sup>76</sup> To preserve a strong connection between the two institutions, a trained and able Anglican clergy was prerequisite. Strachan exaggerated this need by attacking the fanaticism of the Methodists and by exclaiming that more ministers of the Church of England were needed to stamp out the effects of the teachings of such zealous partisans. Clergy, for Strachan, were to be salaried officials of the state, working for the state through its established church.

Hence, the church-state connection would be secure. Education was a matter of religion and a concern of the state and therefore deserving of public money and land.

For Strachan, the "most effectual method" of maintaining the British connection which he longed to preserve was by placing education under the direction of the Anglican clergy.<sup>77</sup> Clerics, as teachers, would serve to reinforce the union of religion and education. The major obstacle was that the Church of England clergy were not numerous in Canada at this time. Accordingly, a number of Anglican clergymen trained in the art of pedagogy topped Strachan's list of educational requirements for the province. This problem was not easily solved. Ministers sent out from the Mother Country were not acceptable for the job. Only a Canadian born and educated clergy would, in Strachan's terms, be suitable. It seems that the Bishop understood the necessity and importance of rapport between students and teachers, reasoning that if the clergy were brought up and educated in the province they "will be more useful among the people, and more happy themselves..."<sup>78</sup> Also, having lived through the War of 1812 and/or its after-effects, the Canadian teacher-patriarchs would more fully understand the urgency of spreading anti-American and pro-British ideas throughout the country. In any case, higher education functioned as a training ground for Anglican churchmen during its earliest years.

Much of Strachan's educational philosophy was influenced by and derived from his early years and his own

education in Scotland where the teachings of John Knox regarding the unity of education and religion for the purpose of affecting morality were most popular. Adopting Knox's principles, Strachan said:

Our first and most anxious care is to store the youthful mind with sound moral principles for it is a maxim with us that without knowing God, all knowledge is in vain. 79

The primary function of education was not to impart knowledge to the students but instead to socialize them with the proper attitudes respecting Canada and its relationship to Britain. The notion of education held by Strachan, Simcoe and other political figures, including Egerton Ryerson, was similar to Emile Durkheim's concept of "moral education." Early nineteenth century education was not promoted with expressed hopes of the accomplishment of any particularly utilitarian or pragmatic results. The desired end of education instead was the building of personalities fitted with ideas necessary to maintain the British connection and the prevailing system of class and power.

Briefly, Durkheim explained his conception of education in this way:

Education is intermediate between art and science. It is not art, for it is not a system of organized practices but of ideas bearing on these practices. It is a body of theories. By that token it is close to science. However, scientific theory has only one goal--the expression of reality, whereas educational theories have the immediate aim of guiding conduct. 80

To this explanation of education, Durkheim added his conception of morality. In simple terms, moral education involves two

basic elements: discipline and the attachment of individuals to society. Discipline is the set of codes or rules which help man to control himself--to "triumph over" his own nature.<sup>81</sup> This is of primary importance in maintaining or cultivating conformity to a social order. Along with discipline, men must be taught "nationalistic spirit" so that they will work toward a common good rather than for individual gain. Durkheim believed that it is the duty of the schools to build "national character."<sup>82</sup>

Durkheim noted that there has historically been a close bond between moral education and religion. Although he sought a more rational approach to moral education, he conceded that "if we begin to eliminate everything religious from the traditional system without providing any substitute, we run the risk of also eliminating essential moral ideas and sentiments."<sup>83</sup> Early Canadian educational protagonists eliminated this "risk" by maintaining and whenever possible strengthening the link between religion and education. A more "rational" approach in Durkheim's terms, was only adopted once the changing social order dictated the removal of overt forms of sectarian teaching in public schools. In Canada, it seems that in the earliest stage of production, religion was the main ideological institution whereas in the later stage of industrial capitalism (discussed in Chapter Five) education is the key ideological producing mechanism. The fusion of religion and education was accomplished during the transition stages between these two modes of production.

That John Strachan felt strongly about the value of education is expressed in a letter to a military friend. He wrote:

...if these Provinces are worth preserving the attachment of the inhabitants must be founded on early habits and opinions and these can only be produced and cherished by a proper system of religious and moral instruction. 84

Because Strachan realized the power and importance of education and the need for a Canadian educated clergy, he advocated that opportunities for the advancement of schooling should be open to those of the lower classes who show promise. Included in his "Report on Education, 1816" is a clause suggesting his support of a meritocracy:

Scholars [should] be taught gratis at each of the...District Schools in order to open the way to the poorer inhabitants to a liberal education for their promising children. 85

Later in his famous speech, "An Appeal to the Friends of Religion and Literature, in Behalf of the University of Upper Canada" given in 1827, he said that the university must possess "sufficient recommendations to attract to it the sons of the most opulent families."<sup>86</sup> At the same time, the university's doors were to be open to the "children of the farmer and mechanic [who] might be found deservedly filling the highest offices of the Colony."<sup>87</sup> Through education, the "best" of the lower class would be turned into Anglican clergymen who would be able to identify with the lower class while spreading religious ideas. The plan for university admission policy to include all those who meritoriously succeeded through the



grammar schools would, in Strachan's terms, be "rarely equalled"<sup>88</sup> in the world. The Upper Canadian system, however, did not quite fill the description of a meritocracy until much later. In the "toiler" society, lower class or farming families, unable to afford neither the cost of schooling nor the loss of their children's labour time, rarely sent their sons to school. Furthermore, the grammar schools serving to prepare the young for university largely catered to the needs of the upper classes.

Although the establishment of grammar and common schools was important to Strachan as Superintendent of the General Board of Education, he was preoccupied with the idea of an institution of higher learning. In fact, he considered the task of establishing a university to be his chief mission in Canada. In order to develop his project properly, he needed a powerful position within the state from which he could convince others of the soundness of his ideas and a sympathetic body of legislators and friends. As mentioned above, he held many important positions in decision-making bodies. Also, he was assured of sympathetic support as long as the Family Compact held power. Under Maitland's governorship, this was guaranteed, and Strachan, sensitive to the advantages of Family Compact rule, kept a check on the appointed officials as Maitland's right-hand man. At one point Strachan assuredly remarked that "the Executive Council is constituted of nearly the same materials as the Legislative."<sup>89</sup> The "materials" he

referred to were William Allan, George H. Markland, Jacques Duperron Baby, William Dummer Powell and others, all of whom sat simultaneously in both councils. In another instance, just after Maitland filled the vacant government seats, Strachan wrote to Bishop Mountain: "His Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland...recommend[ed] some new members for seats in the Legislative Council. The recommendation is favourable as I believe they are all churchmen."<sup>90</sup> The "churchmen" were:<sup>91</sup> Duncan Cameron, Angus McIntosh, George Markland, Joseph Wells and Strachan himself. Strachan and these allies therefore not only held similar political views but they also shared common backgrounds and church memberships.

Maitland closely agreed with Strachan and the Compact on most matters during his governorship, including the plans for the university in Upper Canada. Because of this relationship, he was heavily criticized by Canadian activists as well as by the British colonial officials who sensed rising hostilities in the colony. Nevertheless, Maitland sent Strachan to England in 1826 to negotiate a Royal charter for the institution that would later be called King's College.

#### The Beginnings of Conflict in Upper Canada

Shortly after Strachan returned from England with the King's College Royal charter and before any concrete action was taken in the development of the university and its programmes, Lieutenant-Governor Maitland was recalled by the

British Colonial Office. Hence, a "friend" of King's College was permanently lost to Canada. The new Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Colborne, who headed the government from 1828 until 1836, took quite a different approach to the powerful Bishop, his plans for a university and in general to the existing structure of power in Upper Canada.

Although Colborne too was a churchman and a British imperialist, holding similar ideas to those of Strachan, Simcoe and others with respect to the necessity of an institution of higher education in the province, his tactics and strategy in the role of governor differed somewhat from those of the past administrators. He fought desperately to rescind the label of sycophant of the Family Compact so appropriately attached to former governors Simcoe and Maitland. In particular, the new Lieutenant-Governor eschewed the powerful Strachan, charging that the Bishop's activities had given the Church of England a bad reputation,<sup>92</sup> especially to the non-Anglican inhabitants of the province. In criticizing Strachan, Colborne was, no doubt, referring to the Bishop's attitude toward the university and to his role in the dispute over the clergy reserve land.

Strachan perceived his own role in the establishment of King's College to be that of supreme commander of the administration and chief engineer of all programmes and policies. Although the initial idea for a "Seminary" of higher learning was Simcoe's, Bishop John Strachan must be credited with the actual development of the university. Nevertheless, his actions were often deplorable and irresponsible, as he acted

on his own impulse and initiative and neglected to confer with the legislative bodies or representatives of the general population. As early as 1818 while the country was barely used to the idea of an Upper Canadian university, Strachan's well constructed schemes already included the appointment of professors, as evidenced by the following excerpt from a letter to his friend, Dr. James Brown:

We have got a new Governor [Maitland] a very pious excellent man exceedingly disposed to promote the cause of religion and education. I have proposed to him to establish a University and he seems inclined. Will you have the goodness to give me your ideas of a Seminary suitable to our wants and what would you think of coming and taking a Chair in the same--would four or five hundred a year satisfy you? (emphasis added) 93

In view of the way Strachan took charge, then, it is neither surprising nor is it mere coincidence that the College's royal charter provided that the Archdeacon of York, a position held by Strachan himself, was to become ex officio president of the institution.

At first, the question of the availability of land for the university was not a hindrance although it later proved to be the source of one of the bitterest controversies in nineteenth century Canada. As stated earlier, one of the provisions of the Constitutional Act of 1791 called for the reserving of fresh lands for the "Support and Maintenance of a Protestant Clergy." These lands, commonly known as the clergy reserves were placed into the hands of the Church of England which at the time defined itself as the Established Church. Owing to the arbitrary nature of the wording of the Act in its reference

to the "Protestant Clergy", however, various other Protestant denominations--Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist--claimed a share of the land and revenue. The demands of these other denominations were not loud until the 1830's. Before this, crafty Church of England prelates tightened their hold upon the claim to the land. In 1818, Bishop Mountain of Quebec applied to the Imperial Government for direction and control of the clergy reserves.<sup>94</sup> The application was successful and the Clergy Reserve Corporation was created. According to one writer, "the corporation consisted of the Bishop and his clergy, who by their appointment derived the advantage of seeming to be the owners of what they were appointed to superintend."<sup>95</sup>

The clergy reserve lands were to be equal to one-seventh of all land granted or, in other words, one-eighth of each township. Instead, the clergy helped itself to one-seventh of all land which was equal to one-sixth of the land granted.<sup>96</sup> Besides this fraud, it is noted that "high Episcopal prelates such as Bishop Mountain of Quebec and Bishop Strachan of Toronto, obtained large land grants for themselves individually."<sup>97</sup> Interestingly, Strachan was president of the Clergy Reserve Corporation. In addition, it has been documented that "previous to their appointment, the annual income from the reserves was £700; under their management it was reduced in a few years to £150."<sup>98</sup> The clergy reserve swindles point not only to the fact that the powerful group was allowed to get away with such crimes but also to the ir-

responsibility of some of the "higher circles" at the time.

Shortly after Strachan was appointed to the Superintendentency of Education in 1823, Lord Bathurst who believed in the exclusive claims of the Church of England to the clergy reserves, ordered Strachan to organize a provincial comprehensive church school system, including a university. All schools were to be endowed from crown revenues. At the same time, Strachan observed that the Crown reserves were steadily increasing in value because of the improvements made to adjacent lots by the settlers. His plan secured a satisfactory endowment for his planned university. "He suggested to Sir Peregrine Maitland that the school lands should be given by the government, as grants to settlers, and that the government should exchange a portion of the Crown Reserves for an equal area of school lands."<sup>99</sup> Again Strachan's privileged position gave him the opportunity to manipulate the situation to his advantage, thus eliminating one by one the obstacles thwarting his plans. Under the arrangement, the university received a land endowment of 255,944 acres plus an extra 11,000 a year for sixteen years.<sup>100</sup> Because of the sectarian nature of the King's College charter, the acreage was virtually granted to the Church of England. General political unrest in the province and pressure from the other denominations delayed the opening of the university for almost two decades.

The disputable clauses of the King's College charter stipulated that the Anglican Bishop of the diocese was to be visitor, the Archdeacon of York (Strachan) was to be president,

all councillors were to be Anglican and were to subscribe to the thirty-nine articles and all divinity degrees were to be of the Church of England. The College Council, the major decision-making body in the institution was, according to an official history of the University of Toronto, "composed, in the main, of members of...the Family Compact."<sup>101</sup> Its membership included:<sup>102</sup>

Sir William Campbell, Chief Justice of Upper Canada;  
 Hon. Thomas Ridout, surveyor-general;  
 John Beverley Robinson, attorney-general;  
 Henry John Boulton, solicitor-general;  
 Rev. Thomas Phillips, headmaster of York Royal Grammar School;  
 and Grant Powell, son of former Chief Justice,  
 Hon. William Dummer Powell.

Several of these councillors were also officers of the General Board of Education.<sup>103</sup> Besides the revenue from the crown lands, the money for King's was obtained from:<sup>104</sup> the revenues (£1,000 per year) derived from the Canada Company, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Church Missionary Society. Although it is often noted that statistics collected from the period are generally unreliable, it is agreed that at this time the majority of Upper Canadians were not Anglican. The largest sect was, in fact, Methodist.<sup>105</sup> Accordingly, hostilities toward the privileged Anglican group intensified.

Upon assuming the role of Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Colborne faced a twofold dilemma. On the one hand, he detested American democracy, he believed in maintaining strong

executive control and he insisted that the church establishment must be preserved.<sup>106</sup> On the other hand, as a military man skilled in the art of social control, he realized that the growing agitation in the country could perhaps eventually lead to the demise of the British connection and that subtle measures of co-opting the dissatisfied people would be most effective.

In 1828 a strong reform coalition led by William Lyon Mackenzie was elected to the Assembly but it was defeated again in 1830 by the conservatives. By this time, however, both reformers and conservatives agreed that the clergy reserves should not be claimed exclusively by the Church of England but instead should be used for education.<sup>107</sup> Colborne's stand on the issue was clearly aligned with the old Anglican "power elite" which was at this stage rapidly losing popular support. In order to accommodate the reformers and to avoid further dissent in the province, Colborne urged the Colonial Office to allow for changes in the composition of the Legislative Council. He recommended that eight to ten independent members be appointed to sit on the council.<sup>108</sup> In this way the dissenters would not be justified in criticizing the similarity in membership between the two houses.

Colborne desperately tried to change the face (but not necessarily the substance) of the government and worried about his own image. Yet when ordered by Lord Goderich to endow Church of England rectories in the province, he established as many as forty-four<sup>109</sup> by 1836 and endowed them with valuable



Clergy Reserve land. To avert the attention of the reformers away from Bishop Strachan on whom many centred their attack, Colborne established Upper Canada College in 1830 in an attempt to improve secondary schooling. To do this, he transferred the King's College endowment to Upper Canada College for administrative use. This action only proved to anger both sides of the political spectrum. Nothing changed on the "right" because King's councillors refused to surrender its charter while the "left" saw Upper Canada College as "an academy for the children of the provincial aristocracy, poaching on school lands and on an endowment meant for the province as a whole."<sup>110</sup> The establishment of both King's and Upper Canada Colleges attests to the fact that the administrators were largely unsympathetic to the needs of the lower classes, expecting that primary schooling and basic training could be accomplished in the home or church. In any case, it was not seen as an urgent necessity as the institutions of higher learning which catered to the needs of the upper classes.

Upper Canada College was part of the Lieutenant-Governor's plan to pacify the masses. The plan failed. The new academy's curriculum was too classical to meet the requirements of the boys who intended to become mechanics or to enter business.<sup>111</sup> The curriculum was similar to that of King's College. As a result, opposition grew and the Assembly reached a consensus in favour of a state supported secular university.

Between 1815 and 1837 Irish and Scottish immigrants poured steadily into the country. "In 1815, the number for

British North America was given as not more than 1,250; in the succeeding ten years the numbers averaged 9,000; in 1827 the number was 15,862; in 1830, 28,100; and in 1832 more than 51,000." In time the Scots and Irish outnumbered the English by a ratio of two to one.<sup>112</sup> The Presbyterians were given added strength in numbers to fight against the popular interpretation of the ambiguous Constitutional Act phrase, the "Protestant Clergy" arguing that the Church of Scotland too was included in this collective term. Only after prolonged struggle was there any division of the Clergy Reserve land. Even then the settlement was hardly equitable--the Church of England representing 20% of the population received 42% of the reserves, the Church of Scotland with 20% of the population was granted 21% and the other denominations with about 60% of the people were conceded 38% of the land.<sup>113</sup>

The Clergy Reserves were only one item in the reformers' long list of grievances. The bank monopolies, the Welland canal, the mounting provincial debt and the tariff question<sup>114</sup> were among the other tory "accomplishments" which the reformers wished to reorganize. Mackenzie and his followers can best be described as liberal democrats. What they wanted most was to be governed by their own chosen representatives. They abhorred the Family Compact oligarchy and reasoned that Canada could and would remain loyal to Britain while assuming responsibility for its own internal affairs.

There are various interpretations of the 1837-38 rebellion in the Canadas. Some historians, for example, view

the rebellion as an instance of class warfare<sup>115</sup> whereas others argue that it was mainly a conflict between a nascent industrial bourgeoisie and the old aristocracy.<sup>116</sup> By 1830, Canada was still predominantly agricultural; at the time there were only seven mercantile houses in Toronto and import-export figures seem to indicate that there was no large mercantile class. Land had only become a commodity in 1825 under the immigration scheme of Lord Goderich and John Colborne. The majority were still engaged in farming although the farm units and their organization were undergoing slight changes.

The farmers generally sympathized with Mackenzie, especially on the tariff question. They demanded free trade with the United States as well as with Britain. Neither the alignments in the rebellion nor the interests served by the various demands were always clear. The reform era was a prelude to the next stage of economic development. This new stage of independent commodity production required taxation to finance schools, roads and the growing government bureaucracy. The idea of taxation was antithetical to the needs of the natural producers who espoused a pro-property and independence ideology.

Analyses of the rebellion in terms of conflict between or within classes tend to overlook what Leo Johnson terms "intermodal conflict."<sup>117</sup> Johnson contends that the complexity of the situation as well as the seemingly contradictory nature of the various demands and alignments are due to the changing nature of the economic order and that certain elements in each

stage conflict with corresponding factors in the successive stage. In the progression from natural to independent commodity production, there were elements both promoting and resisting change and both "promoters" and "resisters" were evident throughout the hierarchical class structure. In the context of this paper, what concerns us here are the questions of which classes promoted higher education, of how it subsequently served the needs of its promoters and of its role in the new stage of economic development.

#### The Methodist Educational Promoter: The Ideas of Egerton Ryerson

For many years the Methodist Church was the target of attack by the Family Compact and the Established Church. The reaction was due to a variety of factors, including the differences between the denominational philosophies. The most pointed attacks, however, referred to the church's American origins. Popular opinion held that members were "tainted" with American ideology because their leaders were "for the most part from the U.S. where they gather their knowledge and form their sentiments."<sup>118</sup> But since the War of 1812, Canadian Methodists, many of whom were Loyalists, had worked to dissociate their church from its American counterpart. Another mark against the Methodists was, in the Family Compact's eyes, the group's outspoken leader, Egerton Ryerson, a champion of religious liberty and a critic of the structure of power.

Angered by the inequalities in religious matters,

during his earlier years Ryerson joined William Lyon Mackenzie and his team of reformers. In 1828, as members of a committee called "Friends of Religious Liberty" Egerton Ryerson, William Lyon Mackenzie, Robert Baldwin, and Jesse Ketchum circulated a petition which called for complete equality among all denominations, the division of the Clergy Reserve land for the various sects and the removal of the sectarian clauses in the King's charter. Eight thousand inhabitants signed the petition.<sup>119</sup> Many signed the petition because they were aroused by John Strachan's "Ecclesiastical Charts" in which he fully underestimated the number of adherents and clergymen of each denomination while grossly overestimating his own. The chart had been sent to the Colonial Office in England along with a letter in which he pleaded for the perpetuation of favoritism toward the Church of England. Ryerson despaired of the discrimination on the basis of religion believing that such inconsistencies were "not according to the principles of British liberty or of the British Constitution."<sup>120</sup>

One of the main reasons Ryerson joined with Mackenzie was that they agreed that the Clergy Reserves should be equitably divided and used for schools. In time Ryerson became disassociated from the group. He disliked the rebels' tactics and was dissatisfied with the violence (committed by Family Compact members and their relatives as well). Moreover, as a leading member of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference, he was severely reprimanded for his association with the reformers. In 1833 after serious deliberation on the relative strengths

and weaknesses of the party platform, he repudiated his relationship with this group.

After he split with the reform party, Ryerson more clearly explained the type of social order he thought best for Canada. Ryerson was a "reformer" in the true sense of the word; that is, he was interested in removing the faults and making improvements in the social order but was opposed to fundamental social change. Disturbed at having lost the support of Ryerson and many Methodist followers, Mackenzie accused "the arch-apostate Egerton, alias [Benedict] Arnold"<sup>121</sup> of joining Strachan and the Tories. In Ryerson's response to Mackenzie, he spoke favourably about the Lieutenant-Governor and Lord Goderich. He also advocated the separation of religious and political affairs:

We, as a religious body, and as the organ of a religious body, have only to do with Sir John Colborne's administration, as far as it concerns our character and rights as British subjects; His Excellency's measures and administration in merely secular matters lie within the peculiar province of the political journalists and politicians of the day... <sup>122</sup>

For Ryerson whose political position had become more conservative even the radicals (who were by no means revolutionaries) had gone too far in trying to press for political and social changes rather than to rectify the system's inequalities.

Ryerson's aversion to social change was intrinsically related to his desire to maintain the British connection. After studying the ideology of the English radicals, Joseph Hume and

Thomas Atwood, he declared:

Radicalism in England appeared to us to be but another word for Republicanism, with the name of King instead of President. This school, however, includes all the Infidels, Unitarians and Socianians in the Kingdom; together with a majority of the population of the manufacturing districts. (emphasis added) 123

This no doubt was an indirect attack on Canadian radicals whose position clearly favoured independence through Responsible government rather than colonial rule<sup>124</sup> in politics and independent commodity production over natural production in economics. Ryerson's ideal socioeconomic system was "a solidly land-based society of God-and-property-respectful men."<sup>125</sup> That is, Ryerson believed in maintaining the system of natural production in which families produced for themselves on their farms and where the combination of religion and education served to keep people loyal to the social order. He promoted this by working to quiet the farmers during rebellious outbreaks.<sup>126</sup> Thus, Ryerson and his followers constituted an element of resistance in the changing structure of Upper Canadian society.

Dissatisfied with Sir John Colborne's Upper Canada College as an alternative to the sectarian King's, as early as 1831 Ryerson decided that a Methodist educational establishment was necessary. When he learned of this, Colborne bitterly attacked the Methodist Church, preferring to demean its status by referring to it as a "society." According to Colborne, education could not be entrusted to such a group. In an address to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in 1831, he said:

The system of [university] education which has produced the best and ablest men in the United Kingdom will not be abandoned here to suit the limited views of leaders of Societies who, perhaps, have neither experience nor judgment to appreciate the value or advantages of a liberal education... 127

Ryerson and his group, however, were anxious to promote a liberal culture and the Methodist Church was to be open to students of any denomination. The Colonial Office, it seems, was more sensitive to the meaning of the rivalries within the province. Its answer was to appease the various groups. Significantly, the Colonial Office granted the Methodist group a portion of the Clergy Reserve land. It was soon after this and hardly circumstantial that Ryerson broke with Mackenzie. The Methodists used their share of the Clergy Reserve land to establish Upper Canada Academy (later Victoria University) in 1836.

Meanwhile, the reform party was elected to the House in 1834 with Rolph, Bidwell and Mackenzie as leaders. During the next year a bill to amend King's charter by removing the religious control and replacing it with government control was rejected by the Legislative Council. This Council believed that a university should have a strong religious basis and that a government controlled institution was an unwise move since the university would then be subjected to political influences.<sup>128</sup> In other words, the Legislative Councillors worried that the reformers would gain control of King's College and thus its essential function of moral education would be subverted. The reformers' numerous attempts to change the nature of the



university together form one facet of the struggle in Upper Canada during the 1830's. By studying the university as part of the wider social system, one can gain an insight into the complexity of social change and more important, into the competing elements within an evolving social order.

Upon examining Ryerson's educational philosophy, it is clear that he was not opposed to the union of church and state in education and that many of his ideas were similar to those of Strachan and Simcoe. The main point of contention which, of course, precipitated the long struggles in regard to the "University question" was Strachan's insistence of an exclusive educational system. For Ryerson, an efficient educational system included the combined participation of the government and the various denominations. He expressed this in an editorial he had written for the Christian Guardian on July 11, 1838. He wrote:

In nothing is this province so defective as in the requisite available provisions for, and an efficient system of, general education. Let the distinctive character of that system be the union of public and private effort...To government influence will be spontaneously added the various and combined religious influence of the country in the noble, statesmanlike, and divine work of raising up an elevated, intelligent and moral population.... 129

Ryerson, like the other education promoters, was concerned with the creation and maintenance of a "moral" population. He too was an imperialist and sought to preserve loyalty within the colony. In fact, just after his break with the reformers he "defended the Constitutional Act as a solemn compact between the British Crown and the inhabitants of Upper

Canada",<sup>130</sup> although he argued against the interpretation of some of its clauses. In any case, he incorporated his ideas on loyalty, morality and religion in his definition of education which follows:

By education, I mean not the mere acquisition of certain arts, or of certain branches of knowledge, but that instruction and discipline which qualify and dispose the subjects of it for appropriate duties and employments of life, as Christians, as persons of business and also as members of the civil community in which they live. 131

Ryerson was more explicit in his definition of education given in his address at the opening of Upper Canada Academy in 1841:

The object of education, rightly understood is, first to make good men--good members of universal society; secondly, to fit them for usefulness to that particular society of which they constitute an integral fact--to form their principles and habits--to develop their talents and dispositions, in such a way, as will be most serviceable to the institutions in which they dwell. Any narrower view of the great end of education is essentially defective and erroneous. 132

It is clear that Ryerson grasped the essential nature of education as a socialization agency and understood its function in "fitting" men with ideas and principles required by the ongoing social order.

Ryerson reasoned that if education were to be a successful and effective agency promoting loyalty, morality and preparing people for certain roles in society, then it should be limited neither to the wealthy nor to the members of a particular church group. With this guiding principle, he designed the School Bill of 1850.<sup>133</sup> He ran into opposition with this because the wealthy inhabitants of Upper Canada were not

willing to pay for the poor people's education.<sup>134</sup> By their logic, education had traditionally been and therefore should remain a reserve where upper class children became classical scholars and fine polished gentlemen. It seems that this very narrow view of education was a product of the natural producer society in which skilled or educated manpower was not needed but rather, as discussed above, education was used to socialize and prepare political and economic administrators and clerics. Also, during that stage, with the majority of the people on independent and self-sufficient farms, the dominant class, resembling an aristocracy, depended on the imperialist country for its power and was rather isolated from possible criticisms of the social order put forth by the farming population.

Ryerson's ideal educational system incorporated three main principles. The first was that education was to be universal and compulsory.<sup>135</sup> If education was to serve as an effective socialization agency where children would learn virtuous behaviour, then it must not only be open to all but all must, by law, be compelled to attend. In Ryerson's words:

The branches of knowledge which it is essential that all should understand should be provided for all, and taught to all, should be brought within the reach of the most needy, and forced upon the attention of the most careless. 136

Although this principle of compulsory attendance could not be applied to the universities which were much more exclusive and selective, it exemplifies Ryerson's conceptualization of the importance of education. Also, one may pose the question of

whether or not a universal, compulsory primary school system eventually led to a meritocratic higher educational system.

Secondly, education at both the higher and the lower levels was to be practical. He explained that historically, universities had been "entirely destitute of all practical character."<sup>137</sup> Thus, persons graduating from "the higher departments of knowledge" he found were "utterly incompetent to the most simple, as well as the most important affairs of every day life."<sup>138</sup> In his address delivered in 1841, the year the Upper Canada Academy became Victoria University, he stated:

[Education should be] suited to the station and intended pursuits of the educated and the absence of anything definite or practical...is one prolific cause of sending forth into the world so many educated and half-educated idlers and vagabonds. <sup>139</sup>

Though it may have been beneficial to individuals, Ryerson believed that a classical curriculum was unsuitable for Upper Canada.<sup>140</sup> Here was a basic difference between Ryerson's and Strachan's institutions of higher learning. The University of Toronto had only adopted a more practical, scientific curriculum during the late 1860's and 1870's after the great modernization movement in German, British and American universities had begun. During this movement, Toronto extended its teaching of physics, biology and other sciences and also improved its method of delivery in such areas as history, literature and philosophy.<sup>141</sup> In contrast, Victoria University, with its special emphasis on practical education offered a

course in Civil Engineering as early as 1843.<sup>142</sup> The pragmatic nature of Victoria's teaching may have been due to Ryerson's familiarity with American colleges, most of which stressed useful education from their inception.

Thirdly, although Ryerson believed strongly in the marriage of religion and education, he held that religious principles advancing morality rather than sectarianism should be taught. He rationalized that sectarianism excluded too many who could, perhaps upon receiving a degree, serve a useful purpose in the province. Further, for Ryerson it was more important that collegiate education rather than primary schooling be overtly religious. The reasoning behind this was that in attending university or college, students were away from home for the first time. Many were out of the range of control of both their parents and their pastors. Therefore, it was essential that the university teach the basic religious principles common to all sects. In Ryerson's words:

It is a mystery of mysteries, that men of conscience, men of religious principle and feeling, can be so far blinded by sectarian jealousy and partisanship, as to desire for one moment to withhold from youth at the most feeble, most tempted, most eventual period of their educational training, the most potent guards, helps and influence to resist and escape the snares and seductions of vice, and to acquire and become established in those principles, feelings, and habits which will make them true Christians, at the same time that they are educated men. Even in the interests of civilization itself, what is religious and moral stands far before what is merely scholastic and refined....The great question...is not which system will teach the most classics, mathematics, etc....but which system will best protect, develop, and establish those higher principles of action, which are vastly more important to a country

itself--apart from other and immortal considerations--than any amount of intellectual attainments in certain branches of secular knowledge. Colleges under religious control may fall short of their duty and their power of religious and moral influence; but they must be, as a general rule, vastly better and safer than a college of no religious control or character at all....It is not the sect, it is the society at large that most profits by the high religious principles and character of its educated men. An efficient religious college must confer a much greater benefit upon the State than a non-religious college can, and must be more the benefactor of the State than the State can be to it by bestowing any ordinary amount of endowment. 143

Education, therefore, was to be a means whereby people would inculcate a moral and nationalistic spirit.

According to Ryerson, "it is the cultivation and exercise of man's moral powers and feelings which forms the basis of social order and the vital fluid of social happiness..."<sup>144</sup>

In Upper Canada, moral education was therefore fundamental for a stable and integrated social order free from uprisings which were potentially threatening to the status quo.

### Conclusion

There is a striking similarity between the philosophies of Simcoe and Strachan on the one hand and Egerton Ryerson on the other. Fundamentally, education was viewed by all three as a means through which ideas supportive of the ongoing political economy could be perpetuated. Traditionally, in earlier, pre-capitalist societies, the task of making "moral" men who were not prone to question the structure of class and power, the workings of the political apparatus and the underlying philosophy of the economic order was solely the responsi-

bility of the religious institution. Significantly the educational promoters saw the need for the further extension of the traditional function of religion through the schools. The fusion of education and religion, it seemed, would strengthen the work of the latter institution in maintaining a loyal and moral citizenry. However, this combination only seemed to last until the demands of the developing political economy called for its termination. The next chapter examines the process of the separation of religion and education in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

## Footnotes

1. Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, editors, Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1971, cited in Gerald M. Craig, Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1972), p. 13.
2. Under an Act passed in 1778, the British government was not allowed to levy taxes within a colony. Taxes were to be the responsibility of colonial governments. It is suggested that this measure was instituted as an appeasing gesture toward the Thirteen Colonies. See Craig, Ibid., pp. 13-14.
3. Ibid., p. 14.
4. William Grenville, cited in Ibid., p. 15.
5. In the Manifesto of the Communist Party, Marx and Engels wrote: "Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views, and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life?....What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed?" (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1969), p. 72.
6. That education is an ideological producing mechanism is argued by many modern sociologists in various analyses. See, for example: George Martell, "The Schools, The State and the Corporations" in George Martell, editor, The Politics of the Canadian Public School, (Toronto: James Lewis & Samuel, Publishers, 1974), pp. 1-36. Joel H. Spring, Education and The Rise of the Corporate State, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972). David N. Smith, Who Rules the Universities? An Essay in Class Analysis, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974).  
In a somewhat different manner from the above writers and in a structural-functional analysis, Robert Dreeban in his book, On What is Learned in School argues that: "...schools, through their structural arrangements and the behavior patterns of teachers, provide pupils with certain experiences largely unavailable in other social settings, and that these experiences, by virtue of their peculiar characteristics, represent conditions conducive to the acquisition of norms....pupils learn the norms of independence, achievement, universalism, and specificity as outcomes of the schooling process." (p. 84)



## 6. continued...

In general, Dreeban argues that: "The school...is an organizational embodiment of a major social institution whose prime function is to bring about developmental changes in individuals. It is an agency of socialization whose task is to effect psychological changes that enable persons to make transitions among other institutions; that is to develop capacities necessary for appropriate conduct in social settings that make different kinds of demands on them..."(p. 3) In other words, schools are functional to the formation of attitudes, values, actions, and ideas.

Early sociologists, too, analyzed the relationship between schooling and the formation of ideas. Steven Lukes writes of Emile Durkheim: "Both education and morality, Durkheim maintained, are social phenomena: both are relative to the needs and social structures of particular societies and both are open to systematic observation. He saw education as 'the means by which society perpetually re-creates the conditions of its very existence': it consists of 'a systematic socialization of the young generation'. He thought it possible to distinguish analytically (though not in reality) between all those mental states which are private to the individual and 'a system of ideas, sentiments and practices which express in us...the group or different groups of which we are part; these are religious beliefs, moral beliefs and practices, national or occupational traditions, collective opinions of every kind'. The aim of education was to constitute that system within individuals." Emile Durkheim, His Life and Work: A Historical and Critical Study, (London: Penguin Books, 1975), p. 111.

7. Donald Creighton, The Empire of the St. Lawrence, (Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1970), p. 143.

Population figures are estimates because records were not yet kept.

8. R.T. Naylor, "The Rise and Fall of the Third Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence" in Gary Teeple, editor, Capitalism and the National Question in Canada, (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 5; G.W. Spragge, editor, The John Strachan Letter Book: 1812-1834, (Toronto: The Ontario Historical Society, 1946), p. ix.

9. Leo A. Johnson, "Land Policy, Population Growth and Social Structure in the Home District, 1793-1851" in Ontario History, (LXIII (1), March, 1971), p. 42.

10. Leo A. Johnson, "The Political Economy of Ontario Women in the Nineteenth Century" in Acton, Goldsmith and Shepard, editors, Women at Work, Ontario 1850-1930, (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974), p. 15.
11. Ibid., p. 14.
12. Ibid., p. 15.
13. Leo Johnson explained this idea in an oral presentation of a paper delivered at the Conference on Class and Power, McMaster University, August 29, 1975.  
In my mention of the progression of the economy through the stages of production, it is important to understand that I am not attempting an intensive study of the development of the economy but rather I am using the theoretical framework of the changing modes of production to enable me to explain the changes in education which were apparent in the nineteenth century.
14. Stanley B. Ryerson, Unequal Union: Roots of Crisis in the Canadas, 1815-1873, (Toronto: Progress Books, 1973), p. 92.
15. R.E. Saunders, "The Family Compact Defined" in D.W. Earl, editor, The Family Compact: Aristocracy or Oligarchy? (Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1967), p. 19.
16. There is considerable disagreement among historians with respect to the membership and key activities of the Family Compact. It seems that the basis of this disagreement is a lack of consensus on the nature and meaning of the dominant class. One of the major questions concerning the Family Compact was whether the group was mainly an aristocracy or an oligarchy. Historians agree that the Family Compact held political power through its occupation of the Executive and Legislative Councils but different opinions exist with respect to the method of recruitment into the group. For example, Aileen Dunham argues that "wealth, education and social standing" were "at the basis of the compact." Political Unrest in Upper Canada, 1815-1836, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1971), p. 44. R.E. Saunders suggests that the group was principally composed of professionals and bureaucrats and a few businessmen and that the principal qualification in order to gain entry was the possession of "correct" ideology as viewed by the Compact itself. (See Earl, Ibid., p. 6.) Some difficulty in outlining the Compact's activities seems to exist in terms of the members' economic activities. That their political connections were more abundant than their economic roles attests to the rather undeveloped state of the Canadian

16. continued...  
economy at the time. However, in view of the privileged positions they held, it is significant that these men were among the most prominent and powerful in the developing economic order and that their family names existed in the Canadian upper class for decades. The names I have listed here are those men designated by most historians as key Compact members. While the list may not be exhaustive, it includes most who played important roles in the developing political economy and who are therefore important in the context of this thesis.
17. Dunham, Ibid., p. 30.
18. Ibid., p. 30.
19. Lord Durham in Gerald M. Craig, editor, Lord Durham's Report, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1973), p. 79.
20. Creighton, op. cit., p. 266.
21. Ryerson, op. cit., p. 89.
22. T.W. Acheson, "The Nature and Structure of York Commerce in the 1820's" in Canadian Historical Review, (L(4), Dec., 1969), p. 424.
23. Cited in Creighton, op. cit., p. 266.
24. Cited in Gary Teeple, "Land, Labour and Capital in Pre-Confederation Canada" in Teeple, op. cit., p. 48.
25. Johnson, 1971, op. cit., p. 43.
26. Ibid., p. 45.
27. Ibid., p. 52.
28. Dunham, op. cit., p. 31.
29. William Lyon Mackenzie, "The Family Compact Identified" in Earl, op. cit., p. 13.
30. Teeple in Teeple, op. cit., p. 50.
31. Craig, op. cit., p. 136. There seems to be a discrepancy among the historical works I have read with respect to the acreage awarded to the Canada Company. Stanley Ryerson (op. cit., p. 89) sets the figure at 2,300,000 acres while Gustavus Myers, A History of Canadian Wealth,

31. continued...  
(Toronto: James Lewis & Samuel, Publishers, 1972),  
p. 85 estimates that  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million acres of land was  
acquired by the company. It seems that one million  
acres of land was received in a block and would have  
therefore been more valuable to the company while the  
extra acreage (perhaps to the total of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million)  
would have consisted of smaller plots.
32. Myers, Ibid., pp. 85-86.
33. Ryerson, op. cit., p. 89.
34. John Galt, cited in Ibid., p. 90.
35. The calculation is based on these figures which were  
cited in Dunham, op. cit., p. 23.
36. Creighton, op. cit., notes: "During the decade from 1815  
to 1825, some 50,000 unassisted migrants crossed the  
ocean from the British Isles to Canada. The total for  
the year 1827 was 12,648. It reached 15,945 in 1829,  
28,000 in 1830 and 50,254 in 1831." (p. 259)
37. Ibid., p. 89.
38. Craig, 1972, op. cit., p. 146.
39. Ibid., p. 146.
40. Letter, J.G. Simcoe to Hon. Henry Dundas, June 30, 1791  
in E.A. Cruikshank, editor, The Correspondence of  
Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe, With Allied Docu-  
ments Relating to His Administration of the Government  
of the Upper Canada, Volume I, 1789-1793, (Toronto:  
The Ontario Historical Society, 1923), p. 27.
41. Letter, J.G. Simcoe to Hon. Henry Dundas, Nov. 23, 1792,  
in Ibid., p. 264.
42. Ibid., p. 264.
43. Letter, June 30, 1791, op. cit., p. 27.
44. Ibid., p. 27.
45. Simcoe, cited in Ryerson, op. cit., p. 42.
46. Incident described in Craig, op. cit., p. 31.
47. Ibid., p. 23.
48. Letter, J.G. Simcoe to Henry Dundas, April 28, 1792, in  
Cruikshank, op. cit., p. 141.

49. Letter, Nov. 23, 1792, op. cit., p. 264.
50. Craig, op. cit., p. 34.
51. John S. Moir, The Church in the British Era: From the British Conquest to Confederation, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1972, p. 5.
52. Alan Wilson, "The Clergy Reserves of Upper Canada", Historical Booklet no. 23, (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Assoc., 1969), p. 3.
53. Ibid., p. 5.
54. Letter, J.G. Simcoe to Dr. Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, Dec., 1790, quoted in Egerton Ryerson, (edited by J.G. Hodgins), The Story of My Life, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1883), p. 220.
55. Simcoe, quoted in S.D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), p. 117.
56. Letter, June 30, 1791, op. cit., p. 31.
57. Letter, J.G. Simcoe to Sir Joseph Banks, January 8, 1791, in Cruikshank, op. cit., p. 19.
58. Letter, April 28, 1792, op. cit., p. 143.
59. Both J.G. Simcoe and Bishop John Strachan interchangeably called the proposed institution a "university" and a "seminary" on a number of different occasions.
60. E.E. Stewart, "The Role of the Provincial Government in the Development of the Universities of Ontario, 1791-1964" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1970), p. 24.
61. Letter, April 28, 1792, p. 143.
62. Ibid., p. 143.
63. Letter, Nov. 23, 1792, op. cit., pp. 264-265.
64. Letter, April 28, 1792, op. cit., p. 143.
65. Ibid., p. 143.
66. Nicos Poulantzas, Political Power and Social Classes, (London: New Left Books, 1975), p. 214.

67. Cited in J.D. Wilson, "Education in Upper Canada: Sixty Years of Change" in J.D. Wilson, R.M. Stamp, L. Audet, editors, Canadian Education: A History, (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1970), p. 192.
68. The "Simcoe tradition" refers to elitism in early education.
69. Stewart, op. cit., p. 14.
70. J.L.H. Henderson, editor, John Strachan: Documents and Opinions, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1969), p. viii.
71. Letter, John Strachan to Lieut.-Colonel Miller Clifford, April 25, 1816 in Spragge, op. cit., p. 108.
72. Ibid., p. 108.
73. Letter, John Strachan to Col. Harvey, May 1815, in Ibid., p. 81.
74. Letter, April 25, 1816, Ibid., p. 108.
75. Henderson, op. cit., p. viii.
76. George W. Spragge, "John Strachan's Contributions to Education, 1800-1823", Canadian Historical Review, (Volume 22, 1941), p. 154.
77. See Letter, John Strachan to Lord Bishop Mountain of Quebec, Late 1820, in Spragge, 1946, op. cit., p. 210.
78. John Strachan, "A Report of the State of Religion in Upper Canada..." (March 1, 1815), in Ibid., p. 74.
79. Strachan in Spragge, 1941, op. cit., pp. 155-6.
80. Emile Durkheim, Moral Education: A Study in the Theory and Application of the Sociology of Education, Translated and edited by E.K. Wilson and H. Schnurer, (New York: The Free Press, 1973), p. 2.
81. Ibid., p. 50.
82. Ibid., p. 4.
83. Ibid., p. 19.
84. Letter, May 1815, in Spragge, 1946, op. cit., p. 81.
85. John Strachan, "Report on Education," February 26, 1815 in Spragge, Ibid., p. 77.

86. John Strachan, "An Appeal to the Friends of Religion and Literature in Behalf of the University of Upper Canada" (P.A.O., Pamphlet Collection), p. 8.
87. Ibid., p. 7.
88. Ibid., p. 7.
89. Letter, John Strachan to Lord Bishop Mountain, May 12, 1817, in Spragge, 1946, op. cit., p. 131.
90. Letter, Late 1820, op. cit., p. 208.
91. Spragge, 1946, op. cit., p. 263.
92. Craig, op. cit., p. 177.
93. Letter, John Strachan to James Brown, December 1, 1818, in Spragge, 1946, op. cit., pp. 184-5.
94. E.R. Stimson, History of the Separation of Church and State in Canada, (Toronto: 1887), p. 88.
95. Ibid., p. 88.
96. Cited in Myers, op. cit., p. 74.
97. Ibid., p. 75.
98. Stimson, op. cit., p. 88.
99. George Gibbon McNab, The Development of Higher Education in Ontario, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1925), p. 20.
100. Myers, op. cit., p. 77.
101. W.S. Wallace, A History of the University of Toronto, 1827-1927, (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1927), pp. 20-1.
102. Ibid., p. 20.
103. Ibid., p. 21.
104. Ibid., p. 24.
105. Dunham, op. cit., p. 88.
106. Ibid., p. 119.
107. Craig, op. cit., p. 177.
108. Dunham, op. cit., p. 119.

109. Stimson, op. cit., p. 142.
110. Craig, op. cit., p. 185.
111. McNab, op. cit., p. 33.
112. Cited in Dunham, op. cit., p. 22.
113. Moir, op. cit., pp. 124-5.
114. Creighton, op. cit., p. 290.
115. See, for example, Greg Keilty, editor, 1837: Revolution in the Canadas as Told by William Lyon Mackenzie, (Toronto: NC Press, 1974).
116. See, for example Stanley Ryerson, op. cit., Part I.
117. Leo Johnson, unpublished paper, August 1975, op. cit.
118. John Strachan, quoted in Stimson, op. cit., p. 119.
119. S. Ryerson, op. cit., p. 112.
120. Egerton Ryerson, The Story of My Life, edited by G. Hodgins, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1883), p. 47.
121. Ibid., p. 124.
122. Ibid., p. 126.
123. C.B. Sissons, Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters, Volume I, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1937), p. 197.
124. S. Ryerson, op. cit., p. 115.
125. Clara Thomas, Ryerson of Upper Canada, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1969), p. 68.
126. Creighton, op. cit., p. 356.
127. Colborne, quoted in E. Ryerson, op. cit., p. 99.
128. McNab, op. cit., p. 40.
129. E. Ryerson in Christian Guardian, July 11, 1838, cited in E. Ryerson, op. cit., pp. 201-202.
130. Creighton, op. cit., p. 304.
131. E. Ryerson, cited in David Onn, "Egerton Ryerson's Philosophy of Education: Something Borrowed or Something New?" in Ontario History, (Volume 61, Number 2, 1969), p. 78.



132. Ryerson in Ibid., p. 78.
133. This Bill provided for the education of all children by imposing taxes through the municipalities. It is important here to introduce Ryerson's ideas with respect to primary schooling because he envisioned a comprehensive school system in Ontario and therefore many of his ideas on higher education were part of his broader scheme.
134. S. Ryerson, op. cit., pp. 283-4. Also, for more details, see C.B. Sissons, Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters, Volume II, (Toronto: Clarke Irwin and Co. Ltd., 1947), p. 101.
135. Sissons, Ibid., p. 95.
136. Ryerson, cited in Onn, op. cit., p. 81.
137. Ryerson, cited in Sissons, op. cit., p. 97.
138. Ryerson, Ibid., p. 96.
139. Ryerson, in Onn, op. cit., p. 80.
140. Ibid., p. 80.
141. W.J. Alexander, editor, The University of Toronto and Its Colleges, 1827-1906, (Toronto: The University Library, 1906), pp. 41-2.
142. Onn, op. cit., p. 80. Onn also notes that some Americans believed the practical education at Victoria to be better than in some American colleges, which were noted at the time for their practical curriculum.
143. E. Ryerson, op. cit., p. 525.
144. Ryerson in Sissons, op. cit., p. 146.

### Chapter Three

## Clerics and Conflict: An Examination of The Struggle For State Supported Higher Education in Ontario

The development of higher education in Canada was not a smooth process. Conflicts, for example, frequently grew from opposing opinions on such questions as the appointment of various administrative officials. Often the necessary Royal consent to amend the charters or to make important decisions was withheld, sometimes arbitrarily, for several months at a time. As a result, many years lapsed between the procurement of the initial charters and the actual operation of the institution. Such struggles often reflected the wider conflict of interests in the Canadian economic and political spheres.

By mid-century, struggles among the various religious groups had culminated over the financial problems ensuing from the government's refusal to endow denominational institutions, other than those founded by the "Established Church." This chapter examines those struggles which ultimately resulted in the separation of church and state in educational matters.

### Denominational Conflict and The University Question

The number of Methodists in Upper Canada grew rapidly during the 1840's from about 6% of the population in 1843<sup>1</sup> to

almost 22% in 1851. Great numbers of Methodists had settled around the Cobourg area where Upper Canada Academy was built. While many Anglicans took up residence in Toronto, in the eastern part of the province, there was a large settlement of Presbyterians in and around Kingston. The Presbyterians largely came to Canada as Scottish immigrants during the 1830's. The following two tables give a rough indication of the breakdown of the population by religion and by national background. Clearly, the Church of England held the largest percentage of people in the 1840's and 1850's although the other groups were steadily growing. Generally, the 1840's were characterized by a large growth in population, the building up of towns and general urban migration and the spread of education.

Religious Affiliation of Upper Canadians, 1851<sup>2</sup>

Total Population	952,004	% of total
Church of England	223,190	23.4
Church of Scotland	57,542	6.0
Roman Catholic	167,695	17.6
Presbyterian*	146,606	15.4
Methodists**	207,656	21.8
Baptists	45,353	4.8

\* includes Free Church Presbyterians

\*\* includes Wesleyan, Episcopal and New Connexion Methodists

Origins of Upper Canadians, 1851<sup>3</sup>

Total Population	952,004	% of total
England and Wales	82,699	8.7
Scotland	75,811	8.0
Ireland	176,267	18.5
Native Canadian	552,510	58.0
United States	43,732	4.6

From the beginning the Church of Scotland demanded a share of the Clergy Reserve land, arguing that it too was included under the Constitutional Act's collective term, the "Protestant clergy." Thus, the Presbyterians disliked and distrusted John Strachan for his sectarian university charter and Sir John Colborne for endowing the numerous Anglican rectories in the province. What the Presbyterians disapproved of most was the Church of England's insistence on and its means of maintaining a dominant position vis-a-vis the other provincial church groups. For example, in reporting the debate in the Assembly over the reserve lands, the Kingston Chronicle and Gazette complained of the outrageous scenes created in Parliament by the Family Compact's henchmen, explaining that such outbursts were typical of that group's methods.<sup>4</sup> Strachan's actions with respect to the university and his attitude toward its exclusive control also bothered the Church of Scotland which, like the other dominant groups, worried about maintaining the British connection.<sup>5</sup>

After years of struggle with the Church of England, the Presbyterians realized that the university endowment would be unavailable to them for some time yet. In 1839 they began to plan and collect money for a college of their own and on March 7, 1842 Queen's College was opened.<sup>6</sup> The college's main function was as a training centre for Church of Scotland ministers.

If King's College were more liberal with its admission

policies, many Presbyterian officials would have been satisfied to send prospective students and clerical candidates to Toronto rather than to establish an alternate institution. It seems that the promoters of Queen's were most willing to accommodate themselves to the expectations and plans of the King's College officials. For example, when it opened Queen's College offered arts courses but decided to drop them because King's College which was to have an arts faculty was to be opened soon. The Queen's trustees, in fact, passed a resolution that they had "no wish to appear to stand in an attitude of rivalry with King's College, but rather to help it forward, as far as they can..."<sup>7</sup> Their idea of the purpose of a college was similar to that of the King's College trustees: the colleges were important training centres for their respective clergy. Unlike the Methodists, the Presbyterians held no fundamental differences with the Anglicans with respect to their educational philosophy<sup>8</sup> but rather were opposed to the fact that their share of the Clergy Reserve and endowment "pie" was considerably smaller than the Church of England's. If the policies of King's College had been loosened to include the appointments of Presbyterian professors,<sup>9</sup> there is a possibility that the Queen's college committee may have joined forces with King's and perhaps built a small theological college simply to satisfy the church's ministerial needs. Once established, although there was no religious test required as in King's, according to its official history, "Queen's was as rigidly controlled by Presbyterians as King's was by Anglicans."<sup>10</sup>

Bitter struggles marked the period between 1843 and 1853 in Ontario's higher educational history. During this time, successive changes were made in the university until the ultimate measure secularizing King's College was adopted. The secularization of the Toronto university most importantly marks the first step in the separation of church and state in education. The events leading up to this major educational reform will be outlined here so that it will be possible to understand the various factions involved.

The potential uses of the Clergy Reserve land was a subject of popular debate during the reform movement. In 1837 a "Bill for Appropriating the Proceeds of the Clergy Reserves to the Purposes of General Education" was introduced in Parliament. There were three conceivable outcomes: the Clergy Reserves would be maintained solely by the Church of England, divided among the various denominations or they would be sold and the money would be used for the advancement of general education. Solicitor-General Christopher Hagerman<sup>11</sup> argued on behalf of the Family Compact and Strachan that "Seminaries" of learning could be established and supported by public funds but that it was "necessary to take the lands given for religious purposes and apply them to that object."<sup>12</sup> The Tories fought against the destruction of their church's monopoly over the land. The loss of this land would not only be a severe financial blow to Compact members<sup>13</sup> but would place vast acreages of prime land under the proprietorship of the state.

In addition, education would no longer be the exclusive right of a handful of wealthy churchmen but rather would eventually be open to the sons of the farmers, mechanics and shopkeepers as well.

Speaking on behalf of the reformers was John Rolph. Rolph, described as the "little bourgeois"<sup>14</sup> moderate reformer,<sup>15</sup> advocated that the proceeds from the sale of the reserves should be used for general education. This, he said, was "one of the most legitimate ways of giving free scope to the progress of religious truth in the community."<sup>16</sup> Significantly, the prime concern here was not with the provision of education to greater masses of people. Rolph argued:

The payment of one church by the state is thought of [as a] dangerous tendency. How much more alarming is the proposition to pay four? The danger... affects both our political and religious conditions... To add the leaven of the State to one church is bad; to add to it four is fearfully worse. While there is only one dominant church the vigilance of the rest acts as a salutary check. The excluded churches are necessarily united for their common vindication and our liberties, religious and civil, have, therefore, from them the guarantee of an interested co-operation. But when you weaken those churches by magnetizing the more potent ones with the Clergy Reserves and thereby drawing them from this Christian confederacy, you leave the residue in a helpless and debilitated condition. It is the application of a political maxim to ecclesiastical affairs, 'divide and govern'. 17

For Rolph and perhaps other reformers, the appeasement of the various denominations with a piece of the reserves would act to divide the groups seeking individual gain. This would therefore act in favour of the Tory controlled government because the groups would, at least momentarily, be distracted from the broader aspects of provincial reform. Nevertheless, the re-

serve land was crudely divided with the Church of England as the largest shareholder, followed by the Church of Scotland. This created various problems during the next decade when important decisions were to be made on several educational bills introduced in the legislature.

The activities of 1837 in Upper Canada produced only minor changes for King's College. Under an act passed that year, some of the "Anglican" clauses of the charter were dropped. For example, no longer were the Council members nor the professors required to be Anglican, nor was the president expected to be an ecclesiastic. But such concessions were made *prima facie* as historian George McNab points out since "much depend[ed] on the personnel of the College Council."<sup>18</sup> Outwardly, in both appearances and organization the council was changed; its total membership was increased and government representatives were added. However, Strachan retained the presidency and still the majority of the members were Anglican.<sup>19</sup> For instance, the new council included such men as:<sup>20</sup> John Beverley Robinson, Allan McNab, Christopher Hagerman, William Henry Draper, William Allan, John Macauley and Sir James B. Macauley.

In addition, the rebellion brought no new changes in the exclusive nature of the university. Thus, when Lord Durham investigated the affairs of the Canadas after the rebellion, he complained of the nature of higher education in the province. In his famous Report, he wrote:



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.... 21

One of Durham's missions in Canada was to create "a wise and firm policy" so that the Imperial Government would be assured of a "safe, honourable and enduring connexion"<sup>22</sup> to its colony. Consequently, he expressed disgust at the exclusive nature of higher education (and the Family Compact government), realizing that such one-sided institutions or measures may alienate or cause friction among sectors of the population. Rather than risk revolution, Durham accepted the institution of responsible government and thus the age of university reform. ✓

The initial impetus for university reform was provided by the Queen's College Principal, Rev. Thomas Liddell. Queen's was experiencing some financial difficulty and as a matter of economy, Liddell suggested that Victoria and Queen's move to Toronto to join King's as denominational colleges. All three would then share the endowment of a secular central provincial university. Robert Baldwin, a Toronto reformer and co-leader of the short-lived Baldwin-Lafontaine ministry, took these ideas to Parliament as the Baldwin Bill of 1843. The bill was unsuccessful. The Tories feared the loss of control of the university. Strachan argued that the doctrinal differences among the sects were too great and that therefore they could not be united within the same institution. His attack was often

cruel and bitter as he openly placed the Church of England above the others, explaining that:

To place...within the same institution an unlimited number of sects whose doctrines are absolutely irreconcilable is unfair....such a departure from all that is good is without parallel in the history of the world, unless indeed some resemblance to it can be found in pagan Rome, which, to please the nations she had conquered, condescended to associate their impure desires with her own. 23

The Methodists' resistance to the first Baldwin Bill was not a refusal, like Strachan's to associate with the other churches. Their objection was that Victoria had never been merely a divinity school and the scheme, if instituted, would change it to one. Interestingly, theology was not listed in the Victoria calendar until the year 1870-1.<sup>24</sup> While Queen's main interest of training ministers was more closely aligned with King's, the Methodist institution, under the influence of Egerton Ryerson, had somewhat broader educational goals.

The next attempt at change in the university was made by a member of the King's College Council, Hon. W.H. Draper. On the election of the Conservative Metcalfe government in 1845, Draper, then Attorney-General, framed the Draper University Bill which unlike the previous bill, gave more assistance to the colleges and the Church of England at the expense of the university. Draper, a businessman, was disturbed at the discord in the province and wanted to preserve his popularity among the people. This plan, however, was criticized by men like Baldwin who advocated increased centralization. The Bill also raised the ire of smaller religious groups such as the Free

Church, Baptists, Congregationalists and smaller Methodist bodies which objected to the financing of denominational colleges from the public purse.

John A. Macdonald's 1847 Bill proposed that the colleges remain scattered rather than move to Toronto and that the endowment of King's be invested in a board which would handle the financing of the various institutions. After this bill failed, Robert Baldwin successfully introduced his second bill in 1849 and King's College became the fully secular University of Toronto on January 1, 1850. The university was placed under the direction of the state which had authority over all decisions including internal regulations and the appointment of faculty. With the passage of the Hincks Act three years later in 1853, this control was tightened. The senate was made the chief governing body and the government had the power to appoint its members. Although a nominal yearly fee was afforded to the denominational colleges by the Hincks Act, which virtually patterned the University of Toronto after the University of London, higher education was placed under the control of a new body of directors who were involved for the most part in a different set of relationships in the political and economic orders than Strachan and his henchmen had previously been.

Generally, the promoters of the various denominational colleges were apprehensive about the new higher educational system. Thus individual reactions to the new legislation reflected their educational ideologies. Under the principalship

of Dr. Liddell, as discussed above, the Presbyterian College officials were supportive of both the first Baldwin and the Draper Bills. Popular Presbyterian opinion claimed that not only was the development of a number of colleges "'a waste of capital but such institutions, according to their number will emaciate and destroy each other.'"<sup>25</sup> Since Queen's biggest problem was in securing adequate financing, affiliation with King's was a promising prospect. However, upon the passage of the Baldwin Act, the Queen's trustees withdrew their support from the entire scheme, arguing that Canada needed "'at least one university where religion shall be honoured.'"<sup>26</sup>

Upset by the irreligious character of the act, the trustees of Queen's College said:

....there is nothing in the Act to prevent infidels, atheists or persons holding the most dangerous and pernicious principles, from being entrusted with the instruction of youth at that time of life when evil impressions are most likely to be made upon their minds. 27

As an important agency of socialization, it was felt that the university would not properly function in the absence of religion. Once again, the expected purposes of higher education to morally teach the students is evident. Aside from this, the Queen's trustees feared that if the college were to move to Toronto, the eastern part of the province would be without a Protestant institution of higher education, prompting some of the people perhaps to attend the existing Roman Catholic school, Regiopolis in Kingston. The trustees' third criticism to the secular university was related to their objection to a "godless" institution. The confinement of "all the means of university education to one place and one set of teachers,"

they reasoned, "will of itself very much impair...efficiency."

In education, more than in any other subject, a wholesome rivalry, a generous competition, is of paramount importance; in this department the deadening of effects of monopoly are more apparent than in any other. 28

If higher learning were restricted to one centre then only a handful of teachers chosen by a particular board of directors would interact with all of the province's students at any one time. It was not clear to the Queen's trustees that the management of the University of Toronto had been considerably altered. Because of the moral vulnerability of their own young people, in due caution they refused to patronize the provincial university system.

Ryerson's attitude toward the secular institution was similar to that of the Queen's officials. While he, too, spoke of the "unjust monopoly for the city and college of Toronto,"<sup>29</sup> he proposed that "each of the [denominational] colleges [be placed] on equal footing according to their works in regard to everything emanating from the state."<sup>30</sup> In other words, he advocated that the State split the endowment among the universities according to their productivity. As he argued on several other occasions, once again with reference to the mundane provincial university, he said:

...from a system which involves the withdrawal or absence of all...[religious] influence for years at a period when youthful passions are the strongest, and youthful temptation most powerful, we cannot but entertain painful apprehensions. Many a parent would deem it his duty to leave his son without the advantages of a liberal education, rather than thus expose him to the danger of moral shipwreck in its acquirement. 31 (emphasis added)

Apart from the moral (and patriotic) considerations, Ryerson believed that:

...The State ought to aid with corresponding liberality those other classes who for years have contributed largely to erect and sustain collegiate institutions, and who while they endeavour to confer upon youth, as widely as possible, the advantages of a sound liberal education, seek to incorporate with it those moral influences, associations and habits which give to education its highest value, which form the true basis and cement of civil institutions and national civilization, as well as of individual character and happiness. 32

Ryerson's concern with a patriotic citizenry was bound to a desire for education to act as an agency of social control. With these educational convictions, then, the Methodist preacher became involved in the university controversy of 1859-63.

As a protest against the separation of religion and education, John Strachan took more drastic action than either the Presbyterian or the Methodist leaders. He established Trinity College in 1853. It seems that his plan for another Anglican school was in the making for some time before the actual secularization bill was passed. In this he sought the support of the Governor-General, Lord Elgin, a Tory and churchman. Since the governor's main concern was with the maintenance of peace in the colony, he told Strachan to be satisfied with a theological professorship in the "godless" institution. But Strachan and his associates were still concerned with the maintenance of the British nexus and, like the other groups, wanted to preserve patriotism through education. Strachan felt some difficulty in securing a charter for his new college.

Since 75% of Toronto's students were Anglican,<sup>33</sup> Baldwin and others fought against the establishment of Trinity because they feared that Toronto would lose a number of students to the religious college. Strachan secured the support of the Colonial Office and Lord Seaton (formerly John Colborne) by arguing for equality for the Church of England with the other churches. Since the secularization of the Toronto University, the Church of England was the only major denomination left without an academy. Significantly, the college was not supported by all Anglicans<sup>34</sup> but rather was the project of a scheming Bishop who sought, and ironically failed, to build the province's major learning institution. Nevertheless, the older families, hoping to reinstate their position within the colony supported Trinity. Thus, William Allen, Mrs. W.H. Boulton and Chief Justice Macauley were among the original contributors, Chief Justice Robinson, Sir Allan McNab, Judge Draper and P.M. Vankoughnet donated land and J.B. Robinson, J.B. Macauley, William Allan and P.M. Vankoughnet sat on the college's council.<sup>35</sup>

#### The Changing Socioeconomic Order and the University System

The passing of the control of the University of Toronto from the hands of a religious elite into the hands of the government bureaucracy signalled the end of the classical, religious university and the slow deterioration of the old socioeconomic order. The Family Compact was gradually stripped of its power as the new stage of capitalism matured. The university, there-

fore needed a new source of support; its new patrons were, in fact, the state and later the new men of wealth.

After 1853, the University of Toronto was governed by state officials and businessmen. For example, the Senate, the supreme decision-making body, in 1856 included:

Hon. William Hume Blake (Chancellor of Upper Canada),  
 Hon. William Henry Draper (Chief Justice of Upper Canada),  
 Hon. Adam Fergusson (Legislative Councillor),  
 Hon. J.C. Morrison (Solicitor-General, Director, Northern Railway),  
 David Christie (Secretary of State),  
 Sir William Edmund Logan (geologist),  
 F.W. Cumberland (Managing director, Northern Railway, Vice-President, Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Railway and later Director, Canadian Bank of Commerce) and  
 Hon. Robert Baldwin (Solicitor-General, leader of Reform Government).

The College Council not only served as a forum where members of the dominant class met and circulated but it was also another important means through which key members of the political and economic order could affect wide-ranging policy. Recognizing the fact that the university served as an agency of socialization and control, it is important to understand the hegemonic relationships sustained by the dominant class' occupation of the council chambers of the university.

Universities are powerful institutions through which the workings of the political and economic orders are legitimated. To maintain this function they are guarded over by adherents of the system. What is important about the university acts of the early 1850's is that the transference of power in the university from clerics to state functionaries and businessmen



was representative of the fundamental changes occurring at that time in the membership and objectives of the dominant class.

Although the attitudes of the church groups toward the state controlled university were somewhat varied, each sect agreed on the function of education. In a sense the ideas of the religious circles were a product of the time when education was but a lesser branch of the more important religious institution. Notwithstanding the considerable role yet played by theological bodies in the 1850's and later, education was extricated from its former position vis-a-vis religion and became firmly attached to the state bureaucracy. The church groups desired to maintain control of higher education for ideological reasons and to this end they solicited the voluntary support of their membership for capital. Nevertheless, they insisted on teaching scientific, professional and other expensive programmes which meant that they were eventually left with no alternative but to seek monetary support from the state.

According to Leo Johnson's analysis of the modes of production, three outstanding features<sup>36</sup> of the independent commodity producer society, 1850-1880, set it apart from the preceding stage of natural production, discussed in chapter two. First, the gradual change in Britain's economy from mercantilism to industrial capitalism resulted in the displacement of the British mercantile aristocracy which depended upon Canada for grain exports and the growth of the British Capitalist class which sought the cheaper European markets for grain. In turn a series of events in Canada, including as Johnson notes, the

Corn Laws, Navigation Acts, and the granting of Responsible Government all served to replace the Canadian Family Compact aristocracy with a new capitalist class. D.C. Masters argues that while some of the original Family Compact and many of their children were members of the dominant class in 1850, they participated in commercial and financial activities characteristic of the new order.<sup>37</sup> For example, Hon. William Allan, President of the Bank of Upper Canada was joined by his son, George, who was engaged in municipal affairs and later assumed the bank's presidency; D'Arcy Boulton's son, Henry John was appointed director of the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Railroad Union Company in 1850; and Thomas Ridout's son, Thomas Gibbs, was cashier of the Bank of Upper Canada while cousin, G.P. was President of the Toronto Board of Trade and cousin Joseph D. was made director of the Toronto, Simcoe and Huron Railway and eventually of the Bank of Upper Canada and the Canada Permanent Building and Loan Society. At the same time, the wealthiest and most prominent men of the "great middle class"<sup>38</sup> in time became dominant within the political and economic orders. While the older members of the aristocratic families felt challenged by the recent arrivals,<sup>39</sup> such as William Gooderham, J.G. Worts, William McMaster, F.C. Capreol, William Christie, Casimir Gzowski, W.P. Howland, George Laidlaw, the Masseys and others, younger generations formed partnerships, shared directorships and carried on business with this new commercial and industrial group. For example, in 1860 the Board of Directors of the Bank of Upper Canada included:<sup>40</sup> William

Gooderham, D.L. MacPherson, Hon. G.W. Allan, J.D. Ridout and Hon. H.J. Boulton. Further, as products of the new economic system, the Toronto Board of Trade was established in 1845 and the Toronto Stock Exchange in 1855. Ontario's manufacturing sector was considerably enlarged with a general increase in the number of factories engaged in iron, flour milling, brewing and distilling and woollen and cotton production.<sup>41</sup> Besides this, between 1850 and 1860 the railway boom meant extended markets for manufacture and trade.<sup>42</sup>

Secondly, Johnson notes that fundamental changes were made in farming. Toiler farmers accumulated "extensive capital in the form of cleared lands, buildings, livestock, and machinery" and "became much more deeply involved in production for the capitalist exchange system."<sup>43</sup> Aiding this development was the establishment of two major industries manufacturing agricultural implements, the Massey Company in 1847 and the Harris Company in 1857. At the same time, industries related to agriculture such as tobacco processing plants steadily grew.

Third, by 1850 due to immigration and the price of land Johnson notes that there was a growing working class in the major Canadian cities.<sup>44</sup> Coincident with this was the development of the common school system characterized by universality and compulsory attendance. In Ryerson's 1846 Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction he reasoned that if all were educated the masses would be easier to control and that crime and violence would be accordingly reduced. He wrote:

...a system of general education amongst the people is the most effective preventive of pauperism, and its natural companions, misery and crime.... Ignorance is the fruitful source of idleness, intemperance and improvidence, and these the foster-parents of crime.

Further he said that statistical reports on different European countries indicated that:

...pauperism and crime prevail in proportion to the absence of education amongst the labouring classes, and that in proportion to the existence and prevalence of education amongst those classes, is the absence of pauperism and its legitimate offspring.... 45

Susan Houston explains that there was considerable opposition by the rich toward taxes levied for common education but that the upper class was ensured by Francis Hincks and other reformers that an educated population was an orderly one.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, the upper class resistance to mass education was lessened. Because of the number of American teachers in the province, many people, fearing the spread of republican ideas, took an active interest in education. As with the universities, common schools were promoted for the socialization of the young.

During the 1850's, with the passage of the Common School Act, Ryerson as Superintendent of Education for the province centralized the school system. The system was hierarchically organized. Central authorities were responsible for the development of curriculum, the approval of textbooks, and the education of teachers, the maintenance of buildings and the general enforcement of rules made at the higher levels. By 1860,

...common school attendance rose... to 316,000 in a school age population of 374,000 (84.5%) and to 432,000 out of a potential 470,000 (92%) by 1869, a rate approximately twice that of the general population growth. At the same time, grammar school attendance stood only at 6,600 in the latter year, exclusive of those attending private schools and academies. 47

In other words, while common schools were virtually open to all classes, grammar schools which were preparatory agencies for universities were not mass institutions and were few in number. Due to the relative poverty of the lower classes, they remained the exclusive right of the privileged class for some time. This is supported by the statements made during the investigation of Upper Canada College in 1868. The report notes that first of all from these schools "the Canadian Bar and Bench.... have been almost wholly recruited" and that they "compare favourably" with England's schools "for learning and dignity."<sup>48</sup>

Further, an examination of the graduates of the major grammar schools adds relevance to the argument that these schools served mainly the upper classes. In 1861, the Chief Superintendent of Education wrote:

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, Marshall S. Bidwell, Christopher Hagerman, Sir James Macauley, Sir J.B. Robinson have had as yet no equal in our day.  
(emphasis added) 49

In addition, Phillip Vankoughnet (President of the Executive Council, Minister of Agriculture), Hon. J.S. Macdonald (Premier

of Ontario), Thomas Ridout (General Manager of the Bank of Upper Canada) and G.H. Markland (member of the Legislative and Executive Councils) were all graduates of the Cornwall Grammar School and the Kingston Grammar School was able to boast of graduating such men as Hon. J.A. Macdonald (Prime Minister of Canada), Sir Henry Smith (Solicitor-General, Speaker of the Assembly) and Hon. A. Campbell. Moreover, by 1843, Upper Canada College alone had spent \$26,000 of the money intended for Common Schools, had absorbed more than half of the university endowment and had appropriated more than 60,000 acres of the land meant for other District Grammar Schools.<sup>50</sup> Given that there were thirty-nine Grammar Schools in the province by 1849<sup>51</sup> and that besides Upper Canada College, the Kingston, Cornwall and Niagara Grammar Schools were also prominent, the weak condition of the province's grammar schools is understandable.

As early as 1835 in the House of Assembly, William Lyon Mackenzie described Upper Canada College as an institution for sons "of persons holding situations under the Local Government, and a few other wealthy and influential individuals at a great public cost." He further stated that the academy was beyond the control of public opinion and therefore "sons of the yeomanry derive[d] no benefit or advantage" from them.<sup>52</sup> In 1836 he carried the issue of the grammar schools into the rebellion as he begged the politicians to take notice of the fact that District and Common Schools had been neglected while the sons of all the wealthiest families were being educated.<sup>53</sup>

Logically then, lacking the necessary preparatory schooling, the lower classes were systematically excluded from attending universities.

In terms of a "higher education" for the lower classes, there was one option available and this was the Toronto Mechanics' Institute founded in 1853. According to one of its reports the Institute's purpose was:

...To afford means for the attainment of scientific knowledge by the artisan classes, and thereby to promote mechanical inventions; to open up a path for the development of natural ability; and to improve generally the intellectual culture of society. 54

It was partly intended as an adult education centre and was financed and supported by members of the new commercial and industrial group who needed a growing number of skilled workers in their enterprises. Among the officers of the Institute were:

G.W. Allan (Director, Northern Railway, Bank of Upper Canada, President of Western Canada Loan and Savings Co.),  
 Rice Lewis (leading hardware dealer and director of Northern Railway),  
 E.F. Whittemore (President of the Toronto Board of Trade),  
 J.H. Mason (President, Canada Permanent Loan and Savings Co., Ontario Land Mortgage Co. and director of Ontario Accident Insurance Co.), and  
 J.D. Ridout (Director, Bank of Upper Canada, Canada Permanent Building and Savings Society, Northern Railway and Toronto, Simcoe and Huron Railway).

Subscribers to the Institute's building fund included:<sup>55</sup>

F.C. Capreol (merchant, financier and railway promoter),  
 C.S. Gzowski (President, London and Canada Loan and Agency Co., founder of Toronto Rolling Mills Co),  
 Edward Blake (President, Toronto General Trust Co., later Prime Minister of Ontario),  
 J.H. Cameron (politician, President of the Provincial Insurance Co. of Canada, director, Northern Railway),

William Gooderham (Partner, Gooderham and Worts, Director, Toronto, Grey and Bruce Railway and Toronto and Nipissing Railway),  
 J.G. Worts (Founder, Bank of Toronto, Director, Interoceanic Co.),  
 W.P. Howland (politician, Director, Landed Credit Co., President, Ontario Bank, Anchor Marine Insurance Co.) and  
 William McMaster (Founder, Bank of Commerce, Director, Wellington, Grey and Bruce Railway Co.).

The type of education in the Institute was heavily related to the needs of the growing industrial sector and therefore differed greatly from the educational process of the universities which specialized in professional and liberal arts programmes.

It seems that Mechanics' Institutes were increasingly popular throughout the country. The value of educating members of the labouring class was clear. Again the same idea of the task of education in disseminating moral principles was voiced with respect to the Mechanics' Institutes. It was believed that this education would "refine" men, cultivate tastes and ultimately "entice the lower orders....from savage diversion and haunts of vice."<sup>56</sup> The supporters of Mechanics' Institutes and education in general agreed that "with knowledge is associated....moral principles...[which] are equally necessary in all the transactions of life..."<sup>57</sup> Besides this, "knowledge... renders...[the worker] a more skilled, and therefore, more valuable workman than his ignorant companion."<sup>58</sup> Thus, the two most important functions of education, training and socialization, were united in the halls of the first working class academies.

Johnson argues that "education became the focus of early



class conflict in Ontario."

The issues centred upon who was to control education, what was to be taught, who was to be taught and who would pay for the teaching. Once the rhetoric of religion was stripped away, three essentially different class positions appeared. Among the toilers, education beyond the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic was considered not only wasteful of the children's time (and labour power) but carried the danger of creating "high fallutin'" ideas and discontent. Their method was to teach their children the necessary skills through actual labour on the loom or plow. In contrast, the aristocracy trained its children in both the cultural artifacts and moral attitudes which represented its claim to political leadership.... The capitalist class, whether rich or poor, desired a particular kind of practical education for their children.....As capitalist enterprises developed, there was a growing need to have the children of the lower classes, the future clerks and managers, trained in these skills as well. Thus the bourgeoisie led the campaign to create a public, compulsory, state-financed, non-sectarian educational system in Ontario. 59

Johnson's position that class conflict occurred over the question of lower education can be supported by a thorough examination of opposing interests on taxation laws, the question of universal access, the reformers' agitation over the unequal grammar school system, and the issue of separate schools. The same argument, however, is not applicable to higher education. Universities and colleges were not intended for the lower classes during the nineteenth century and therefore struggles regarding their control, maintenance, financing and operations were only evident among the dominant groups who sought agreement upon the various issues.)

With the changing socioeconomic order, political attitudes and goals were redefined in accordance with the new social order. In the interim between the Act of Union in 1840 and

Confederation in 1867, the political climate was slowly altered from one of maximum colonial dependency on Britain to one of national goals and a degree of independence. Within this period because of the new market conditions, problems of overproduction and underconsumption, low prices on poor crops and "overimportation", a degree of uncertainty was created in an ever-fluctuating market. When one of the severest down-swings hit in 1857, the outlying denominational colleges, relying mainly on voluntary contributions from their sect's respective memberships, faced serious financial difficulties. At this point, the leaders of these institutions decided to take action against the secular University of Toronto and its "monopoly" on the provincial university endowment.

The denominational colleges were upset because they were denied what they considered to be a fair share of the university budget and also because the fund was very poorly managed under the Hincks administration. In their terms, the government was too lenient over the various expenditures and squandered money needlessly. By 1860 the University of Toronto's expenditures were at least four times greater than either Queen's or Victoria's budgets.<sup>60</sup> Some of the specific charges laid in the attack on the provincial institution by the colleges were: that the university expended \$40,000 per year to educate eight students and that the university spent enormous amounts educating lawyers and doctors who would, upon graduation, make the public pay again for services rendered;<sup>61</sup> that no fees were

paid by undergraduates of University College and that the fees paid by the other students had been mysteriously disposed of and did not appear on any records; that there were forty-five regular salaried officers and servants, besides other occasionally employed, and twenty-nine paid examiners, meaning that there were more persons employed than there were students admitted; and that one student won fifty honours and prizes in four years because he had no competitors in several of his classes.<sup>62</sup> Besides these and numerous other misdeeds and underhand operations, Hincks secured the passage of an Act which took a portion of the university park for the erection of Parliament buildings and at the same time the government wanted to transfer the college to the nearby vacant orphans' asylum.

More fundamentally, in terms of the educational process, the denominational colleges promoted their philosophies regarding the necessity of the marriage of religion and education, the importance of moral education for the youth, and the value of education for the entire province. In the words of the Christian Guardian editor, the argument often concluded:

This higher education is important not merely to those who receive it, to those who attend the colleges, for they are comparatively few in number to all the people; it is important to the whole community, to all the inhabitants of the land. 63

Not only was it commonly felt that the University of Toronto was not educating its share of the people but also it was charged that the institution's resources were not used to their maximum potential. The most popular criticisms were addressed

to its nature as a "religionless", "Godless", "one college monopoly."

Along with the recurring themes of the necessity of the compulsory union of religion and education to ensure the inculcation of moral principles came the decidedly nationalist goals for higher education. Ryerson and others became pre-occupied with the idea that the universities were to benefit the whole country. Interwoven with the arguments in favour of a righteous and virtuous education, the nationalist elements rounded out the prescription for the proper socialization of youth. In the clerics' terms, the University of Toronto was totally inadequate. One obvious problem, according to Ryerson, was that its chief administrators, Daniel Wilson, chairman of University College and John Langton, Vice-Chancellor as well as Hincks and other government men relied too heavily on people and ideas from Edinburgh and London to organize and made decisions on the country's educational system.<sup>64</sup> Further he argued that:

...no college can be considered alone national and alone entitled to a nation's liberality, when such large portions of the people not only do not confide in it, but erect colleges of their own in preference.....the kind of education given in Toronto University College is not worthy of a national institution and does not give it any claim to be the only endowed college in the country. 65

For the denominational colleges the solution to the university question lay in a compromise in terms of administrative power and equal rights with respect to the budget.

Although the government under the Family Compact during the stage of natural production was not democratic, it was, to

a degree, less bureaucratized than the more organized and coordinated state which developed during the transition to independent commodity production. First, with the largely rural and dispersed population in the earlier stage, contact with political figures was minimal and unnecessary since representatives were appointed rather than elected. Secondly, the relatively undeveloped infrastructure during the period required less government supervision over such matters and thirdly, education and social welfare were under the control of religious or other private organizations. One of Ryerson's greatest fears was of the growing government bureaucracy with its centralized power and its increased ability to coordinate certain fields, including education. It seems that Ryerson's ideal political system was close to what Ralph Miliband terms "elite pluralism." Under such a system, Miliband says:

the competition...between different elites is itself a prime guarantee that power in society will be diffused and not concentrated....In short, the state, subjected as it is to a multitude of conflicting pressures from organized groups and interests, cannot show any marked bias towards some and against others: its special role, in fact, is to accommodate and reconcile them all. In that role, that state is only the mirror which society holds up to itself. 66

Emanating Burke's philosophy of the role of the state, Ryerson expressed his fear of the results of a government monopoly in education. He wrote:

It is a great error in government of any kind to govern too much. Burke has well said that 'the first problem in legislation is to determine what the State ought to take upon itself to direct any public wisdom, and what it ought to leave with as

little interference as possible to individual exertions.' In no department of the government is this more important than in that of education. In despotisms, the government is, of course, the sole educator of the people as well as the sole maker of railroads and director of the press. But in a free country government should do nothing in educational matters which the people can do themselves. Government should be the watchful guardian and liberal patron of education, to aid the people to educate themselves, not to educate them independent of their own co-operation. 67

In his liberal rhetoric, Ryerson assigned the state the role of paternal mediator and guardian while the denominational colleges were to ensure the even distribution of power over educational affairs. Because of the delicate function of education as the socializer of men--as an institution where men's ideas, national attachments and moral philosophies were reinforced, maintained and/or corrected--to place one body, the state, in charge meant, for Ryerson, a potential danger.

The men who advocated and tightened government control in higher education--Draper, Baldwin, Rolph, Macdonald, Hincks and later S. Fleming, J.S. Macdonald and George M. Grant--were politicians and businessmen. In order to protect their own positions it was important for them to guard against overt favouritism toward one group or another; they therefore were opposed to a dispersion of power amongst various interest groups and relied heavily on a hierarchically organized and centralized system. In their ideal conceptualization of the state, the elected representatives of the people were to institute policies and programmes which took into account the wishes of the majority. What was more important was that the

centralization of the university arrangement was a matter of expediency and efficiency. They were interested both in avoiding the unnecessary and wasteful duplication of programmes and in building new courses which required increased funds and equipment.

In terms of practical considerations such as economizing through centralization, it seems that the outlying colleges should have agreed with the government's position. However, the most heated struggles were waged over the question of the proper socialization of youth. What Ryerson and the other clerical pedagogues did not understand was that under the state's control the educational process performed the same function as it did and would have continued to under denominational control. Whether under the auspices of the state or the church, schools serve as agencies of "political socialization." Nevertheless, according to Miliband, "schools and teachers do generally--though by no means always--try to steer clear of overt party bias and cling...to a formal stance of impeccable party neutrality."<sup>68</sup> In support of this, as stated above, the secularization of the provincial university supposedly eliminated doctrinal biases. The church schools fought to maintain higher education not in order to teach sectarian dogma but to create an orderly, loyal population.<sup>69</sup>

Miliband further argues that:

Schools may or may not consciously engage in 'political socialization' but cannot in any case avoid doing so, mostly in terms which are highly 'functional' to the prevailing social and political

order. In other words, educational institutions at all levels generally fulfil an important conservative role and act, with greater or lesser effectiveness, as legitimizing agencies in and for their societies. 70

Whether they were under the control of laymen or clerics, Family Compact or reformers, Methodists, Anglicans or Presbyterians, radically differing philosophies were not offered within the universities or by their promoters. The outlying denominational colleges secured the inculcation of nationalist and moral sentiments taught through the guise of religion while the government and businessmen supporting the University of Toronto sought to preserve similar nationalist ideologies through secular means of teaching and control. The outcome in the type of "political socialization" afforded to students was essentially the same.

### Conclusion

The agitation of 1860-63 resulted in an increase of the government grants to the colleges to \$5,000 per year but served on the other hand to alienate the churches from the rest of the population. Articles in The Globe, one of the largest newspapers at the time, made bitter attacks on Ryerson and the church colleges since the paper's editor, George Brown was a friend of the government and university administration. As a result the post-Confederation government under John S. Macdonald as Premier of Ontario discontinued all grants to the colleges. In a way, the denominational colleges were pushed into federation



with the provincial university since the withdrawal of grants, in time, caused serious financial difficulties.

In the period immediately following the government cutbacks, the colleges solicited and received voluntary subscriptions to their individual endowments. For Queen's College, the financial problems were magnified by the failure of the Commercial Bank in which Queen's was both a customer and a shareholder.<sup>71</sup> The university held three hundred and twenty shares of the bank stock but when the Merchant's Bank of Canada took over the collapsed Commercial Bank, the university was given one share of Merchants' stock for every three shares it owned of Commercial's stock.<sup>72</sup> Although subscriptions to Queen's totalled \$114,000 by 5,000 people in 1869,<sup>73</sup> there was always the threat of withdrawal, the problem of securing new sources of money and a chance of another commercial depression. The next series of struggles embarked on by the universities concerned the question of entering into a province-wide federation scheme.

After 1850 the universities became increasingly popular. Reports indicate that all institutions experienced a remarkable growth in enrollment. For example, Queen's enrollment went from thirty in 1849 to 153 (including medical students) in 1860.<sup>74</sup> The number in attendance at Toronto increased from 113 in 1853 to 188 in 1859 to 225 in 1860.<sup>75</sup> Advances in curriculum were apparent at this time. At the University of Toronto, the growing number of honours courses were supplemented with the introduction of modern languages (French in 1855, German in

1877) and the increasingly popular natural philosophy, chemistry and other sciences. By 1875-76 honours courses were offered in five departments at Queen's and Victoria instituted honours programmes as early as 1863.

The economic boom of the 1870's was followed by the depression of 1873-79. This created enormous difficulties for the colleges, especially at this time with their increased numbers and the more costly scientific courses and honours programmes. The University of Toronto sought further government support and was able to manage even a further extension of its scientific endeavours. In 1878 President Nelles of Victoria wrote to the new Queen's President, George Munro Grant asking about the feasibility of a union between the two institutions in order to pressure the government for money. Nelles worried over the possibility that Victoria would lose the expensive science programmes. Grant, an ardent nationalist, believed in a university federation scheme in any case, provided that the system was not geographically centralized. The debate over the form of the federation scheme lasted into the next century. Eventually all traces of sectarianism were discarded since the new university acts created a well financed secular system of higher education but refused money to denominational colleges.

The movement towards a more rational, scientific curriculum in the college toward the latter part of the nineteenth century suggested to most that the university was

valuable for the entire province rather than merely for the upper classes to which it previously exclusively catered. The advocacy of a strong centralized institution adhering to provincial and national goals became increasingly popular. Thus, on the occasion of his installation as Principal of Queen's, George Munro Grant said:

As far as provincial action was concerned, it was surely well, it seems to me, that Ontario should devote the whole endowment accruing from the land set apart for university education, to one good college, rather than fritter it away on several institutions. If others are in existence from local, denominational or other necessities, let the necessity be proved by the survival of the fittest. The existence of one amply endowed from provincial resources will always be a guarantee that provincial educational interests shall not be sacrificed to the clamours of an endless number of sects and localities and a guarantee also of the efficiency of the various colleges.... 76

While the modern curriculum and a new broader outlook of the universities were required by the changing productive process, at the same time the earlier necessity of education for the socialization of youth was not lost. Even as Principal Grant sought the consolidation of university powers and resources, he included a lecture on the necessity of moral education. He said:

Those studies shall be encouraged in the college which are gymnastic in their affect rather than necessary on their own account, which are valuable not so much for the facts imparted as for the ulterior progress they enable the student to make.... Learning by itself is not wisdom.... Seek, then, the cultivation of all your faculties, the development of your character to all its rightful issues, self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control. 77

That the manifest function of higher education changed from the time of Strachan and Simcoe from the socialization of youth to the impartation of scientific and rational knowledge in the latter part of the nineteenth century is clear upon examining the movement from classical, religious studies to the solution of more worldly problems in the newly constructed college laboratories. In this progression, the basic ideological position of the universities remained unaltered.

Miliband notes that:

Durkheim once stressed the need which society had of socialization through education in terms of the transmission of 'fundamental values,' what he called 'essential principles'--'the respect of reason, of science, of the ideas and sentiments which are at the root of democratic morality.' He was no doubt right; societies do need to transmit 'fundamental values' and 'essential principles.' The point is however, that the values and principles which are generally deemed 'fundamental' and 'essential' are those which are sanctioned by the dominant forces in society; and 'democratic morality' can, without too much difficulty, be adapted to profoundly conformist ends. 78

The unsupported and almost irrational fears of the clerical educational leaders that a secular university system would cease to educate the students in morality overlooked the necessity of an orderly population for the political and socioeconomic orders. Thus, once the state system proved efficient and effective as an agency of socialization, the denominational colleges, lacking funds to continue on their own, threw their support behind the provincial system.

## Footnotes

1. The calculation is based on the statistics given in John Moir, "Methodism and Higher Education, 1843-1849: A Qualification" in Ontario History, (Volume xliv (3), 1952), pp. 112.
2. Census of the Canadas, 1851.
3. Ibid.
4. Noted in D.D. Calvin, Queen's University at Kingston: The First Century of a Scottish Canadian Foundation, 1841-1941, (Toronto: Hunter-Rose Co. Ltd., 1941), p. 16.
5. Ibid., p. 19.
6. It is ironical that both the Presbyterian and the Methodist institutions were opened before the Anglican King's College. In all Strachan's desperation and hurry to build an exclusive university, his plans were held back for years because of their very nature. In fact, sixteen years had lapsed between the procurement of the charter in 1827 and the actual opening of the university in 1843. From Strachan's point of view, the delayed opening of King's must have been tragic, since he believed in the immediate necessity of establishing a university in Upper Canada as early as 1812 when he arrived in York.
7. George Gibbon McNab, The Development of Higher Education in Ontario, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1925), p. 130.
8. It seems that there were no outstanding Presbyterian spokesmen, like the Methodists' Egerton Ryerson and the Anglicans' John Strachan, with respect to the university question. Thus, it is difficult to understand this group's educational philosophy. Even the archival material researched revealed little with respect to a solid Presbyterian educational philosophy until the arrival of Principal George Munro Grant in 1877.
9. The Presbyterians, it seems, strongly desired professorships in King's College. See Calvin, op. cit., pp. 21-2.
10. Ibid., p. 32.
11. Hagerman is defined by R.E. Saunders in "The Family Compact Defined" in D.W. Earl, editor, The Family Compact: Aristocracy or Oligarchy? (Toronto: The Copp Clark

11. continued...  
Publishing Co., 1967), p. 18, as a key member of the Family Compact. Among the positions he held were: Collector of Customs at Kingston, Judge of the Court of King's Bench, Solicitor-General and Attorney-General.
12. Speeches of Dr. John Rolph and Christopher A. Hagerman, Esq., His Majesty's Solicitor-General, on the Bill for Appropriating the Proceeds of the Clergy Reserves to the Purposes of General Education, (Toronto, 1837; P.A.O.), p. 22.
13. It should be recalled here that Strachan was President of the Clergy Reserve Corporation and made a handsome profit through his schemes to increase the land's wealth and his plots to secure extra personal remuneration by keeping certain tracts for himself.
14. This was Mackenzie's description of Hagerman. See Greg Keilty, editor, 1837: Revolution in the Canadas as Told by William Lyon Mackenzie, (Toronto: NC Press Ltd., 1974), p. 57.
15. Donald Creighton, The Empire of the St. Lawrence, (Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1970), p. 303.
16. Speeches...1837, op. cit., p. 17.
17. Ibid., pp. 11-12.
18. McNab, op. cit., p. 45.
19. Ibid., p. 45.
20. W.S. Wallace, A History of the University of Toronto, 1827-1927, (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1927), p. 31.
21. Lord Durham in Gerald M. Craig, editor, Lord Durham's Report, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1973), p. 101.
22. Ibid., pp. 128-9.
23. Strachan, cited in McNab, op. cit., p. 55.
24. C.B. Sissons, Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters, Volume II, (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co. Ltd., 1947), p. 37.

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60. Stewart, op. cit., p. 132.
61. Final Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Affairs of King's College University and Upper Canada College, Appendix 12, 1856, (P.A.O.)



62. University Question: Being a Report of the Public Meeting held at the Kingston Conference in Reference to the University Question and Victoria College to which is added Dr. Ryerson's Defence of the Wesleyan Petitions to the Legislature and of the Denominational Colleges as Part of Our System of Public Instruction in Reply to Dr. Wilson and Mr. Langton, 1860 (P.A.O.), p. 9.
63. Ibid., p. 4.
64. The University Question: Rev. Dr. Ryerson's Defence of the Wesleyan Petitions to the Legislature and of the Denominational Colleges...In Reply to Dr. Wilson and Mr. Langton Before a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly, 1860 (P.A.O.), p. 7.
65. University Reform: Dr. Ryerson's Reply to the Recent Pamphlet of Mr. Langton and Dr. Wilson on the University Question in Five Letters to the Hon. M. Cameron, M.L.C., Chairman of the Late University Committee of the Legislative Assembly, (P.A.O.), p. 42 and p. 44.
66. Ralph Miliband, The State in Capitalist Society, (London: Quartet Books, 1973), p. 6.
67. University Reform....1860, op. cit., p. 45.
68. Miliband, op. cit., p. 214.
69. Stressing this point, the Christian Guardian editor wrote:  
"....we have contended that when our sons and our daughters went from home, to remain away for years, we could not but be concerned for their moral and religious welfare, so much more important than all the learning the schools can impart. We have explained over and over again that we preferred denominational colleges solely on this account.... University Question: Being a Report of the Public Meeting held at the Kingston Conference.... 1860, op. cit., p. 5. (emphasis added)
70. Miliband, op. cit., p. 214.
71. Calvin, op. cit., p. 75.
72. Ibid., p. 85.
73. Ibid., p. 77.
74. Ibid., p. 69.
75. W.L. Grant and F. Hamilton, George Munro Grant, (Toronto: Morang & Co. Ltd., 1905), pp. 208-9.

77. Ibid., pp. 211-2.

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## Chapter Four

### Education, Capitalism and the Dominant Class: Toronto and Montreal in the Nineteenth Century

Contemporary social scientists concerned with social mobility and the class structure often look toward education as a panacea for social inequality. Liberal theories of education stress that equality of opportunity in higher education is essential not only for the individual who seeks to secure a position of higher social rank than his ancestors but also for the "society" in order that it may "realize its potential for industrial growth."<sup>1</sup> John Porter, for example argues that "higher education becomes for the individual the key to the allocation of roles on the basis of ability."<sup>2</sup> The idea of a meritocracy, an unequal system based on ability and selected criteria of achievement, is founded on the premise that those people with particular skills, a certain degree of intellect and an earnest desire to succeed will, in fact, be socially mobile. Theoretically social inequality in a meritocracy would thus appear to be a consequence of individual rather than social inadequacies. Further this argument places schools at the centre of the social system, as agents of selection. What this position seems to ignore is the question of the effects of inequality of condition, that is, inequality with respect to social class background, race, sex, etc.

Liberal critics of the unequal school system have examined the problem and often concluded that changes within the school environment should be made so that meritocratic achievement will be fair. However, it has been found<sup>3</sup> that equality of opportunity has no effect on equality. Rather, the ideology of equality of opportunity serves to perpetuate the myth of equality and to maintain the belief in education as the vehicle of stability and equality in democratic society.

This chapter examines the historical development of higher education in Canada's two leading commercial centres, Toronto and Montreal through the early stage of natural production and mercantile capitalism to the later stage of developing industrial capitalism. Higher education was developed and promoted mainly by men of wealth and power. Members of the Canadian dominant class who sponsored education, like many contemporary social scientists, professed an "open door" policy in higher education. The dominant class, however, was not as concerned with the notion of upward social mobility but rather with the preservation and legitimation of its class interests. The major problem underlying the popular notion of education as a medium of social equality is that it overlooks the essential ways in which education functions to maintain the existing order with its numerous inconsistencies and blatant inequalities. Perhaps social scientists should study the purposes of education and the structure of the society in which it was developed in order to grasp the reality of that institu-

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tion. By examining historically the universities of Toronto and McGill and the roles of their promoters in political and economic affairs, it will be possible to reconsider the theory that equal access to higher education lends egalitarianism to Canadian society.

### Mercantile Capitalism and The Early Canadian Social Structure

In the early nineteenth century, Canada's population generally consisted of farmers, landowners, merchants, and craftsmen. As an agricultural nation, the division of labour was still very simple. A more advanced and specialized division of labour characteristic of Britain and of industrial capitalism, in general, had not yet been formed. Accumulation of capital took place mainly through fur trading, timber production, shipping, the speculation of land and small-scale craft production.

Generally, the Canadian social structure was founded upon mercantile capital. Canada had, in fact, become part of the British mercantile system with the Conquest of 1759. Mercantilism as a system of economic organization is based upon capital which is accumulated in the process of circulation of goods.<sup>4</sup> Although mercantile capitalism was the dominant set of relations making up the sphere of circulation, it was based on the industrial capitalist mode of production emerging in Britain at the time. The British industrialists relied on Canada and Canadians for raw materials for the industrial

products and subsequently as a market for finished products. Because of the "colonial mercantile" system, it is argued<sup>5</sup> that Canadian economic development has severely been hampered in that Canada did not develop a strong, national industrial sector.

Canada's mercantile economy was dominated mainly by a group of merchants, landowners, and the colonial ruling aristocracy who aligned their interest with the British Crown. In Upper Canada, the ruling aristocracy was known as the Family Compact, discussed in chapter two, while in Lower Canada the group was called the Chateau Clique. Economic and political power in both Upper and Lower Canada, then, was vested in a small group of people who continued to answer to the British Crown while accumulating wealth and material gain and holding the reigns of political power in Canada.

During the early part of the nineteenth century, the Lower Canadian dominant class, the Chateau Clique, was similar to Upper Canada's Family Compact. The formation of the Chateau Clique in Lower Canada had its beginnings after the British Conquest when the most prominent French merchants, fur traders, and seigneurs<sup>6</sup> returned to France. Generally, the Chateau Clique members rallied around the fur trade. The Clique was mainly composed of English-speaking merchants who aligned themselves with the British Crown while holding important political and economic positions in Canada.

The most important undertaking of the Lower Canadian ruling elite was the North West Company, "a distinctively

Canadian concern.....formed by a number of Montreal merchants and mercantile firms."<sup>7</sup> The Company's prosperity mainly depended on the availability of large tracts of land rich with fur-bearing animals. Thus, in pursuit of profit, the North West Company sought government land grants. This, however, was no problem. "As the fur merchants controlling the North West Company controlled [Lieutenant-Governor] Milnes and the Executive Council, of which some were powerful members, they, of course, were foremost among the beneficiaries of land grants."<sup>8</sup> Evidence, then, points to the common interests of the political and economic directorate.

The problems of over-production and widespread unemployment<sup>9</sup> were the major factors which promoted the decision for a large number of people to emigrate to Canada where it was supposed that there was an abundance of free land. Beginning around 1815, and for many decades to follow, several thousand immigrants arrived in the Canadas. Upon their arrival in Canada, the immigrants, many of whom were destitute found that the Canadian land which they sought was available only at a considerable price. In 1821, the North West Company was absorbed by the Hudson's Bay Company, thereby altering the focus of Lower Canada's commercial activity. Land speculation was becoming an important source of capital as it similarly had in Upper Canada. Concurrent with the large-scale immigration, the Canada Land Company and the British American Land Company were chartered in Upper and Lower Canada respectively "with

some three million acres of land between them."<sup>10</sup> The marriage of the political and economic order was further strengthened by many of the land companies' commissioners who simultaneously held government offices.<sup>11</sup> For example, two of the British American Land Company's most prominent officials were government functionaries, Hon. Peter McGill and Hon. George Moffat.

The decision to charter the land companies appeared to be a philanthropic act. Nevertheless, the companies "were 'aids to immigration' of a kind that lined the pockets of speculators, kept up the price of land, and ensured that a portion of the immigrant population should remain landless--and hence available for hire."<sup>12</sup> A group of landless people was a necessary prerequisite for the emergence of industrial capitalism. Writing in 1833, Edward Gibbon Wakefield argued that a group of landless labourers was essential for the development of an industrial working class which in turn would foster colonial economic development.<sup>13</sup> He reasoned that if land were free and abundant, then the immigrants would settle on the farm land and thus become self-sufficient. However, because land was a costly commodity, those without means would be forced out of necessity to work for another man, a capitalist, for wages. The need for wage labourers seemed to be clear to the ruling class. In 1831, Lord Goderich wrote:

...Without some division of labour, without a class of persons willing to work for wages, how can society be prevented from falling into a state of almost primitive rudeness, and how are the comforts and refinements of civilized life to be procured? 14



The move from mercantile to industrial capitalism and the subsequent division of labour was seen as a progression to a higher form of civilized society. In terms of the stages of production, the development of an urban, industrial working class prepared the way in a mercantile economy based on natural production for the later stage of industrial capitalism. It may seem that the creation of the working class was accomplished too soon in a premature economy. However, it must be understood that the progression from one economic formation to another is not a smooth process, that elements within each stage develop at different times, and that in any given moment of time, several forms of production may exist within a society.<sup>15</sup>

Along with the land companies, the Family Compact and the Chateau Clique also focussed their interest on banking. The Family Compact's close relationship to the Bank of Upper Canada was noted earlier. In a like manner, the Chateau Clique controlled the Bank of Montreal which was officially chartered in 1817. The Molsons, McGills, and other wealthy members of the dominant class needed a bank to serve their business needs. Interestingly, besides his position as director of the Bank of Upper Canada, John Strachan indicated that he wanted shares in the Bank of Lower Canada.<sup>16</sup> Thus early banks served the mercantile and financial interests of the ruling groups.

John Strachan: Pedagogue and Imperialist<sup>17</sup>

Late in 1799, John Strachan, a native of Aberdeen,

Scotland, arrived in Kingston, Upper Canada where he had hoped to obtain a position in the proposed university. The establishment of a university in Upper Canada "seemed more than a possibility in 1798: in July of that year the Legislative Council expressed their thanks for the royal intention to provide a fund for the establishment of free Grammar Schools and in due course of time other seminaries of a larger and more comprehensive nature."<sup>18</sup> Upon his arrival, however, Strachan found that the plans for the proposed university would not crystallize for years. This meant, of course, that he was without a job. In spite of this, Richard Cartwright, a member of the legislative council and a merchant, advised Strachan that "the plan of the grammar-schools and a university was not altogether desperate... [and] it might take a longer time to establish them than was convenient or agreeable."<sup>19</sup> Cartwright then offered the penniless Strachan a "contract [which] called for him to teach up to twelve children for a three year period."<sup>20</sup>

Upon the expiry of his contract, John Strachan was appointed a government missionary at Cornwall. He was made a deacon and later an ordained priest of the Church of England by Bishop Mountain of Quebec.<sup>21</sup> While Strachan was in Cornwall, he worked toward the organization of schools in Ontario and he was instrumental in securing the passage of the School Act of 1807. In 1812, Strachan was assigned to the rectory at York where he became active in political affairs through his position in the Family Compact.

As a member of the Executive Council and of the Family Compact, Strachan was not among strangers. During the years he spent teaching in Kingston and Cornwall, he had made a number of contacts through his students. Many of Strachan's former students, including Robert Baldwin, John Beverley Robinson, Philip Vankoughnet, Richard W. Cartwright, George H. Markland, Jonas Jones and Thomas Ridout, became important legislators and/or men of wealth. Strachan realized the importance of his contacts among the dominant class. As early as 1808, he had written: "'Bye and bye my pupils will be getting forward, some of them perhaps into the House and then I shall have more in my power.'"<sup>22</sup>

Strachan's forecast that his students would become part of the uppercrust of Canadian society was indeed accurate but it was not profound. Education was, at the time, promoted for a privileged group--the sons of the dominant class who were destined themselves to become the country's leaders. The importance of contacts within the dominant class should not be underestimated; this is exemplified with reference to the passage of the School Act of 1820 with which Strachan was associated. Significantly, "the bill was introduced by Vankoughnet, and other chief supporters were Jones and [Peter] Robinson. Vankoughnet...Jones [and Peter's brother, John Beverley] had been pupils of John Strachan at Cornwall."<sup>23</sup> Members of the ruling class thus formed a cohesive social class "firmly based on a union of interlocking interests."<sup>24</sup>

As discussed in Chapter Two, in order to strengthen Canada's loyalty to Britain, John Strachan placed great emphasis on the value of politics, religion and the education of youth. At one point, he wrote:

...What indeed can be more important to the true prosperity of the Province, than the careful education of its youth? In what other way can we ever obtain a well-instructed population by which to preserve our excellent constitution and our connexion with the British Empire, and give that respectable character to the country which arises from an intelligent magistracy and from having public situations filled by men of ability and information. 25

For Strachan, in connection with the schools, religion was to play a key role in building a loyal and God-fearing citizenry. He wrote:

The most effectual method of supporting our Establishment is by getting the Education of the rising generation to be placed under the direction and control of the regular (i.e. Church of England) Clergy....The true foundation of the prosperity of our Establishment must be laid in the Education of Youth...This has hitherto been the silent policy of all measures taken for the Education of Youth adopted in this Province. 26

By disseminating ideas favourable to Britain and by training people to be loyal and obedient through the use of religious principles, the schools guarded against an "American Revolution" in Canada.

As a member of the Tory Family Compact, Strachan believed in the union of Church and State and "in the necessity... of unquestioning acceptance of the decisions of government."<sup>27</sup> In his scheme, education was to be under the direction of the church and the patronage of the state. In practice, Strachan's educational policies, in fact, functioned as a means of ideo-

logical control. For instance, the opinions and characters of the teachers were to be examined by ecclesiastics,<sup>28</sup> thus ensuring that those interacting most closely with the youth would be ideologically acceptable to those in power. Also, as Superintendent of Schools and later as President of the General Board of Education, Strachan had the authority to select and purchase textbooks. The texts chosen were British books which would normally be used for religious education.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, the General Board of Education was appointed in 1823 with Strachan as its President; its membership was exclusively Anglican and it was composed, in the main, of Strachan's political allies and former students.<sup>30</sup> Clearly, under the direction of the Family Compact, the schools engaged in what Ralph Miliband terms "political socialization."<sup>31</sup> That is, at this time, schools taught acceptance of the hierarchical social structure and British imperialism, thereby acting as legitimizing agencies for the belief in the Canadian dominant classes and the colonial status quo.

#### The Founding of the Universities

Although the work of John Strachan is usually associated with Upper Canada, his connections in Montreal and his accomplishments in the founding of McGill University were extensive. While living with Richard Cartwright during his first three years in Canada, John Strachan made a number of friends and acquaintances among the Montreal fur-traders of the North West

Company. James McGill, John Richardson, Isaac Todd, Thomas Blackwood, the Auldjos, and the McGillivrays<sup>32</sup> were among those with whom he corresponded. In fact, before Strachan was offered the Cornwall position, he had requested that Mr. Cartwright ask his friends, Isaac Todd and James McGill, if there were any jobs open for him in Montreal.<sup>33</sup> Strachan's alliance with the members of the Chateau Clique was surely strengthened when he married Ann Wood McGill, the widowed sister-in-law of James McGill in 1807. Again it is evident that the members of the ruling cliques worked closely together, patronizing each other's interests.

In his will, James McGill, (1744-1813), bequeathed an endowment and his Burnside Estate to the establishment of McGill University. During his life, McGill who was a merchant, a fur trader and a member of the Legislative and Executive Councils of Lower Canada, was eminently interested in education. In fact, he was one of the most prominent members of the Legislative Assembly when the decision was made to establish the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning in 1801.<sup>34</sup> The Royal Institution was a "British" creation; it was to provide free English schools for the children of Lower Canada. In his later years, McGill was persuaded by Strachan of the value of higher learning. Hence, the suggestion for the establishment of McGill University was undoubtedly made by Strachan. After McGill's death in December, 1813, Strachan wrote to the other executives of the will saying,

...It was, I believe at Cornwall during one of the visits which Mr. McGill made to Mrs. Strachan and me that his final resolution respecting the erection of a College after his name, endowing it, etc., was taken. We had been speaking of several persons who had died in Lower Canada and had left no memorial of themselves to benefit the country in which they had realized great fortunes. And particularly, I mentioned a University, as the English had no Seminary where an Academical Education could be obtained. We had repeated conversations on the subject, and he departed determined to do something....and even to make some preparation before his death, expressing at the same time a wish that if he did anything I should take an active part in the proposed College. 35  
(emphasis added)

It seems that the proposal for McGill was part of Strachan's comprehensive plan to develop a system of education in Canada.

For Strachan, the establishment of McGill University would serve a dual purpose. First, the university would facilitate the acculturation of the French into the English way of life. Second, with a university at home, Canadians would be discouraged from going to school in the United States. In a letter to Dugald Stewart, "Scotland's most eminent philosopher", Strachan explained the need for a university:

A College or University has long been a desideratum among the Friends of the Canadas to which the French as well as the English youth might have free access with perfect freedom as to religion. In such a place the arts and Sciences might be taught with effect and the young men both French and English mixing together a greater cordiality would be promoted between the two nations; the language of the Conquerors would gradually obtain the ascendancy and the country become what alone can render it really valuable to the Crown -- an English colony. Many other advantages would result from such an establishment of the greatest importance to the happiness and prosperity of the country. Nor would it be thought necessary as it too often was before the war to send our Youth to complete their

Education in the States where they learn very little more than anarchy in Politics and infidelity in religion....Such a College might soon be made superior to any in the United States and would be most valuable not only in softening and melting our populations into one but in separating us from the contagious and profligate example of our present enemies. (emphasis added) 36

As in Upper Canada the overriding function of the proposed Lower Canadian university, then, was to maintain strong ties with Britain.

Initially, it seemed that Strachan would actively take part in the development of McGill. However, from the time of his election to the Executive Council of Upper Canada in 1815, Strachan's most sincere and dedicated efforts were spent in trying to establish an institution of higher learning in Upper Canada.

#### Opposition to the Universities: The Religious Factor

Before the charter for King's College was granted, the British Colonial Office added to Strachan's outline, clauses that the President of the university was to be an Anglican cleric, specifically the Archdeacon of York, and that all members of the governing councils were to be followers of the Anglican religion. Students were to be admitted freely. The British officials had rebuked Strachan's original charter, charging that it was too liberal.<sup>37</sup> Although the changes in the charter made by the British Colonial Office were certainly not against the Bishop's interests, Strachan was reluctant to adopt an overly religious charter for Upper Canada's university. It



seems that he had logically realized that a charter containing religious clauses would provoke sharp criticisms of the school and of the Mother Country from the people, the majority of whom were neither Anglican nor British. In any case, as it was discussed previously, Strachan's fiery defense of the charter seemed to indicate that he had no fundamental objections to it. The act of omitting overly sectarian clauses was merely part of his strategy to gain wide acceptance for the university.

That Strachan had not changed his conviction that education and religion were inseparable is evidenced by his assertion in 1840 that: "Knowledge, if not founded on religion is a positive evil."<sup>38</sup> For the marriage of religion and education to occur, however, extremely rigid, standardized requirements or controls were unnecessary and burdensome since such stipulations aroused negative reactions from and lost the support of the people. As an agency of "political socialization", education worked to legitimize the prevailing socio-economic order by the dissemination of ideas which were favourable to the status quo. Strachan, it seems, was aware of this function of education. Thus, in the address he gave at the opening of King's College, June 8, 1843 he alluded to the exigency of moral training. The address read:

Never was the demand for education so loud and anxious throughout the civilized world as at present; but in this colony it may be said to be only commencing....It requires the aid and protection of established seats of learning to give, as it were, a lasting basis to useful knowledge and insure its gradual accumulation. In all these respects the universities of Europe, and

especially of Great Britain, have nobly discharged their duty. They have not only been the fruitful nurseries of all the learned professions which adorn and maintain society but they have also been the asylums of learned leisure, where men who have no taste for the cares and broils of worldly pursuits might retire from the troubles of public life, and aspire to a greater perfection than even an ordinary intercourse with society will allow.....In this institution our chief care will, it is hoped ever be to cherish and strengthen in our youth those principles and affections which give our finite beings wings to soar above this transitory sense, and energy to that mental vision which shall enable them to look with confidence on the glories of the spiritual when this our material world is vanishing rapidly away. (emphasis added) 39

The position taken by Strachan at York was based on his earlier experiences regarding the McGill charter. At the time of the reading of James McGill's will, the Home Government was not particularly interested in education since it was deeply troubled with wartime difficulties.<sup>40</sup> It was not until 1818 that the authorities appointed trustees to the Royal Institution, thereby fulfilling the first requirement of the will. For the next four or five decades, quarrels over the administration and financing of the college were numerous.

The conflict in Montreal over McGill was divided into two main camps. On the one side, there were members of the Royal Institution who acted as representatives of the Provincial Legislature and who had control of the public funds. To them, the condition that all professional appointments and administrative decisions were to be ratified by the Crown was an unnecessary interference to which they were generally unwilling to submit. These people generally argued for a degree

of independence in Canadian political, social and educational affairs. On the other side, the Governors of McGill who were mainly members of the Chateau Clique were inclined to give the university a sectarian character and believed in the necessity of remaining subservient to the British Crown.

The relationship between the Home Government (in Britain) and the Provincial Legislature had become tenuous. In 1842, the McGill Governors prepared "A Code of Statutes, Regulations, and Rules" for the government of the College. Without the Royal Institution's approval, they submitted their document to the Governor-General who altered the rule that the religious character of McGill was to be exclusively Anglican. Six years later, in 1848, the "Rules" were finally approved. It was noted that:

The Home Government had delayed the approval of the Statutes because they were not sure of the attitude of the Provincial Legislature towards the College. Remembering the political events of 1837 and realizing as a result Canadian resentment of any semblance of dictation or coercion, they decided to proceed with caution. In this, they followed the advice of the Governor General, Lord Metcalfe who strongly urged delay and a careful consideration of the causes bearing on religious instructions.... 41

For the British to maintain their rule in the colony, it was essential that any religious friction or bitterness within the province was avoided.

The commercial depression of 1846-48, precipitated by Britain's progression towards free trade and exacerbated by the repeal of the corn laws, was felt in the university.

McGill's finances were so inadequate that most of the professors were not paid and the badly needed repairs were overlooked. Appeals to the Colonial Office and to the Royal Institution for money were unsuccessful, pending the Crown's decision on the proposed changes in the charter. Britain's hesitation to endorse the charter with its religious clauses, worsened the situation; however, the extreme caution exercised by the British authorities was justified. In 1849, a group of the most prominent businessmen, including the Molsons and Torrances, Redpath, De Witt, Macpherson, Holton, Rose, and Workman, drew up the Annexation Manifesto which "literally invited U.S. capitalists to take over Canada."<sup>42</sup> When the "McGill" bill was passed, finally in 1852, the university was almost free from ~~formal~~<sup>43</sup> religious control. The only remaining stipulation was that the Governors of the university were to be members of the Royal Institution and therefore appointed by the Crown. This condition was passed through the legislature because the French Canadian members gave no objection since there were three sectarian French colleges already in existence.

Opposition toward Toronto's King's College started in 1828 when Sir John Colborne became Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. Colborne, who disliked Bishop Strachan, established Upper Canada College with the money meant for the university in order to "take the wind out of the sails of the promoters of King's College."<sup>44</sup> Significantly, in that same year, the Reformers with William Lyon Mackenzie as leader, won a majority

of seats in the House of Assembly. Under the system of colonial rule, however, the Reformers' majority in the Assembly did not substantially change the government. Strachan, at the same time, still had enough influence through his friends in the Legislative Council to prevent the total abandonment of the idea of a university. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Colborne's actions and the Reformers' opposition functioned to delay the opening of the university.

During the 1830's the Family Compact's power was bitterly attacked and this served to weaken its position considerably. Responding to the attacks of the Reform coalition, staunch defenders of the British Empire proceeded to return to their Mother Country while others gradually accepted the appeals for responsible government. Some old Compact members, the Tories, were averse to the socio-political changes in Canada but held on to their positions of power and privilege through their appointments to the Legislative Council. Efforts to amend the university charter were brought before the House of Assembly four times between 1831 and 1835<sup>45</sup> but each time the amendments were rejected and the hostility between the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council intensified. The government, then, housed two hostile groups which later fought against each other in the battle for responsible government.

Although the composition of the Governing Council of King's College had undergone important changes between 1827 and 1842, during the latter year, with the exception of one Roman Catholic, the governors were still members of the Church

of England "and indeed, most of them were friends and nominees of Strachan. The agitations of fifteen years, despite all the changes which they had brought about, had not sufficed to dislodge from the Council the Tory 'die-hards'." <sup>46</sup> Perhaps the most significant addition to the Council was Robert Baldwin who assumed the position because of his post as attorney-general.

Against bitter opposition, King's College was officially opened on June 8, 1843. The major point of attack centred on the grants received by the college from the public purse. The governors of King's, however, denied that they were given preferential treatment. Their denial, in fact had an actual basis: the Methodists in 1841 had received a charter from the Legislature to establish Victoria College at Cobourg; the Church of Scotland had been granted a Royal charter for Queen's College at Kingston; and both institutions had been given public financial support. <sup>47</sup>

In 1848, the University question came to the fore as part of the election campaign of the champions of responsible government. An investigation into the financial situation of King's College revealed that the bursar, Colonel Wells, had lent over £10,000 of King's money without much security over repayment to Allan MacNab, Thomas Ridout, and John Ross. <sup>48</sup> In addition to this, Strachan's escapade with respect to the clergy reserve land was also disclosed. After the election, the Baldwin Act of 1849 fully secularized the university, placing it in the hands of the government.

# The Collapse of the Mercantile System and The Relation Between Dominant Groups

The movement to secularize the universities was one of the many events which exemplified the changes in the socio-economic order and the movement to successive stages of production. Generally, between 1830 and 1870 Canada's economy developed from a mercantile to an industrial system of capitalism. Thus progression was not a clear-cut movement from one kind of economic organization to another or from one set of political loyalties to another. Donald Creighton points out:

The grant of responsible government, which ended the old practice of imperial governance, came, appropriately enough, in the midst of those releases, disavowals, and renunciations by which the mercantile system was ended. The downfall of mercantilism and the grant of responsible government do not, of course, stand in the simple relation of cause and effect; but their coincidence in time reveals a deep relationship which the very organization of the old empire had established. The empire was a system, an integration of interdependent parts which had been welded together by generations of use and acceptance; and, just as the declaration of free trade in Great Britain was followed by the collapse of the entire mercantile system, so the break in the commercial connection was accompanied by the loosening of the political tie. 49

In terms of the transition in the Canadian socioeconomic order, it is important to study the activities of the men of power and the relationship between the dominant groups. As men of power, the decisions made by members of the dominant class and the relationships between different groups of elites affect the lives of ordinary men and consequently the history of the people.<sup>50</sup>

When the North West Company was taken over by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, Montreal's dominant economic activity changed from the fur trade to the shipping trade. As a result, "Montreal's commercial prosperity was to depend entirely on how effectively it could compete with other metropolitan centres on the Atlantic seaboard and the Gulf of Mexico....for the trade of the hinterland."<sup>51</sup> At the same time, "the whole development of Upper Canada hinged on free access to the ocean via the St. Lawrence and the port of Montreal."<sup>52</sup> Out of necessity, then, cooperation between Upper and Lower Canada, and specifically between Toronto and Montreal, the commercial centres of the provinces, was essential.

Until 1845, Montreal had monopolized the overseas trade of the Canadian West because Canadian exporters using the Rideau or St. Lawrence Canals were exempt from duties, while shipments made through New York were subject to American taxes.<sup>53</sup> Before 1845, Montreal and Toronto were involved in a relationship of mutual dependence, and therefore generally concurred with one another over economic and political matters. For example, cooperation between Upper and Lower Canada was obvious with respect to the Welland Canal Project. When William Hamilton Merritt had suggested his idea of a canal joining Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, he "had fired the imagination of the two Canadas....The Upper Canadian legislature made a loan and bought shares in the undertaking; Lower Canada contributed \$25,000; and in 1824 and again in 1825 Merritt was



selling shares to the merchants of Quebec and Montreal."<sup>54</sup>

Also, besides his work in education in both centres and his affiliation with both dominant groups, John Strachan, who may be characterized as a "go-between" for Toronto and Montreal, was a member of the original board of directors of the Welland Canal Company.<sup>55</sup> The interests of Strachan and other elites, then, crossed the artificial boundaries separating the two Canadas.

Perhaps the most conspicuous example of cooperation between the two provinces was the passage of the Act of Union in 1841. The Act of Union was, according to Wallace Clement, a "response to commercial demands."<sup>56</sup> He further states that the Act:

....increased state power through its ability to secure loans from England and extract customs duties to finance the heavy capital requirements of canal construction. Representing more of a commercial alliance than a political design, union was engineered by Montreal and Toronto capitalists. <sup>57</sup>

In this case, the class interests of the capitalists outweighed any other concerns, especially those of the French Canadians.

Until the emergence of finance and industrial capitalism around mid-century, the Canadian economic system was firmly based on trade. Colonial dependency for Canada "meant the continued dominance of merchant capital at the expense of industrial capital, which would compete with Britain."<sup>58</sup> Donald Creighton, therefore, notes that: "The country was incapable of supporting a landed aristocracy; it was still

unfitted to create an industrial capitalist class; and it was only natural that the trades of the St. Lawrence should form the main economic basis for the controlling political and social group."<sup>59</sup> However, it must be noted that preparation for industrial capitalism was under way. The colonial policy advocated by Goderich, Wakefield and others had started to create a Canadian working class.

Mercantile capitalism was inherently an expansionist system. With respect to the commercial trade, expansion referred to "the strenuous and continued efforts to improve the St. Lawrence route as a corridor for freight originating outside Canada....This was the expansionism of a commercial economy, whose potentialities for development were conceived as lying not so much in production as in trade."<sup>60</sup> The canals were intended to complete the missing links in the east-west transportation system of the St. Lawrence. The canal-builders who expected to develop a strong, profitable commercial empire, met their first disappointment when Britain's demand for timber was reduced because of the use of steam for transportation and coal for industrial fuel.<sup>61</sup>

In 1845, the passage of the American Drawback Act ended the optimism of the aspiring shipping magnates. The act, which literally drew back import and export taxes for goods travelling through the United States, was "part of a deliberate scheme of the American federal government to tap the monopoly of Montreal in Canada West."<sup>62</sup> Tension grew between Montreal and Toronto as the Toronto merchants played the

American game by channelling the exports from the west through the Erie Canal and on to New York. To add to Montreal's problems, Montreal businessmen turned to the idea of annexation as a panacea for the commercial ills. This unsuccessful movement served to arouse hostility from Toronto and suspicion from Britain that the Empire had fallen.

While the drawback of 1845 functioned to dispel the vision of "the commercial empire of the St. Lawrence", it was nonetheless a factor behind the ensuing interest in the development of the railways and the subsequent dominance of finance and industrial capitalism.

#### Capitalism, Competition and The Relationship Between Toronto and Montreal

The failure of the commercial trade meant that its promoters were to seek more profitable ventures if they were to remain as members of the upper class. Indeed, their fortune had arrived with the introduction of steampower which gave impetus to large-scale production and industrial expansion during the 1850's and 1860's. Among the main business interests were:<sup>63</sup> financial interests, such as banks, insurance companies, trust companies and loan agencies; transportation and related ventures, such as railways, shipbuilders, iron works; and industrial pursuits, such as flour mills, sugar refineries, distilleries, breweries and manufacturers of clothing and textiles, foodstuffs, furniture and farm machinery.

Since the emergence of industrial capitalism had

radically altered the relations of production and the hierarchical division of labour, the question of whether or not the old mercantile group had been replaced by a new industrial class arises. Although, as stated above, the power of the Family Compact and of the Chateau Clique had virtually been dissolved during the 1830's, generally the members did not forfeit their positions in the uppermost levels of Canadian society. The members were able to remain in their privileged positions because they had accumulated vast fortunes which they were ready to invest in the new order and they maintained their positions and/or friends in the legislature as well as in the universities and other secondary institutions. According to Stanley Ryerson:

One result of the defeat of the 1837 revolution had been the ease with which the old elite (Allan MacNab, for one) evolved into or merged with the new. The new direct line of descent in the wealth of the McGill family, for instance, ran from fur trading and land monopoly to the Bank of Montreal and the Grand Trunk. 64

Similarly, the Molson family, once "pillars" of the Chateau Clique, carried its breweries into the twentieth century.

During the last half of the nineteenth century, the uncertainty of the market at any given time precipitated struggles between groups of capitalists whose interests were similar and yet competitive. Such struggles occurred both between and within the Montreal and Toronto dominant groups. According to D.C. Masters, the struggle between Toronto and Montreal has been one of particular significance in Canadian

history. As he describes it:

Not only has it exerted a profound influence upon the economic structure of Canada; it has been an important element in many political controversies such as the struggle between Upper and Lower Canada over customs duties before the union of 1840, George Brown's "rep. by pop." agitation, the controversy attending the collapse of the Conservative government in 1873, and the long series of issues between Ontario and the Dominion government. 65

Although the competition had not become manifest until the 1840's, the period of canal construction, it is noted that Toronto and Montreal were potential rivals from the time of the French when the two centres were important trading posts.<sup>66</sup>

Stanley Ryerson has outlined the major activities of the two groups:

[The] dominant group [of rising capitalists] embracing first and foremost the men of the Grand Trunk and of the Bank of Montreal, was centred in Montreal. In Toronto and Hamilton, there was a second cluster, divided roughly into three sub-groups, with somewhat divergent interests. One was connected with extractive industries (milling, lumbering, and shipping) and its members had close ties with their opposite numbers or with markets in the United States. The up-and-coming manufacturing group, who were having to build up their own financial apparatus in opposition to the Montreal banks, were interested in government assistance in the form of protective tariffs against both the British and United States manufactures. A third group, not entirely distinct from the second, was part of the railway-government crowd, with interests both similar to and conflicting with those of the Montreal group, whose financial power they had good reason to respect. 67

The contention, it seems, stemmed from two major factors: Toronto's alliance with the American markets and capitalists, and the similarity of interests between the Toronto and Montreal dominant groups.

That the rivalry existed and was, at times, extremely intense, is not disputed. It would be absurd to deny, for instance, the struggle between the Bank of Montreal and the Bank of Upper Canada for the government's account. However, what is important, especially from the point of view of twentieth century corporate capitalism, are the factors which fostered the development of upper class consciousness and maintained a basis of cohesion and unity within the Canadian dominant class throughout history.

The economic rivalry between the centres was part of the process of individual accumulation advanced by the profit motive which is inherent to any system of capitalist production. As supportive institutions, the universities reflected the major interests of their economic milieux. In light of the above analysis, the response of the universities to the struggles in the changing economic order will be examined.

When (Sir) William Dawson arrived in Montreal in 1855 to accept his appointment as Principal of McGill, the university was facing serious financial difficulties. Upon appealing to the citizens of Montreal for financial support, he was met with what he later called, "the beginning of the stream of liberality which has floated..the..university...up to [the nineteenth century]." <sup>68</sup> The university gained financial strength from the contributions of Montreal's men of wealth who realized that McGill University was the "nucleus of educational interests of the English speaking people in Lower Canada." <sup>69</sup> It was therefore within their interests as English-

men and as members of the dominant class to maintain the status quo by preserving this institution within a predominantly French speaking province.

The search for money at the University of Toronto was not accomplished with such ease as it was at McGill. Remnants of the old competition between the denominational colleges and the state university existed even after (Sir) William Mulock, Vice Chancellor, 1887-1900 and leader of the university's financial affairs, proposed the university federation scheme which in effect served to centralize the administration and pool the resources of the schools. Although the scheme was designed to control the competition among the various denominational colleges for the government grants, Sir Daniel Wilson, President, 1880-92, complained that for many years the university did not, in his words, "see the colour of the government's money."<sup>70</sup> Private benefactions to the University of Toronto were very substantial but the enormous growth of the university necessitated further support from the state.

Thus, it is noted that: "the most pressing problem encountered by the first universities was the lack of adequate finances. Because of the need to raise large sums of capital, the Canadian universities became dependent upon the men and institutions of wealth; but the historical relationship was more complex than mere financial dependency. In fact, the men of wealth and power were the same figures who created the greatest 'demand' for the establishment [and proliferation] of the universities."<sup>71</sup>

As Principal of McGill, William Dawson's main aim was to "assure that university's growth by turning it away from Old World models and developing its practical usefulness in a colonial society."<sup>72</sup> In this, he was assisted by his friends:<sup>73</sup> William Molson, John H.R. Molson, Peter Redpath, Sir Donald Smith (afterwards, Lord Strathcona), Thomas Workman, and William C. Macdonald. The interests in higher education expressed by these men were not unrelated to their business and practical affairs. For example, William C. Macdonald, the "tobacco king", founder of Macdonald's Tobacco Company, established and endowed the Macdonald Agricultural College.

Similarly, among the benefactors of the University of Toronto were:<sup>74</sup> Colonel A.E. Gooderham, Sir John and Lady Eaton, Sir Edmund Osler, Sir Edward Kemp, Sir Joseph Flavelle, and the Masseys. Again, efforts were made by the benefactors to further their own interests. For instance, A.E. Gooderham, a university governor and benefactor, provided the equipment for the research department of zymology,<sup>75</sup> the study of fermentation; Gooderham was a prominent distiller in the city. In general, of the gifts to Toronto and McGill those intended to enhance a pragmatic curriculum were most prominent.

In addition to its function of socialization, during the period of industrial capitalism, the universities grew into important centres of scientific research. As early as 1856<sup>76</sup> at McGill and in 1878<sup>77</sup> at Toronto, courses in applied science became a prominent and popular feature of the curriculum. In his inaugural address in 1855, William Dawson warned the



audience:

[Although we owe] large obligations...to the literature of classical antiquity...the only danger is that the time of students may be so occupied and their minds so filled with such studies that they may go from our colleges armed with an antique panoply, more fitted for the cases of a museum than to appear in the walks of actual life. 78

The fact was that the universities had to change their orientations from classics, philosophy, and history to chemistry, engineering and modern languages. The popular belief, at the time, was that pragmatic education was developed for the benefit of the students who were expected to align themselves with the capitalists in bringing modernization and progress to Canada.

In general, the universities of Toronto and McGill followed similar developmental patterns. Following the rise of scientific education, the departments of business education and law and schools of graduate studies were opened. Both universities had kept pace with their respective communities and the socioeconomic order.

As appendages of the economic order, the universities were sensitive to changes in the nature and direction of the interests of the capitalists. However, with respect to the rivalry between Toronto and Montreal, there were no conspicuous signs of this within the universities. This assertion, however, does not deny that the universities served as checks on each other's progress and that the promoters and administrators of each university wanted their institution to set the precedence

for educational advancement. For example, when John A. Macdonald donated \$40,000 for the establishment of a university hospital in Toronto, William Mulock said: "'Already Montreal has become a great hospital city, and it behoves us and all medical schools in Toronto to make Toronto a great hospital centre, otherwise our students will seek elsewhere those advantages not within their reach at home.'" <sup>79</sup> Although this perhaps can serve as an example of inter-city rivalry, the most plausible explanation is that the universities had to compete for students since a large enrollment was a symbol of success.

An examination of the boards of governors <sup>80</sup> and the benefactors of the universities discloses that the major interests of the dominant groups of Toronto and Montreal (as outlined by Stanley Ryerson, noted above) were represented in the schools. For example, the dominant interests of Montreal were represented by benefactors: Peter Redpath (McGill governor, 1864-94; director of the Bank of Montreal, 1866-94); William C. Macdonald (director and largest shareholder, Bank of Montreal and McGill's largest benefactor); William Molson (director of the Grand Trunk Railway and a governor and a principal benefactor of McGill). An example of the interests of Toronto's governors includes representatives of milling, shipping, manufacturing, railways and other enterprises including many financial institutions. A sample of the 1891 governors includes: Edmund R. Osler (Director of: Niagara Navigation Co., Toronto Ferry Co., Hamilton Steel and Iron Co.,

The Steel Co. of Canada, Canadian Pacific Railway and many others); William Christie (founder of the Christie Biscuit Co.); Stanislaus Casimir Gzowski (associated with the Grand Trunk Railway and director of Toronto Rolling Mills Co., Ontario Bank).

Toronto and Montreal rival companies are represented in the universities' lists of governors and benefactors. For example, the Bank of Montreal's competitor, Bank of Commerce, was represented by Toronto's 1891 governors, John Hoskin and Sir Edmund Walker. However, what is most interesting is that there were divergent economic interests represented within each governing council. For example, Gzowski, a Toronto governor in 1891 and a confirmed British Imperialist<sup>81</sup> was an owner of Gzowski and Co., the contracting firm which built the Grand Trunk Railway and which was "so large an owner of the stock of one of the Grand Trunk's chief subsidiary lines."<sup>82</sup> Gzowski was also a good friend of A.T. Galt, the chief promoter of the Grand Trunk.<sup>83</sup> Associated also with the university at the same time was Edmund Osler, a director of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the fiercest competitor of the Grand Trunk.

Among the McGill benefactors, along with the directors of the Bank of Montreal were William Molson, the founder and president of Molson's Bank and Thomas Workman, a director of the Molson's Bank for twenty-nine years. Although Workman's interests seemed to be aligned with Molson's Bank, he was a very good friend of William C. Macdonald of the Bank of Montreal

Molson's competitor.

Thus although the evidence is sketchy, there is no particular pattern to the interests revolving around the universities in question. That the universities are aligned around a few causes is also not the case. One cannot, for example, figuratively speaking, describe McGill as the "Bank of Montreal" University or Toronto as the "Bank of Commerce" School; the interests represented in Toronto and McGill were also associated with other universities. Thus, "McMaster owes the fact of its existence to William McMaster, founder and first president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce and....at Queen's university....[one] of the founders and "friends" [was] Peter McGill of the Bank of Montreal."<sup>84</sup>

That the Toronto and Montreal rivalry was not salient in the universities and given that there were divergent interests within the universities between certain governors or benefactors leads to three conclusions about the rivalry between the two Canadian commercial centres.

First, capitalism, whether industrial or mercantile, is by definition an extremely competitive system; the aim of the participants was to accumulate as much profit as possible and in the process to eliminate any threats or potential competitors. Contention between those with similar interests is therefore inevitable. Toronto and Montreal were the largest and wealthiest cities at the time. Each dominant group sought to advance its position by eliminating the competition of the other group in an attempt to win the sympathies and support

of the hinterland.

Secondly, the Montreal--Toronto competition, resulting from specific historical events was centred around certain sectors of the economy, mainly the major banks and the railway companies. The activities of the dominant class revolved around their individual causes rather than the overall interests of the city. Furthermore, the rivalry did not include all members of the dominant groups of each city.

Third<sup>85</sup> the conflicts between Toronto and Montreal capitalists may have occurred within the framework of a consensus capitalism. It is possible that such conflicts were not evident with respect to the universities because education was needed by all capitalists to create the values sustaining that consensus system. In this respect, it is important to examine the ways in which various conflicts within the dominant class have historically been resolved, resulting in a more unified expression of class interests among the men of power. In the case of education, it has been argued that the dominant class has historically expressed an interest in creating and expanding university programmes. That conflicts in the wider social structure were not reflected in the universities suggests not only that the products of education--trained and socialized manpower and scholarly research--were required by all capitalists but also that the members of the dominant class fundamentally agreed upon the type of Canadian society and social institution they desired to perpetuate.

By the 1870's, the competition between Toronto and

Montreal and between factions of the economic order had begun to subside. British Columbia had entered into the federation and "the transcontinental Canadian Dominion was a reality at last."<sup>86</sup> The dominant class was imbued with a new passion: "The vision of a 'new nationality' the project of creating a new country, was present in the minds of the business-politicians."<sup>87</sup> Following suit, the universities were becoming national rather than local in scope;<sup>88</sup> they began contributing more and more to national development. Thus during the 1880's Principal Dawson wrote: "we should not regard McGill merely as an institution for Montreal or for the Province of Quebec but for the whole of Canada."<sup>89</sup> Again, the universities followed in the footsteps of the men of wealth and power.

### Conclusion

The development of the universities in Canada has historically been related to the economic order and to the men of wealth. University education, as exemplified with reference to Toronto and McGill, was promoted and financed initially by the landowners, merchants, and government administrators who were later joined by the "new men of wealth", the industrialists and the men of high finance. The historical relationship between the universities and the upper class, however, was further strengthened by the early professorial appointments. For example, D.C. Masters has found the following tangled web among the early Toronto professors:

Dr. John McCaul, the Vice-President of King's College and Professor of Classical Literature, married a daughter of the Hon. Jonas Jones, judge of the Court of the Queen's Bench and a pillar of the Family Compact. W.H. Blake, the original Professor of Law, was, of course, a member of the old Upper Canadian family. Dr. Henry Sullivan, demonstrator of anatomy, was a brother of the Hon. R.B. Sullivan and a cousin of Robert Baldwin. Dr. W.C. Gwynne was a brother of the Hon. J.W. Gwynne and related by marriage to the Powells, a strong Tory family, descended from the Hon. W.D. Powell and Dr. King of the medical faculty married the second daughter of the Hon. L.P. Sherwood. (emphasis added) 90

Further, Rev. W. Hincks, brother of Francis Hincks, the then Prime Minister of Canada, was appointed Professor of Natural History in 1853. The rival applicant for the chair, Thomas Henry Huxley apparently "lacked the qualifications of consanguinity"<sup>91</sup> with Hincks and therefore was not appointed. A similar incident occurred with the appointment of a university librarian in 1854. In 1852, the Senate had appointed Rev. J.W. Small. The government decided to replace Small in 1854. The appointment was then given to Rev. A. Lorimer whose "sole qualification for the position was....the fact that he was a brother-in-law of the Hon. John Rolph, president of the council in the Hincks-Morin administration."<sup>92</sup> Thus, during the nineteenth century, the men of wealth not only promoted and financed the universities but also provided the teaching and administrative personnel from among their circle of friends and relatives.

In 1791, when Lieutenant-Governor Colonel John Graves Simcoe suggested the establishment of a university in Upper Canada, he originally intended that it be created "for the

more respectable class of people."<sup>93</sup> Simcoe and later Strachan argued that a university would socialize Canadians to accept British customs, principles and manners and in this respect would aid the local governing circles to maintain the British connection. Further, in a letter to the Bishop of Quebec, Rev. Dr. Jacob Mountain in 1795, Simcoe wrote that a university would "have great influence in civilizing the Indians, and, what is of more importance, those who corrupt them."<sup>94</sup> Early advocates of education then, saw its primary importance in socializing the people to maintain the social order.

In Lower Canada, the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning was founded in response to an appeal made by Bishop Mountain to Governor-General Sir R.S. Milnes in 1799. In his appeal, Bishop Mountain reasoned that settlers from the United States who had been accustomed to the excellent American universities, Harvard, Yale, Williams, Dartmouth, and Brown, would more than likely want to send their sons to these schools. Fearing that the young men would adopt Republican ideas while in the States, he urged that an institution of higher learning be developed in Quebec. He wrote:

Let me be permitted, then, to suggest the danger which may result to the political principles and to the future character as subjects of such of our young men among the higher ranks as the exigency of the case obliges their parents to send for a classical education to the colleges of the U.S. In these Seminaries, most assuredly, they are not likely to imbibe that attachment to our constitution in Church and State, that veneration for the Government of their country, and that loyalty to their King, to which it is so peculiarly necessary in the present time to give all the advantages of early predilection in order to fix them deeply both in the understanding and the heart. 95



Bishop Strachan also related the same ideas when outlining the importance of education in both Upper and Lower Canada, stressing that proper education would work to strengthen the attachment to the British Crown.

The institutions of higher learning performed the essential task of socialization, thereby functioning as legitimizing agencies for the social order. The promoters and financiers of education clearly understood this. Thus, educationalists such as William Dawson declared that "we should be content with nothing less than the highest possible education of the greatest possible number."<sup>96</sup> Educational admission policies were not restrictive to the upper classes although the farmers and the workers generally could not afford to attend universities.

The universities' "open door" policies were extended in 1884 when the Boards of Governors of both Toronto and McGill formally admitted women to university courses leading to graduation. The decision to open higher education to women undoubtedly came about in response to the pressure applied to the Boards by friends of the university, Mrs. John Molson, Jane Redpath, Donald Smith, William C. Macdonald and others and by the Ladies' Educational Associations of Montreal and Toronto. The value of educating women was obvious. As the traditional socializers of children, women had a profound influence on the attitudes, interests, and character of children. Thus William Dawson wrote:

...it is in the maternal relation that the importance of the education of women appears most clearly. It requires no very extensive study of biography to learn, that it is of less consequence to a man what sort of father he may have had than what sort of mother....Imagine an educated mother training and moulding the powers of her children, giving to them in the years of infancy those gentle yet permanent tendencies, which are of more account in the formation of character than any subsequent educational influences, selecting for them the best instructors, encouraging and aiding them in their difficulties, rejoicing with them in their successes, able to take an intelligent interest in their progress in literature and science....What a contrast to this is the position of an untaught mother.... 97

Traditionally, then, seemingly liberal practices such as equal opportunity in education and the admittance of women were instituted for specific purposes outlined by the men (and women) of power in order to preserve the status quo.

The ultimate purpose of equality of opportunity in education is not, therefore, to promote equality but rather to socialize people and then to allow them access to the occupational hierarchy. Ralph Miliband argues:

['Equality of opportunity'] may enable more working class children to reach 'the top'. But this, far from destroying the class hierarchies of advanced capitalism, helps to strengthen them. The infusion of new blood into the upper layers of the economic and social pyramid may present a competitive threat to individuals who are already there, but is no threat to the system itself. Even a far more 'meritocratic' way to the top, grafted to the existing economic system, would only ensure that a larger number of people of working-class origin would occupy the top rungs of the existing system. 98

Historically, educational policies have been designed for the purpose of legitimizing the social order. Liberal policies effectively further the legitimation process while sustaining the myth of equality.

### Footnotes

1. John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 44.
2. Ibid., p. 293.
3. See Christopher Jencks, et al, Inequality: A Reassessment of The Effect of Family and Schooling in America, (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1973).
4. Gary Teeple, "Land, Labour and Capital in Pre-Confederation Canada" in Gary Teeple, editor, Capitalism and the National Question in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 60.
5. See for example, R.T. Naylor, "The Rise and Fall of the Third Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence" in Teeple, Ibid., pp. 1-41; and Teeple, Ibid., pp. 44-66.
6. R.T. Naylor in Teeple, Ibid., p. 4. Gustavus Myers, A History of Canadian Wealth, (Toronto: James, Lewis & Samuel, 1972), p. 53.
7. Myers, Ibid., p. 54.
8. Ibid., p. 66.
9. Stanley Ryerson, Unequal Union: Roots of Crisis in the Canadas, 1815-1873, (Toronto: Progress Books, 1973), p. 100.
10. Ibid., p. 35.
11. Teeple in Teeple, op. cit., p. 53.
12. Ibid., p. 35.
13. In his book, England and America, Wakefield wrote: "'Where land is very cheap and all men are free, where every one who so pleases can easily obtain a piece of land for himself, not only is labour very dear, as respects the labourer's share of the produce, but the difficulty is to obtain combined labour at any price.'" Cited in Karl Marx, Capital, Volume I, Translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, (Moscow: Progress Publishers), p. 719.
14. Lord Goderich, cited in Leo. A. Johnson, "Land Policy, Population Growth and Social Structure in the Home District, 1793-1851" in Ontario History, (LXIII (I), March, 1971), p. 57.

15. See Nicos Poulantzas, "On Social Classes" in New Left Review, (Number 78, March-April, 1973), pp. 32-4. Also Nicos Poulantzas, Political Power and Social Classes, (London: New Left Books, 1975).
16. G.W. Spragge, editor, The John Strachan Letter Book: 1812-1834, (Toronto: The Ontario Historical Society, 1946), p. 117.
17. The argument in this section is similar to that in the section entitled "John Strachan and The Founding of Ontario's First University" in Chapter Two (pp. 33-42). For the purpose of comparing the founding of Toronto and McGill the argument is repeated here although new data is presented.
18. Cited in Ibid., p. iv.
19. Cited in G.W. Spragge, "John Strachan's Contributions to Education, 1800-1823" in Canadian Historical Review, (Volume 22, 1941), p. 147.
20. J.L.H. Henderson, editor, John Strachan: Documents and Opinions, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1969), p. 21.
21. Ibid., p. 24.
22. Letter, Strachan to Brown, Oct. 9, 1808, in Spragge, 1946, op. cit., p. xix.
23. Spragge, 1941, op. cit., p. 154.
24. Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power, (McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1975), p. 50.
25. John Strachan, An Appeal to the Friends of Religion and Literature on Behalf of the University of Upper Canada, (P.A.O.) p. 6.
26. Cited in Spragge, 1946, p. xiii.
27. Ibid., p. xxv.
28. Ibid., p. xi.
29. Ibid., p. xi. Strachan bought the textbooks from his brother, James, in Aberdeen, thus bringing "a little grist to the mill for a member of his family." (p. xi) The religious titles included: 500 Questions on the New Testament and Power of Religion on the Mind. David Flint, John Strachan: Pastor and Politician, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 62.

30. J.D. Purdy, "John Strachan: Conservative Reformer" in R.S. Patterson, J.W. Chalmers, J.W. Friesen, editors, Profiles of Canadian Educators, (D.C. Heath Canada Ltd., 1974), p. 46.
31. Ralph Miliband, The State in Capitalist Society: The Analysis of the Western System of Power, (London: Quartet Books, 1973), p. 214.
32. Spragge, 1946, op. cit., p. vi.
33. Letter, Strachan to Blackwood, Sept. 21, 1803, in Henderson op. cit., p. 22. Earlier Strachan wrote to Blackwood: "I find Young, your minister, here. Has he left you altogether or does he go to see the Falls? If he leaves you, give me a good salary and I'll become your minister." (August 20, 1802), p. 22.
34. Cyrus Macmillan, McGill and Its Story, 1821-1921, (Toronto: The Oxford University Press, 1921), p. 29.
35. Strachan in Ibid., pp. 36-7.
36. Letter, John Strachan to Dugald Stewart, Winter 1814, in Spragge, 1946, op. cit., pp. 58-9.
37. Purdy in Patterson et al, op. cit., p. 46.
38. Letter, Strachan to J.S. Sinclair, May 23, 1840, cited in Ibid., p. 41.
39. Strachan, cited in W.J. Alexander, editor, The University of Toronto and Its Colleges, 1827-1906, (Toronto: The University Library, 1906), pp. 24-6.
40. Macmillan, op. cit., p. 45.
41. Ibid., pp. 196-7.
42. Ryerson, op. cit., p. 234.
43. This does not mean that McGill was thoroughly free from religious control. For example, the professors who were appointed before the Act was passed were necessarily adherents to the Anglican religion.
44. W.S. Wallace, A History of the University of Toronto, 1827-1927, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1927), p. 18.
45. John King, McCaul, Croft, Forneri: Personalities of Early University Days, (Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1914), p. 56.

46. Wallace, op. cit., p. 42.
47. Ibid., p. 32.
48. Ibid., p. 35.
49. Donald Creighton, The Empire of the St. Lawrence, (Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1970), pp. 370-1.
50. See C.W. Mills, The Power Elite, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), Chapter 1, pp. 3-29.
51. H.J. Aitken, "Defensive Expansionism: The State and Economic Growth in Canada" in W.T. Easterbrook and M.H. Watkins, editors, Approaches to Canadian Economic History, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1967), p. 195.
52. Ibid., p. 194.
53. Gilbert N. Tucker, The Canadian Commercial Revolution, 1845-1851, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1970), p. 155.
54. Creighton, op. cit., p. 211.
55. Ibid., p. 266; Purdy, op. cit., p. 39.
56. Clement, op. cit., p. 55.
57. Ibid., p. 55.
58. Naylor in Teeple, op. cit., p. 6.
59. Creighton, op. cit., p. 264.
60. Aitken in Easterbrook and Watkins, op. cit., p. 199.
61. Naylor in Teeple, op. cit., p. 9.
62. Creighton, op. cit., p. 350.
63. See Ryerson, op. cit., Chapter 13, pp. 258-280. Also, for a study of the commercial development of Toronto, see D.C. Masters, The Rise of Toronto, 1850-1890, (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1947).
64. Ryerson, Ibid., p. 270.
65. D.C. Masters, "Toronto vs. Montreal: The Struggle for Financial Hegemony, 1860-1875" in Canadian Historical Review, (Vol. 22, 1941), p. 133.

66. Ibid., p. 133.
67. Ryerson, op. cit., p. 277.
68. Macmillan, op. cit., p. 231.
69. Rankine Dawson, editor, Fifty Years of Work in Canada, Scientific and Educational: Being Autobiographical Notes of Sir William Dawson, (London: Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1901, P.A.O.), p. 95.
70. Sir Daniel Wilson, cited in Wallace, op. cit., p. 144.
71. John Barkans and Norene Pupo, "The Boards of Governors and The Power Elite: A Case Study of Eight Canadian Universities" in Sociological Focus, (Vol. 7, No. 3), p. 91.
72. Edgar Collard, "Sir William Dawson's Principalship, 1855-1893" in Hugh MacLennan, editor, McGill: The Story of a University, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1960), p. 49.
73. Macmillan, op. cit., p. 242.
74. Wallace, op. cit., pp. 299-302; Alexander, op. cit., p. 257.
75. Wallace, Ibid., p. 299.
76. Macmillan, op. cit., p. 231.
77. Wallace, op. cit., p. 107.  
 The twenty-two year difference stated here between the development of applied science at Toronto and McGill may be slightly inaccurate; in any case, there are explanations for Toronto's lag. First, the date given for Toronto was when the department was officially opened; there were courses offered as early as 1872 when the College of Technology was opened off campus. Secondly, scientific education was strongly advocated by McGill's Principal Dawson who was a scientist himself. He acted to attract well-known scientists to Montreal. Thirdly, it is noted (Collard in MacLennan, op. cit., p. 61) that when it was first established the Chair of Practical Chemistry "failed to attract manufacturers or to receive its benefits." Oddly, the university had advanced beyond the demands of its financiers.
78. J.W. Dawson, "On the Course of Collegiate Education, Adapted to the Circumstances of British America: The Inaugural Discourse of the Principal of McGill College", (P.A.O.), p. 15.

79. William Mulock, cited in William James Loudon, Sir William Mulock: A Short Biography. (Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1932), p. 278.
80. The evidence presented herein is not conclusive because lists of the governors and benefactors of the universities for the same year were unavailable. Also, most of the biographical information used did not always report the years in which the persons held particular directorships or other posts. Therefore, it was impossible to specifically and accurately compare the financiers and decision-makers of the schools at any one time.
81. Ludwik Kos-Rabcewicz-Zubkowski and William Edward Greening, Sir Casimir Stanislaus Gzowski: A Short Biography, (Toronto: Burns & MacEachern, 1959), p. 148.
82. Myers, op. cit., p. 219.
83. Ibid., p. 208.
84. Barkans and Pupo, op. cit., p. 92.
85. I would like to thank Prof. Carl Cuneo for this interpretation.
86. Ryerson, op. cit., p. 412.
87. Ibid., p. 412.
88. Macmillan, op. cit., p. 236.
89. Dawson, cited in Ibid., p. 237.
90. Masters, 1947, op. cit., p. 39.
91. Wallace, op. cit., p. 68.
92. Ibid., p. 69.
93. Alexander, op. cit., p. 9.
94. Ibid., p. 2.
95. Bishop Mountain, quoted in Macmillan, op. cit., pp. 19-20.
96. Dawson, op. cit., p. 4.
97. See W. Dawson, cited in R. Dawson, op. cit., pp. 252-3.
98. Miliband, op. cit., p. 41.



## Chapter Five

### Industrial Capitalism and Educational Change:

#### The Emergence of A Practical Curriculum, 1870-1910

There has historically existed a close relationship between the nature of higher education in Ontario, the development of the socioeconomic order and the needs of the dominant class. As the modes of production changed and as the economy underwent significant transformations, the universities were fairly quick to respond by changing their curricula, admission policies, and general outlook and purposes. During the stage of natural production, the universities were mainly responsible for training clerics and educating the sons of the dominant class. Popular educational ideas during the time proposed that institutions of higher learning function as socialization agencies to preserve and maintain close ties with Britain. This ideology served the dominant class, the Family Compact, which depended on the British connection for its power, position, and wealth.

By the 1850's changes were evident in the Canadian social structure resulting from the reform era. Pressure was brought to bear on the universities to revise their classical and often-times religious curricula. The programmes were broadened to include more pragmatic, rational and scientific subjects and teaching methods took on new dimensions as

instructors moved from book learning to demonstrative teaching techniques. Increasingly, members of the dominant class expressed great interest in higher learning. For example, close connections were maintained between William Gooderham, William McMaster, Sir Edmund Walker and John Hoskin and the University of Toronto and Peter Redpath, William Molson and William C. Macdonald and McGill University. Not only did these men provide an important source of revenue for the colleges but they also sat on the major decision-making bodies, the boards of governors of the universities, where they were allowed to make and veto curriculum and other academic policies.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century, the question of state supported higher education was debated. Arguments persisted over the form this support was to take. Gradually as changes were made in the legislation concerning the universities to incorporate further financial and administrative support from the state, both businessmen and university officials worried that the university's autonomy would be threatened. The universities, however, were never autonomous institutions but rather were shaped by the social, political, economic and historical forces operating on the structure of the Canadian political economy as a whole.

This chapter examines the development of higher education during the latter part of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century. In particular, it focuses on the

growth of the institutions, the development of a pragmatic curriculum and the broader functions of higher education in the developing socioeconomic order and occupational structure of Canada.

### University Government and The Dominant Class

In chapter three, the struggles which ensued over the question of the role of the state in higher education following the secularization of the University of Toronto were examined. Briefly, the Methodists who had built Victoria University and similarly the Presbyterians who had established Queen's argued persistently that the University of Toronto was not educating its share of the people and that the denominational colleges were accomplishing more than this "godless" institution. Furthermore, it was feared that higher education, under the state's financing, would become a matter of "politics." Officials of the denominational colleges believed in the exigency of the fusion of religion and education in order to ensure adequate moral training of the students. Nevertheless, by the middle of the 1870's, the denominational colleges were experiencing financial problems. The commercial depression which lasted from about 1873 to 1879 coupled with the changing nature of the curriculum requiring more expensive teaching and demonstrative techniques and equipment forced the universities into a provincial federation scheme.

The Methodist institution, Victoria University at

Cobourg, was the first to propose to federate. The main reason for its entry into federation was that it could no longer meet the financial demands of higher education especially in the increasingly popular natural and applied sciences.<sup>1</sup>

According to Victoria's Chancellor Burwash,

The federation scheme afforded an opportunity of realizing a truly national university, which, in extent, equipment, and resources, might be worthy of the Province, and the advantage of combining for students of every creed the full vigour of their religious life; even in its distinctive peculiarities, with the enjoyment of the broadening influences of contact with the whole student body of the Province. 2

Plans for federation were submitted in 1883 but details of the arrangement and the actual federation did not occur until 1890. The other institutions which had entered into the plan during the same period were: Wycliffe and Knox Colleges in 1885; Ontario College of Agriculture and Royal College of Dental Surgeons in 1888; School of Practical Science in 1889; the Ontario Medical College for Women and the Toronto College of Music in 1890; the College of Pharmacy in 1891, Toronto Conservatory of Music in 1896; the Ontario Veterinary College in 1897 and Trinity College in 1903.

At the eastern end of the province, the officials of Queen's University refused to enter the scheme although the institution faced severe financial difficulty. Besides their objections to dropping religion from the curriculum, it was, according to the "Queen's men" unfair to the friends of Queen's who had donated sums of money for the establishment of an institution of higher learning in affiliation with the Church

of Scotland in eastern Ontario. George Munro Grant, Principal of Queen's, argued that religion did not permeate into all faculties; a college may be unsectarian in its arts and science faculties and therefore, should not be labelled "denominational" and excluded from provincial grants only because of its Faculty of Theology.<sup>3</sup> He further suggested that the men who established the denominational colleges did not do so for "mere denominational ends" but rather did so "in the public interest."<sup>4</sup>

Fearing that the universities would be subject to "party control" if under the directive of the State, Grant proposed that a more solid relationship be established between the universities and the men of power. According to him, the connection between the universities and the men of wealth had been fruitful in the U.S. Hence, he said:

The course usually taken in the U.S. is to give to the rich men of the country the privilege of extending and even of establishing colleges. And the rich are proving worthy of the trust. Harvard, Yale, Johns Hopkins, Columbia, Cornell, Princeton, Wesleyan, Brown and others have received millions and they are sure to receive ten times as much more before long. 5

By facilitating the involvement of the men of wealth into the institutions of higher learning, Grant believed that in addition to the provincial system, a set of degree granting colleges may be set up by those requiring colleges in specific areas. Thus, he said:

A provincial system offers various advantages, including, in particular, the bringing together of young men of different denominations, and the

cultivating of a breadth of view which we are glad to see is now appreciated. If any locality or any body of men considered it necessary to have other colleges, then, as I have said more than once, the necessity must be proved by the sacrifices their friends are willing to make, and the real extent of the necessity by the survival of the fittest. 6

At the time the relationship between the universities and the men of power did tighten. However, they did not establish their own colleges for specialized purposes as proposed by Grant but rather, added to the existing universities in order to bring about various changes in policy and curriculum so that their needs would be met.

In the twentieth century the influence of the men of wealth in the universities is mainly accomplished through their occupation of important decision-making positions in the governing councils. This relationship of the dominant class to higher education is significant. Historically the universities were administered by, organized for and patronized by members of the dominant class. Legitimation of this relationship, however, did not occur until the early years of the twentieth century. For example, in 1899 it was decided that constitutional changes at Queen's were necessary. At that time, the decision-making council represented the graduate body which elected five trustees who were not required to be Presbyterians or academics.<sup>7</sup> In 1900 the recommendations of a committee formed to study possible changes in Queen's administration were approved. By a formal act passed in 1901 control of Queen's major affairs was placed in a lay Board of

Trustees.

At the University of Toronto, during the 1870's, the committee on finance, a subcommittee of the Senate, was organized into a distinct council with special decision-making powers granted by the Ontario government. Thomas Moss, who also acted as Chief Justice of Ontario, member of the provincial government, and Vice-Chancellor, 1874-81, was chairman of that committee until 1881. He was succeeded by William Mulock; Mulock played prominent roles in the educational, political and economic orders, holding such positions as member of the University of Toronto's Senate, 1873-8, Vice-Chancellor, 1881-1900, important negotiator with St. Michael's and Victoria Colleges in the university federation scheme, Postmaster-General in the Dominion government, 1896, member of the Laurier government, 1896-1905, Canada's first Minister of Labour, 1900, and president of Farmers Loan and Savings Co. and Victoria Rolling Stock Co. and director of the Toronto General Trusts Co. In 1884, the name of the Board was changed to the Board of Trustees. Mulock, an advocate of the state university and university federation ideas, worked diligently on improving the conditions in the science departments. The root of the problem, he found, was financial. The federation scheme--the coordination of resources, management, and finances of Ontario's institutions of higher learning in a central body, preferably administered through a "neutral" governmental body--was supposed to eliminate financial problems.

Meanwhile, during the 1880's and 1890's the universities, especially the science faculties received large donations both from the provinces and from benefactors and supporters. It is noted, for example, that in addition to capital funds, the operating budget of the Ontario Agricultural College "increased from \$32,550 in 1891 to \$48,000 in 1900 and reached \$120,500 by 1905." Similarly, the operating budget of the School of Practical Science "increased from \$15,800 to \$29,000 to \$69,000 during the same time period."<sup>8</sup> At Kingston, upon Principal Grant's request, the government provided \$5,000 for the establishment of the Kingston School of Mining and Agriculture in 1893. The annual operating support was raised from \$18,500 in 1901 to \$37,000 in 1905 and as well \$22,500 was granted for the construction of two buildings to house physics, mineralogy and geology and electrical and mechanical engineering.<sup>9</sup> In addition, in order to take full advantage of government grants, the Toronto School of Mining became University of Toronto's Faculty of Practical Science in 1902.

An important source of money for the universities was the gifts from men and institutions of wealth although stipulations on the use of the gift were frequent. Private benefactions during the period included: \$1,200,000 for Political Science from the Bankers of Toronto, \$20,000 in Matriculation Scholarships and \$3,750 for Mathematics, Physics and Science from Hon. Edward Blake, \$3,000 for Mathematics, Physics and Science from A.T. Fulton, \$2,000 for Matriculation Scholarships from Hon. J.M. Gibson and Hon. John Macdonald's \$1,950 gift for the



Philosophy department as well as many other annual donations at the University of Toronto; a variety of scholarships at Victoria College and a benefaction of \$240,000 from William Gooderham on the condition that Victoria would federate with Toronto; a \$5,000 donation toward a Chair of Physics by Sandford Fleming in 1878, \$10,000 for the establishment of a science building by John Carruthers, a wealthy Kingstonian, \$50,000 to endow a Chair of Moral Philosophy in 1905 by Hon. John Charlton, and a bequest of \$40,000 left by John Roberts in 1891 to Queen's University. At McGill, William C. Macdonald's gifts totalled over \$12,500,000, Peter Redpath endowed a Chair of Pure Mathematics in 1871 with a donation of \$20,000 built and financed a museum and gave \$375,000 for a library, and Donald Smith (later Lord Strathcona) granted \$50,000 toward higher education for women.

The financial support, however, was still inadequate. By 1895, the University of Toronto was in serious difficulty, mainly because its budget was drained by the expensive scientific programmes. By 1895 the finance committee was faced with a deficit.<sup>10</sup> Thus the Senate pressured the government for more money by demanding that the original terms of the endowment in the charter be carried out. No concrete action was taken until 1905 when James P. Whitney's conservative government was elected to the Ontario legislature. Whitney immediately set out to improve the university's position, authorizing an expenditure of \$1,600,000 for the university and a new affiliated general hospital plus a sum of \$465,000 in direct

grants.<sup>11</sup>

Besides these direct payments to the university, the Whitney government was responsible for the reorganization of the university's constitution. A committee consisting of J.W. Flavelle (Vice-President, Robert Simpson Co., Toronto Penny Bank, Chairman Canadian Bank of Commerce, President, Canadian Marconi Co. Ltd.), Professor Goldwyn Smith (founder of the Toronto Week), W.R. Meredith (Chief Justice of Ontario), B.E. Walker (member, Toronto Board of Education, President, Bank of Commerce, director, Canada Life Assurance Co. and Toronto General Trusts Co.), H.J. Cody (Archdeacon of York), Rev. D. Bruce Macdonald (director, Calydor Sanitorium Ltd.), and A.H.U. Colquhoun (journalist and civil servant) was appointed to study the matter. The investigation resulted in the Act of 1906 which abolished the office of vice-chancellor, increased the power of the president to become more like "the chief executive officer of the university"<sup>12</sup> and placed control and management of the university in a lay government appointed body, the Board of Governors. The Board members were, in effect, to become the voice of government in the university. Thus, the Act stated,

...Having selected the persons to manage the affairs of the University for the prescribed term of years, the Government of the Province ceases to have a voice in University matters, except that its sanction must be obtained to any proposed impairment of the university endowment. 13

Further, the power of the new board was extended, allowing the members to influence or veto any major decisions. Outlining the powers of the Board, the Act read:

The Board of Governors is to be the lineal successor of the old Board of Trustees, but with vast difference in powers. The authority of the Board of Trustees was strictly limited to the University finances; but the Board of Governors, while still absolute in financial matters, has the tremendous responsibility of making all appointments in the University, from that of the President down. It has also the power of vetoing statutes, and enactments of the Senate, and is the final court of appeal for students dissatisfied with decisions of the other academic bodies. These large powers are to be exercised by a body of twenty men, none of whom, except the Chancellor and the President (the only ex-officio members), may be the head of or a teacher in any of the Faculties, Colleges, or affiliated institutions which make up the University. Being thus an essentially unacademic body, the Board will doubtless pay considerable heed to the opinion of its only academic member, the President; indeed, it is safe to say that the President's views on academic matters will be accepted by the Board as long as he retains its confidence. When he no longer retains it, the Board has the power of demanding his resignation and appointing a successor. 14

Toronto's first Board of Governors following the Act of 1906 included a cross section of prominent men in the educational, political and economic orders. A sample of the 1906 Board includes:

Chairman John Hoskin (lawyer, President, Toronto General Trusts Co. and Consumers' Gas Co. and Director, Bank of Commerce, Canadian Life Assurance Co. and other corporations),  
 Chancellor W.R. Meredith,  
 B.E. Walker,  
 E.B. Osler (Director, Canadian Pacific Railway, The Steel Company of Canada, Imperial Oil Co. Ltd. and eighteen other corporations, President of several companies, including Toronto Ferry Co., Victoria Rolling Stock Co.),  
 J.W. Flavelle,  
 Sir Mackenzie Bowell (Prime Minister of Canada, 1894-6, President, Hastings Mutual Fire Insurance Co., Dominion Safe-Gas Co.),  
 J.L. Englehart (Chairman, Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway Board, Vice-President, Crown Savings and Loan Association, London and Western Trust Co.),

G.R.R. Cockburn (President, Ontario Bank, Consumers' Gas Co., Director, Western Assurance Co., Muskoka Lakes Navigation and Hotel Co.),  
 Chester D. Massey (President, Massey-Harris Co. Ltd., Director, National Trust Co., City Dairy Co.),  
 E.C. Whitney (Director, Bank of Ottawa).

A detailed year by year examination of the membership of Canadian university governing boards would, no doubt, provide numerous examples to prove the argument that prominent political figures and especially businessmen are active decision-makers within the universities. The Act of 1906 was the final product of the study of the Royal Commission to reorganize the University of Toronto, 1905-6. The Commissioners visited the Universities of Wisconsin, Illinois, Chicago, Michigan, Cornell, Johns Hopkins, Princeton, Columbia, Yale and Harvard<sup>15</sup> and had, in effect, recommended that the administration of Canadian universities be modelled after these successful American institutions. Thus, as in the U.S., it became the norm for the Canadian state to appoint a body of key political and economic figures to serve in the higher circles of the universities.<sup>16</sup>

Studying the American higher educational system in the 1900's, Thorstein Veblen argued that universities in the U.S. were managed like business corporations and had therefore become excessively competitive in their search for scholars, finances and fame. According to Veblen, it was mainly businessmen who were trusted with the job of managing the university's affairs. Their success in business had been, in Veblen's terms, "taken to be conclusive evidence of wisdom even in matters that have no relation to business affairs."<sup>17</sup> In his analysis, it

would have been more logical for the men of expertise--the engineers, technologists and inventors--to administer the centres of higher learning rather than businessmen who had "nothing in common with the higher learning."<sup>18</sup> The problem was, it seems, a matter of the American values and ideals which were firmly imbued with the notions of private property, capitalist accumulation and profit.

From the pioneering work of Thorstein Veblen in the field of critical analysis of higher education, a number of American studies of the boards of governors of universities have been attempted, for example by Scott Nearing in 1917, J.A. Leighton in 1920, Evans Clark in 1923, George S. Counts in 1927, Earl J. McGrath in 1936, Hubert Beck in 1947 and Troy Duster in 1966.<sup>19</sup> All of these studies concluded that the boards were composed mainly of members of the dominant class. Beck's study, for instance, found that the majority of trustees had corporate connections and that bankers, industrialists, and businessmen constituted 41.5% of the 734 governors studied and as well most of the lawyers and judges, numbering a further 25% of the sample, also had corporate affiliations.<sup>20</sup> Students and blue and white collar workers were totally unrepresented on the boards. In his study in a rather pointed remark, Scott Nearing concluded that: "A new term must be coined to suggest the idea of an educational system owned and largely supported by the people but dominated by the business world."<sup>21</sup>

When Veblen argued that "the boards are of no material

use in any connection" and that "their sole effectual function... [was] ...to interfere with the academic management in matters that are not of the nature of business",<sup>22</sup> it was clear that he studied the problem of university government from an academician's point of view. Further, he stated that "businessmen hold the plenary discretion and...business principles guide them in their management of the affairs of the higher learning."<sup>23</sup> While Veblen may have been accurate in suggesting that businessmen were influenced by their worldly affairs in making decisions on the university governing councils, there is no systematic and concrete method of examining such a hypothesis, given the fact that minutes of meetings are generally publicly unavailable. Yet the relationship between the university decision-makers and the dominant class is more fundamental than mere historical coincidence. John Porter, Wallace Clement, David N. Smith and Ralph Miliband, in their works, have drawn some conclusions on the social and structural implications of the governors' roles for the educational order in particular and capitalist society in general.

For John Porter, the relationship between higher learning and corporate experience is still rather vague. He does, however, argue that:

The explanation does not lie in any intrinsic link between the two, but lies rather in the structural characteristics of a society based on corporate capitalism. The corporate elite are the society's leading citizens and as such "govern" many more things than universities. 24

Porter further states that the power exercised by the corporate

elite on the governing boards of the universities and other "quasi-public" institutions such as hospitals, art galleries and philanthropic associations, is unlike the power they wield within the corporations. The relationship between the men of wealth and the universities seems to be one of mutual dependency. The selection of board members takes into account the "criterion of usefulness to the institutions." Thus, as Porter suggests, the fact that universities and other "public" institutions depend on the corporate sector for money leaves ample opportunity for the appointment of members who will be able to solicit funds from their peers.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, not only are the corporate directors' philanthropic activities of important public relations value to their respective firms<sup>26</sup> in themselves but also it has been found that historically the capitalist class has actively engaged in social welfare, educational and cultural activities in order to maintain its image of beneficence and concern for the social well-being of other classes as well as to avoid the establishment of more government controlled organizations.<sup>27</sup>

In his analysis of economic power in contemporary Canada, Wallace Clement argues that universities function not only as "meeting ground[s]" for potential elites during their school days, but continue to act in this capacity even after they have actually entered the elite--providing meeting places on their boards and establishing elite forums where elite members can work out their common concerns."<sup>28</sup> Thus, memberships on boards help to facilitate the formation of "psycho-

logical and social bases for unity"<sup>29</sup> within the dominant class.

Ideologically, the domination of the boards of governors by the men of power functions to support the status quo and to lend legitimacy to an already conservative curriculum. This is mainly due to the fact that the governors themselves hold a world view which is not opposed to the ongoing system of political and economic power. Moreover, as Ralph Miliband notes, since the university hierarchy--administrators, officials, and teachers--are all subject to "outside" influences, these influences further encourage the quashing of political protestations or any tendency toward critical evaluation of the status quo.<sup>30</sup> This, in turn, has facilitated the acceptance of a curriculum which was accommodated to the needs of the system. The clearest example of this is the teaching of business administration which is "not simply a training in the 'techniques of management' and other assorted skills, but also a training in the ideology, values and purposes of capitalist enterprise."<sup>31</sup> In light of the administrative changes in the university, it is now important to examine the changing nature of the curriculum in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

#### Curriculum Changes and the Nature of the Economy

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Canadian economy was, according to Leo Johnson, affected by



"the growing economic influence of the United States, and the replacement of the manufactory by the factory system of industrial capitalism."<sup>32</sup> Further the stage of industrial capitalism was characterized by the growing importance and strengthening of finance capital,<sup>33</sup> massive urban development and population growth and the development of the hinterland areas which, linked by the expanding railway network, brought within reach both markets and raw material centres for the manufacturers.

Throughout Ontario, industrial progress was evident. Some of the larger companies included:<sup>34</sup> Hamilton Iron Forging Co. (producing car axles), Ontario Rolling Mill Co. (manufacturing bar-iron, sail plate, fish-plate and nails), A.S. Whiting and Co. of Oshawa (carrying on export trade in agricultural implements), Cossitt's Agricultural Works of Guelph (produced 1,000 lawn mowers a year and 100 ploughs per week by 1878), Raymond Sewing Machine Works of Guelph, and Harriston Agricultural Works (manufacturing separators, grain crushers, cultivators, ploughs, and other equipment). Toronto became established as the central marketing and financial centre although local factories were not often controlled by Torontonians.<sup>35</sup> The following table gives an indication of the industrial growth evident during the latter decades of the nineteenth century.

### Industrial Development of Toronto<sup>36</sup>

	<u>1881</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>% increase</u>
No. of Industries	932	2,401	158
Capitalization	\$11,691,700	\$31,725,313	171
No. of employees	13,245	26,242	98
Value at Factory of Products	\$19,562,981	\$44,963,922	130

Further with respect to the financial sector, it was noted in the Monetary Times that bank discounts and loans, which give insight into dealings of the banks increased from \$41,600,000 in 1862 to \$107,200,000 in 1872 or by 158%. Similarly, deposits which indicate "spare money" grew from \$19,800,000 to \$58,200,000 or by 194% during the same period.<sup>37</sup>

The transition of the economy from the stage of independent commodity production to that of industrial capitalism necessitated changes in the productive process and consequently in the relationship between labour and capital. Not only did the number of factories and other employing establishments increase during the period but the number of employees or the size of the establishments grew as well. "The key technological innovation of industrial capitalism," wrote Leo Johnson, "lay in its organization of labour: particularly in the replacement of high-cost skilled labour by low-paid unskilled labour, and the replacement of muscle power by machine power."<sup>38</sup> The cost of labour was cheapened in this process. A normally highly skilled craft, for example, was broken down into units and labourers were hired to work at a specific unit or task. Work, therefore, became repetitive; what was previously accomplished by one man, a craftsman, over a longer period of

time, was now accomplished more rapidly by several with each man repeating one specific task over and over again. Capitalists aimed to hire labourers as cheaply as possible in order to increase profits. The rationale for this was that only unskilled workers, rather than skilled craftsmen, were needed since the necessary training was done at the employer's expense on the job. The relationship between employers and employees was conflictual. On the one hand, employers sought to increase profit by speeding up the production process, lengthening the working day, and keeping wages to a minimum while on the other hand, employees sought the avoidance of speed-ups, a shorter working day and increased wages. Consequently, the 1880's were noted for the emergence of labour unions and a growing number of strikes and other disputes.

In the transition between natural production and independent commodity production, it was noted earlier that the composition of the dominant class had been altered as well as the nature and structure of the economy. The new families--the Gooderhams, the Wortses, the McMasters, the Masseys--joined the old families-- the Denisons, the Boultons, the Strachans--as part of the dominant class. The new families played an important role in economic development; many were owners of industrial enterprises while others occupied major posts in the financial sector and still others held important political, educational or religious positions while perhaps playing major roles in one or both sections of the economy. For example,

Hon. George W. Allan, son of William, President of the Bank of Upper Canada, 1822-35, became director of that bank in 1860, was director of Northern Railway in 1866, President of Western Canada Loan and Savings Co. and an officer of the Toronto Mechanics' Institute; prominent lawyer Hon. John Hillyard Cameron, also a supporter of the Toronto Mechanics' Institute and of King's College against the Draper Bill of 1845 was President of the Provincial Insurance Co. of Canada in 1860 and director of the Northern Railway in 1866; Hon. Sir Richard Cartwright, a pupil at John Strachan's school at Kingston, was director and president of the Commercial Bank of Canada, director of Canada Life Assurance Co. and was appointed Finance Minister of Canada, 1873; a subscriber to the Toronto Mechanics' Institute Building Fund and a supporter of Victoria College's federation with Toronto, William Gooderham held among other posts, a partnership in Gooderham and Worts Distillery, and directorships in the Bank of Upper Canada, 1860 and the Toronto and Nipissing Railway; at one time principal of McGill University (1846-1851), E.A. Meredith who was connected with the Ontario civil service until 1878, became director of Toronto General Trusts Co., 1885; Hon. J.C. Morrison, an Ontario judge and chancellor of University of Toronto, 1873-6, was director of Northern Railway in 1860; and John Beverley Robinson Jr. was President of the Northern Railway, 1866, a member of Trinity College Council, Mayor of Toronto, 1857, member of both the Legislative Assembly and the Canadian House of Commons for a number of years and was Lieutenant-Governor

of Ontario, 1880-7.

Although many families retained their positions within the dominant class, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, it has been found that changes were evident in the social origins of the leading Canadian industrialists between 1880 and 1910.<sup>39</sup> This was mainly due to transformations in the nature and structure of industrial enterprises. According to T.W. Acheson,

The leading industrial firms of 1880 had, for the most part, been small family or partnership concerns valued at one or two hundred thousand dollars, usually employing up to a few hundred workers, and more often than not located in the nation's smaller towns and cities. By 1910 the joint stock company had become the dominant industrial form, and the tradition of a highly personal and other patriarchal rule which had characterized the proprietorship was gradually retreating in the face of the more impersonal company directorates and their subordinate hierarchy of career executives. 40

No longer was there a "clear-cut division between capital and management" and thus "salaried career executives...[became] a growing phenomenon in most companies."<sup>41</sup> Such changes evident within the economic order were not, in fact, unrelated to changes within other institutions, such as education. What is most striking is that there was, according to Acheson's study, "a sharply reduced degree of social mobility at work within the industrial elite of 1910."<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, the 1910 industrialists had achieved higher educational levels than the 1885 group.<sup>43</sup> Although institutions of higher learning were growing in popularity and in student population, it is most certain that they were still rather closed to the broad spectrum

of social classes and were catering mainly to the well-to-do.

Thus, with the changing political economy from independent commodity production to industrial capitalism, there were a number of important transformations in the nature and structure of the dominant class and the organization of ownership and control within economic organizations. It was at this time also that the seats of higher learning became linked to the occupational structure, a relationship which has lasted until modern times. In fact, it was found that young immigrants were often among the educated members of the industrial elite. These people arrived in Canada "not as part of a mass migration but in response to specific vocational needs which they were peculiarly trained to fill."<sup>44</sup> Thus, in 1870, the Monetary Times reported that there was an urgent need for more immigrants because "for months past, sufficient labourers, both skilled and unskilled, have not been available in Ontario."<sup>45</sup> Increasingly higher education was geared more and more toward the production of graduates who would fill the vocational needs of a growing industrial nation. Curriculum was thus made to fulfill certain requirements within the new or expanding scientific, technological, agricultural and professional fields.

One of the first questions debated with respect to reform in the university curriculum was that of specialization versus liberal education. In 1860 during the Hearings of the Select Committee of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, the

"battle of specialization versus comprehensiveness" emerged after the University of Toronto instituted a new curriculum including modern languages in all four years, a science course in each year with emphasis on continuity, the replacement of rhetoric with English literature, a diminished importance on classics, and the deletion of the theology requirement.<sup>46</sup> It was also decided as early as 1859 that Toronto's honour students could specialize by restricting their range of studies.<sup>47</sup> At McGill University, specialization was facilitated by the use of extra examinations in certain fields<sup>48</sup> and at Queen's the arts course was lengthened from three to four years in 1865<sup>49</sup> while similar measures were introduced to advance concentrated study in a particular area.

The proponents of liberal versus specialized education argued that the most effective education was similarly a general education which sought to develop man's cultural, social, moral and intellectual capacities. This view of the "culture mart" university was modelled after the British institutions which had until then been devoted to "the old conservative lines of training up cultured, polished young men."<sup>50</sup> Ryerson's advocacy of a liberal education was closely associated with his ideas on the importance of education as a socialization mechanism. It was noted previously that Ryerson defended religious instruction not for its use to the particular sect involved but rather for its inherent usefulness as a vehicle of moral upbringing and social control. A specialized education concentrated on a more obviously practical and tangible goal,

the impartation of knowledge of immediate objective value to the student. He opposed the Honours system, advocating instead "a thorough course of training that will discipline, in the most effectual manner, the powers of the mind and prepare the youth of our country for those pursuits and those engagements which demand their attention as men, Christians and patriots."<sup>51</sup>

It is incorrect to assume that Ryerson and others emphasized the need for liberal education because they disagreed completely with the idea of specialization nor is it sufficient to suggest that specialists totally rejected liberal education. Rather, the controversy stemmed from differing and perhaps changing perspectives with respect to the nature and function of education. Ryerson, for example, believed that more overt forms of discipline and methods of social control were necessary. It was his contention that a comprehensive public education was to provide "not the mere acquisition of certain arts or of certain branches of knowledge, but that instruction and discipline which qualify and dispose the subjects of it for their appropriate duties and employments of life, as Christians, as persons of business and also as members of the civil community in which they live."<sup>52</sup> Ryerson's insistence on the importance of schools as socialization agencies was related to his belief, which was indeed shared by Canadian and American educational reformers, that social ills, due in large part to industrialization and urbanization,



reflected the apathy and neglect of the family in proper child rearing. For educational reformers,

...[t]he 'indulgent' 'yielding' character of family life implied clear duty for the schools....The role of the school became to break dependency, to wean the child from the parent to the real world: to perform aspects of the socialization process that parents had become unable to carry out. 53

Moreover, this role of the school was not to end with primary instruction. It was just as important in the university, "the school of mental discipline"<sup>54</sup> where students were in their adolescent years, a time when emotions, passions, and temptations became acute.

The advocates of a more specialized curriculum, it seems, were more interested in immediately producing a set of graduates "armed with the newest weapons to do battle with the most recent errors, and prepared to explore the regions that lie beyond the circle of...mid nineteenth century knowledge."<sup>55</sup> Specialization, according to Daniel Wilson, Professor of History and English Literature, 1853-92 and President of University College, 1880-92, was "an effective source, not only of intellectual culture, but...[it] prepare[d] the youth of Canada for the practical duties of life."<sup>56</sup> Lauding the curriculum adopted at Victoria College with options in modern languages, English literature, mathematics, physical and historical sciences, Professor N. Burwash<sup>57</sup> remarked:

The studies of the college now bear directly upon the forge and the foundry, upon the factory and the machine shop, upon the production of every article that grows in the field, is sold in the stores, or adds to the comfort of your homes.

The university henceforth will not merely send forth learned clergymen and lawyers, cultured and skilled in the beauties of Latin prose, but it will send among you men brimful of knowledge which will help every worker in all the land, in every sphere of daily toil. By this movement, gentlemen, we have made the university as never before a national necessity and benefit. 58

At an earlier date, Ryerson also noted a tendency toward a practical curriculum. Nevertheless, even if specialization were necessary for a particular profession or employment, it was important to Ryerson that a balance between literature and science be maintained "as to form a proper symmetry and balance of character."<sup>59</sup> He wrote:

The powers of the mind are not developed in the fairest proportions by studying languages alone, or mathematics alone, or natural or political science alone. The object of the Collegiate Course is not to teach what is peculiar to any one of the professions; but to lay the foundation which is common to them all....The principles of science and literature are the common foundation of all high intellectual attainments--giving that furniture, discipline and elevation to the mind which are the best preparation for the study of a profession, or of the operations which are peculiar to the higher order of mercantile, manufacturing, mechanical, and agricultural pursuits. And while it is designed in no respect to lower the standard of classical and mathematical education, as maintained by the best scholars, the studies more immediately connected with the business of life, and the intercourse of society in this country, will constitute a prominent and efficient department. 60

As mentioned previously, although their emphasis differed somewhat from the liberal educationists, those favouring more concentrated study did not ignore the significance of education in developing moral, obedient Canadians. On the occasion of Victoria's union with the University of Toronto, Nathanael Burwash listed the advantages of university federation. The

scheme, he said, "gives to the State its appropriate field, the cultivation of Science, and to the churches their appropriate field, the intellectual, moral and social culture of our young men."<sup>61</sup> In this statement, he seemed to imply that the functions of church and state were mutually exclusive; that is, the state's role was to foster scientific progress through university based research whereas the church's duty was to ensure the proper socialization of the people. However, as the curriculum became more specialized and pragmatic to accommodate the needs of the developing socioeconomic order, the fundamental nature and function of the educational institutions was not altered. Upon closer examination of Burwash's speech, it is clear that the university was still to serve in its capacity as a socializing agency. Thus Burwash further elaborated on the merits of university federation by saying:

It combines the compact college organization for the culture of... [the] students with the broad University programme for the promotion of all higher learning.... It promotes a broad, liberal Christian spirit by bringing together the young men of all Churches and creeds in one common fellowship of learning and literature. It combines the resources of Church and State, of private liberality and public provision, and yet it makes no state grants to Churches. It thus does not burden but help the State and promotes the wisest economy of the funds of all the people for this grand national object. 62

Toward the latter years of the nineteenth century, it seems that educators stressed the importance of university work in promoting scientific, technological, commercial, agricultural and other research which aided Canadian socioeconomic development. At the same time, they spoke less of the

institutions' need to cultivate a moral and intellectual climate for their students. Nevertheless, this tendency on the part of early educationists does not negate the importance of education in this capacity. As in the previous stage of independent commodity production, the new stage of economic development, industrial capitalism, required a population whose habits, values and concerns served the system. In such a developing economy, the problem became, according to Michael Katz, one of "transforming agrarian habits in which precision and promptness are less emphasized into the traits necessary to conduct city life and large scale manufacturing... [This problem] is characteristic of urbanizing and industrializing societies."<sup>63</sup> Indeed, in industrial Canada, the university curriculum and organization adopted and developed an underlying ideology supportive of the developing socioeconomic order.

In order to aid progress in the Canadian system, promoters of higher education often studied the universities of other industrializing or industrialized nations, especially those of Germany, Britain, United States and France. By "borrowing" ideas for an educational system from countries whose socioeconomic systems were similar to the Canadian ideal, educationists reinforced that system and facilitated the development of the industrial capitalist order. Moreover, since the university decision-makers were members of the dominant class, it was in their interest as well to patronize a university system which proved effective in other capitalist countries and which would be functional to their needs in the Canadian socio-

economic sphere. For many, the German system was the best; not only was German education specialized but it leaned heavily toward practical research which facilitated improvements in the modern capitalist economy. Thus, in his convocation address of 1899 at the University of Toronto, President James Loudon declared:

In twenty-five years, Germany has increased her manufacturing capacity tenfold so that it equals that of England; her shipping has increased twenty-fold, so that as regards steamships at least, Germany is now the second in the world. German sugar rules the world's markets; German chemists have revolutionized the dyeing industry; Germany supplies most of the electrical plants in Europe, in Central America and in the East; in iron and steel industries, she is pressing close upon the heels of England. Germany, in fine, has attained the position of a first class commercial and industrial power and aspires to universal supremacy. Side by side with this marvellous progress has gone on the development of her system of technical education.... 64

The movement that had begun some thirty to forty years back to modernize and reform the Canadian universities was not yet completed by the turn of the century. However, several developments had significantly transformed the institutions during that time.

To the dissatisfaction of the liberal education theorists, a specialized curriculum was instituted in the schools after C.W. Eliot, president of Harvard, introduced the elective system into the American universities. In Ontario, Toronto and Queen's Universities were the first to respond to this innovation by allowing choice in course options during the 1870's. The elective system clearly met the needs of the capitalist system which required "new kinds of knowledge and new forms of instruc-

tion to revolutionize production and facilitate competition."

According to D.N. Smith, the major results of this system were:

...first, it led to the direct integration of science and business into the university curriculum; and second--structurally--it led to the emergence of departments, graduate schools, and administrative hierarchies. 65

Further, the elective system,

...freed the departments and disciplines from the constraints of fighting for a post in an overall curriculum and, instead, through a system of concentration and electives, majors and minors, permitted specialization. 66

This, in turn, led to change in the university administration. As departments gained control over required and prerequisite courses for concentrated study, subjects became departmentalized. For example, at the University of Toronto, a division was made between mathematics and physics and classics was split into Latin and Greek in 1888. The matter of emphasis on courses was formerly purely an administrative detail. With only minor variations all students were required to follow a standardized curriculum from matriculation through graduation. The elimination of the uniform curriculum was followed by further changes; in fact, Howard Adelman notes that:

...the introduction of admission standards, and the permeation of all academic studies with graded examinations culminated in a certification procedure which no longer simply indicated one's attendance at a university, but, instead, introduced a number of degrees to represent different standards and levels of academic achievement. 67

Where formerly the university degree represented a certification of one's academic achievement and was used to obtain entrance to the various professional and other fields of employment,

the modern diploma, marking a specialized education, dictated that particular occupational field the graduate was prepared to enter.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century and later, university education became increasingly pragmatic and consequently was linked to the occupational structure. The connection between education and occupation was in part related to the changing nature of inheritance in the altering class and power structure. As early as 1855, William Dawson seemed to suggest that under the new socioeconomic order, men would not be able to hand their positions down to their sons as easily as former generations had done. He wrote:

Many who...have risen to wealth and consideration, have not enjoyed the benefits of a liberal education, yet these may be necessary to enable their children to retain the position which their fathers have acquired.... 68

Further it was necessary to reward students with material goods, status and the promise of mobility for attending higher education. Otherwise, young persons would seek one of the many available jobs. On this matter, Dawson wrote:

The demand for labour is so great and the avenues of lucrative employment open to any one who has received a good school education are so numerous, that it is difficult to induce young men to devote several years to an expensive and tedious course of collegiate instruction, when the time and money so expended might materially advance their fortunes in life....It ought....to be taken into account that the higher mental training is valuable for the particular business which the young man may have in view, may at a future time be indispensable to enable him to act creditably and usefully into other positions into which he may rise.... 69

Whereas in the earlier historical periods, a university education was viewed as a rightful part of life of the upper class, during the period of industrial capitalism, the character of the institution became more meritocratic. Michael Katz argues that the movement from ascribed to achieved status was part of the industrialization process:

In the rural, agricultural society labor is divided within the family; for the most part jobs require little special skill and formal training; responsibility is based largely on age; the social hierarchy rests mainly on custom; and few pressures force an alteration of traditional attitudes. In such a society ascription forms a relatively powerful criterion for the assignment of status. 'Industrialization, on the other hand, dissolves the traditional social fabric; many tasks become highly specialized and technical competence becomes of paramount importance. To cope adequately with its business an industrial, urban society must award relative priority to achieved rather than ascribed qualities. 70

This process was, however, a slow one. All who showed promise did not necessarily achieve high ranks nor did they even gain entry for a variety of reasons into the universities. It is sufficient to note here that the tendency toward meritocratic achievement and the popular notion of mobility through education were gaining ascendancy during the stage of industrial capitalism.

#### The Practical University Education: The Teaching of Scientific, Agricultural and Technical Subjects

It would be misleading to suggest that science emerged as a result of industrial capitalism. As early as 1806, John



Strachan obtained permission to purchase instruments with which he could demonstrate the principles of Natural Philosophy<sup>71</sup> at his Cornwall Grammar School. In the earlier periods, science was closely aligned with religious interests. It was basically a study of nature which was roughly divided into two parts, natural philosophy (physics and chemistry) and natural science (botany and zoology). The early approach to the teaching of science was descriptive rather than experimental. In the late 1860's, Canadian universities were influenced by the modernization movement taking place in German, British and American institutions. The most immediate effects of this movement were the enormous expansion of physical and biological sciences and the extension of the areas and methods of subjects such as history, literature, and philosophy.<sup>72</sup> The art of pedagogy was altered by the introduction of laboratory work which became a requirement for undergraduates in 1874, the use of research courses for advanced students with the eventual introduction of post-graduate work and the subdivision of subject areas into smaller, more concentrated bodies of knowledge.

It was not an historical accident that the large scale use of science in the universities coincided with the growth of industrial capitalism. The growing industrialism and the resultant urbanism required trained scientists, researchers, architects, engineers, doctors, and agriculturalists. The need for science and practical education was expressed in terms of the "public good" rather than in reference to private profit.

The ideology of general welfare was promoted by the rising industrial capitalist who, with expressed promises of the "good life" for all, aimed toward modernization and national development. As Dawson seemed to suggest, a practical, scientific education seemed to be the perfect panacea:

In every civilized country it has become a question of first rate importance, not only for educators but for businessmen and statesmen, how the largest amount of success can be attained in the practical application of science to the arts of life. Everywhere, as a means to this end, it is felt to be necessary to provide the widest extent of scientific education for the mass of the people, and the highest perfection of such education for those who are to take leading places as original investigators or as directors of business undertakings. 73

Further, it was noted that skilled men and scientific knowledge were of utmost importance:

The value of work which is thus being done for the country needs only to be known to receive its proper appreciation. The complexity of our modern civilization requires that every nation claiming a place in the front rank of modern progress shall be furnished with a sufficient supply of skilled men in all the special departments of human industry, and that in each case skill shall be based not only on experience, but also on scientific knowledge... 74

Science had, in fact, become more than a solution to the problem of industrial development; it became a way of life for the Canadian people. Thus the proliferation of scientific study was to occur through a variety of school and community programmes. It was suggested, for example, that special practical schools to train investigators and practical science workers be set up in the government departments most important to the welfare of the community, that some type of science

study be made a mandatory part of a liberal higher education, that elements of natural and physical science be taught in elementary schools and that the scientific training of teachers be improved and extended.<sup>75</sup>

The last quarter of the nineteenth century was a busy period on Canadian campuses. While numerous buildings were erected to house the newly developed science courses, the student population grew dramatically. At the University of Toronto, in 1867, 61 degrees were conferred and 200 candidates were examined while in 1889, 190 degrees were conferred and over 1,000 candidates were examined.<sup>76</sup> Similarly, in the seventeen year period between 1887 and 1904, the number of degrees conferred at Toronto quadrupled.<sup>77</sup> A fellowship system designed to encourage graduate work was established in 1882. The next year the Toronto University Senate reacted positively to the idea of organizing a Ph.D. programme but no concrete action was taken on this matter until 1897. Once established, the programme immediately became popular as evidenced by the enrollment figures; the number of Ph.D. candidates increased from 14 in 1899-1900 to 21 during the 1900-1 session.<sup>78</sup> At the same time the University of Toronto Council reported that a growing magnitude of students were studying practical science, as shown by the number of those receiving laboratory instruction.<sup>79</sup>

Massive growth and the "scientific revolution" were not peculiar to the University of Toronto. Queen's University noted a similar rise in attendance. The number of arts students increased from 92 in 1878-9 to 160 in 1880-1 to 216 in 1883-4<sup>80</sup>

or by 135% in the five year period and from 456 in 1894 to 633 in 1899<sup>81</sup> or by 39%. In 1890 the matriculation standards were raised and honours courses leading to a Master of Arts were set up.<sup>82</sup> Queen's main problem was the lack of adequate finances. Between 1870 and 1890, enrollment had increased by six times while income had only doubled.<sup>83</sup> Further, education, with its practical orientation had become more expensive. Subscriptions were raised from the City of Kingston, Queen's staff and alumni and the university's wealthy "friends." For example, the City of Kingston donated \$67,000 in 1888 and \$50,000 for the School of Mining, Queen's staff gave \$10,000 in 1888 and anonymous subscriptions totalling \$141,000 were collected in 1878.<sup>84</sup> Friends Sandford Fleming and Allan Gilmour each donated \$5,000 toward a chair of physics in 1878;<sup>85</sup> in 1891 John Roberts of Ottawa left a bequest of \$40,000 which was supplemented by a substantial gift from one of his executors, John Roberts Allen, and which was used to endow chairs of animal biology and botany.<sup>86</sup> John Carruthers contributing \$10,000 toward a new science building, Carruthers Hall, which opened in 1891.<sup>87</sup> Government grants to the affiliated, secular School of Mining and to the institution itself increased substantially over the years. However, it was not until Queen's decision to federate in 1901 that the institution became financially secure.

One of the first major areas of scientific interest was that of agriculture. Following the wave of developments in agriculture and mechanical education in the U.S. resulting

from the Morrill Act, the government decided to assess the country's needs for such schools. Lieutenant-Governor Howland indicated the government's interest in establishing agricultural and mechanical education in his December 7, 1870 speech from the throne:

While perfecting our System of Public Instruction, so as to render Common School Education accessible and free to every child in the land, and to provide more effectually for giving a higher English and Commercial Education in the Superior Schools, your attention will be invited to the expediency of making that Education more practical and directly instrumental in promoting the interests of Agriculturalists and Manufacturers. The life of our Country's wealth and progress depends upon its Agriculturalists and Manufacturers, and the development of its Mineral Resources and our System of Public Instruction should provide a suitable preparation for Agricultural, Mechanical, Manufacturing and Mining pursuits, as is now enjoyed by those who make choice of the Professions of Law and Medicine and thus be promotive of the highest material, no less than of the intellectual and moral, interests of the people. 88

A government inquiry initiated in 1869 by Hon. John Carling, president of Carling Brewing and Malting Co. and Ontario's first Commissioner of Agriculture, into American developments in agricultural education concluded that successfully educating young farmers would greatly enhance the country's prosperity and wealth. Consequently, the Department of Agriculture established the Ontario College of Agriculture in Guelph in 1874. It was later affiliated with the University of Toronto in 1887.

When William Dawson arrived in 1855 to become McGill's Principal, he ambitiously brought with him extensive plans to immediately modernize teaching and reorganize the curriculum

to incorporate more scientific study. His ideas, however, were too radical and perhaps premature for Montreal and the wider community at that time. For instance, he lamented that a chair of practical chemistry he established "failed to attract our artisans or manufacturers to receive its benefits, and the same fate has befallen my....efforts to bring the principles of Scientific Agriculture under the notice of our farmers."<sup>89</sup> Yet when Sir William C. Macdonald founded Macdonald Agricultural College at Ste. Anne de Bellevue in 1907, it was at once successful. Similarly, between 1885 and 1890, attendance at the Ontario Agricultural College fluctuated with an average annual student population of 141 while between 1900 and 1905 the number of students increased from 342 to 1,004.<sup>90</sup> Thus the particular type and orientation of education is fundamentally related to the stage of economic development; pragmatic education was a feature of industrial capitalism.

Generally, businessmen argued that agriculture was vital to the commercial success of the country. It was believed that agriculture was "the one industry that could take up any slack in employment and turn the urban poor into useful members of the labour force."<sup>91</sup> Thus, B.E. Walker, member of Toronto's Board of Governors, 1897 to 1906, president of the Bank of Commerce, declared before that bank in 1898 that agriculture was "the substratum of our commercial well-being."<sup>92</sup> It is not surprising then, that "...the business press enthusiastically supported experimental farms, agricultural colleges, dairy programmes, etc., never begrudging any public expenditure

in this direction,"<sup>93</sup> Moreover, as the university adopted more and more of the useful sciences, the men of wealth were more willing to invest in these institutions. Thus, a paragraph from a description of the Arts faculty of the University of Toronto read:

The immense extension, in recent years, of the application of scientific knowledge to manufactures and to various economic processes has brought the work of the University in closer touch with the business world. This is, of course, most apparent in such departments as the Faculty of Applied Science or the Agricultural College; but it is also effective within the sphere of Arts work, especially as a factor in strengthening and developing certain sides of the curriculum. For this and other reasons, there has grown up an increased interest in the University on the part of the business community, as manifested in many benefactions, such as the Banker's Scholarship given by various chartered banks in Ontario. 94

The relationship between business and higher education was a reciprocal one. Without science and a practical curriculum, the university was merely a centre for the cultivation of the very rich; without the university, the capitalists would have had to finance the extensive research projects needed by industry individually within their own enterprises. For the capitalists, it was by far cheaper to donate money to a university than to establish private research departments. Generous government support and the organization of departments and curricula around business and industrial interests served to cheapen what would necessarily have been an enormous expenditure. Thus, rudimentary steps toward a state supported infrastructure characteristic of twentieth century capitalism

were taken in the late 1800's.<sup>95</sup>

The growth of "practical" curriculum in universities  
is typically viewed as the process of democratization of  
higher education. Many historians congratulate the people for  
destroying the aristocratic, elitist education and for gaining  
the right to determine the content of curriculum. However, the  
curriculum was not established by popular democracy. Instead,  
the "utility" of education was defined by the capitalists who  
had a voice in university affairs through their positions on  
the Boards of Governors. Industrialists alike agreed that an  
education based on the interaction of scientific and industrial  
principles would rapidly increase their gains.

As with agriculture and other areas of scientific study,  
technical education, that is, the "instruction in those  
principles of science and art which are applicable to industrial  
pursuits",<sup>96</sup> became popular during the 1870's. Although  
courses in both agriculture and engineering were listed and  
described in the 1857-8 calendar of University College, they  
were met with little enthusiasm and student demand at that  
time.<sup>97</sup> Following a government sponsored inquiry into technical  
education in the U.S., it was decided that a technical college  
was an "obvious and growing necessity" in Canada.<sup>98</sup> In 1871,  
under Sandfield Macdonald's motion, the Ontario legislature  
voted to donate additional money to establish a special college  
of technology with such subjects as mathematics, chemistry,  
modern languages, civil and mechanical engineering and drawing.<sup>99</sup>  
Housed in a section of the Mechanics' Institute building, the  
School opened in 1872 and offered a series of evening lectures.



The next year the School of Practical Science was established by the Mowat government. It opened in 1878 and affiliated with the University of Toronto in 1889. While at first the school offered diplomas only in civil and mechanical engineering and analytical and applied chemistry, the curriculum was broadened to include courses leading to degrees in mining, electrical engineering and architecture.<sup>100</sup> As a result, during the 1890's, the School of Practical Science doubled its capacity.<sup>101</sup>

In 1892 Hon. William Harty who held, among others, the positions of managing director of Canadian Locomotive and Engine Works, director of Kingston and Pembroke Railway and Imperial Life Insurance Co., member of the Ontario legislature, Minister of Public Works, 1894-9, and Minister Without Portfolio, 1899-1902, and who was a supporter of Oliver Mowat, agitated for the establishment of a school of science in Kingston. In order to avoid duplicating Toronto's School of Practical Science, a School of Mining was proposed instead. The school at once received adequate support both from Kingston (\$35,000) and from the Ontario government (\$6,000 per year).<sup>102</sup> Meanwhile a Faculty of Applied Science, including a curriculum of surveying and civil and electrical engineering, and a mechanical laboratory was created.<sup>103</sup> In 1897 the School of Mining was affiliated with Queen's and immediately became the centre of the Faculty of Applied Science. Still after its affiliation it was well supported; in 1900 the Ontario government under the George W.

Ross administration granted \$100,000 for new buildings and increased the annual grant by \$10,000<sup>104</sup> and in the same year the City of Kingston gave \$50,000 with which Kingston Hall was built.<sup>105</sup> In general, the university was prosperous during the period. Significantly, the popularity of the university had grown considerably with the advances in curriculum.

The new technological departments clearly met the needs of the industrial order by educating people with appropriate skills and knowledge and by responding as soon as possible to new industrial demands and necessary areas of investigation and research. Thus it was noted that Toronto's Faculty of Forestry was established in 1906 in response to the demand for the study of means by which Ontario's forests could be conserved and reforested when necessary. "In the same way, the discovery of the rich gold and silver mines of northern Ontario brought about in the faculty of applied science, the establishment of chairs in mining and metallurgy."<sup>106</sup>

In the Royal Commission Report on Industrial Training and Technical Education, the commissioners urged that technical education for the training of engineers in Canada be modelled after courses in Germany and at the University of Cincinnati in the U.S. where cooperative courses in engineering had been developed.<sup>107</sup> In their observations of the Cincinnati programme, the commissioners found that the practical work engaged in by the students at the shops was as carefully planned and as important as the theoretical work at the university. They noted that:

In Mechanical, Electrical and Metallurgical Engineering, the students follow, as nearly as possible, the path of the articles manufactured from the raw material to the finished product. In Civil Engineering the students work with structural iron companies, ferro-concrete companies, railroads and the City Engineer's Office. 108

Further, it was apparent that all aspects of the shop, including organization, accounting, cost keeping, planning, power transmission, lighting and heating were studied in the course. Students were trained therefore in all areas of capitalist organization, from the level of production on the shop floor to the level of management. Nevertheless, the recommendations of the commissioners to institute a cooperative programme went unheeded for more than forty years.<sup>109</sup> This is not to say, however, that an alliance did not exist in Canada between the industrial order and the universities. Indeed the Canadian dominant class found alternative methods of educating its scientists and professionals. For example, at McGill University, "the pioneer of technical education", a special department was organized under the Railway Transport Committee, consisting of Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, C.M. Hays, D. MacNicol, C.J. Fleet, Principal William Peterson and Dean Frank D. Adams, in order to fulfill the requirements of certain railways for trained men.<sup>110</sup> The railways paid the university \$12,500 per year of which \$10,000 was for salaries for "instruction in those subjects (Railway Engineering, Railway Economics, Railway Operation, Freight Service, Passenger Service Signals, etc.) which would not otherwise form part of the curriculum of the

university, while the balance of the sum....[was] used to strengthen that portion of the regular work of the Faculty which contribute[d] directly to the training of Railway Engineers."<sup>111</sup> The cost of training students in these courses was \$20,000; the substantial difference was drawn from university funds. In the Mining Department, the coordination between education and industry was quite similar to a co-operative programme. In order for students to be familiar with practical operations of mining, arrangements were made with managers of plants to hire students for summer jobs.

The relationship between higher education and the men of wealth and power was maintained in still another way. Through their direct contributions to the universities in the form of bequests, philanthropy or generous gifts, the dominant class was able to "buy" certain services from these state financed institutions. William C. Macdonald, the "tobacco king", for example, supported agricultural colleges at Ste. Anne de Bellevue in Quebec and Guelph in Ontario, twenty-one Manual Training Centres from coast to coast and several Normal Schools. The object of his educational interest was to further research and development in grain and seed selection. To this end, he developed the Macdonald Rural Schools Fund which provided gardens at a rural school in each of five provinces in order to learn the selection of seed, crop rotating and protection of crops and he sponsored the Macdonald Grain Seed Competition to encourage increases in the quantity of produce per acre.<sup>112</sup> Similarly, as noted in Chapter Four, Col. A.E.

Gooderham, a University of Toronto governor and a prominent distiller, provided the equipment for the research department of Zymology,<sup>113</sup> the study of fermentation.

Not only did the new departments of applied sciences and technology prove to be useful to the needs of burgeoning capitalism, but this type of education also created novel expectations with respect to labour requirements in the industrial sphere. Hence one historian wrote:

Our faculties of applied science, by supplying engineers and skilled leaders of industry, have created a demand for better trained artisans. The skilled engineer must have well trained workmen and foremen to carry out his plans. The tradesmen or apprentice of earlier times no longer answers the purpose fully and so pressure from above has been largely responsible for bringing into existence vocational secondary schools and departments to flourish in cooperation with industry, the training required for industrial workers. 114

Further it was argued that in Canada where there was "no privileged aristocracy, who either from hereditary title or wealth, can claim for themselves and their descendents...a settled position and influence in the Legislature",<sup>115</sup> the "road to political power and honours" was believed to be open through education. This ideology perpetuated the belief in the need for the further advancement of schooling for individual gain. Also it was believed that education was necessary not only to enhance the success of individuals by acting as a vehicle of upward mobility but also to advance the wealth of the state.

Wealth is composed of matter, into which the skill

and the labour of man has been incorporated. The improvement of the mind adds to the skill and manipulation of the hand, and thus enlarges its power to produce. The science and skill of the mechanic are a part of his annual income--of his powers of production--and clearly a part of his wealth, and of course of the wealth of the state. 116

In particular, technical education at the higher levels was seen as essential not only for the internal welfare of the Canadian capitalist economy but also in order that Canadian corporations would be able to compete within a developing world market system. The Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education studied the effects of the highest forms of technical education upon progress in industry and trade. In England they found,

...the opinion most frequently heard--and it was earnestly urged--was to the effect that hereafter the industries must somehow secure the services of more men of the highest scientific attainment with thorough technical training, or her manufacturers and merchants will not be able to hold their own against foreign competition. 117

The function of higher education went beyond the provision of professionally trained scientists, engineers, agriculturalists, and others. It worked, in fact, at its basest level to develop and support the economic system.

#### The Rise of Business Education: Curriculum for the Capitalist System

Following the rise of technical and other forms of pragmatic higher education, the business communities expressed deeper interest in the universities. While previously in the periods of natural and independent commodity production, the Canadian dominant class used the institutions of higher learning

to socialize and cultivate its young by teaching "knowledge for knowledge's sake", during industrial capitalism, the dominant class demanded that higher education become more practical and less exclusive. Not only had the composition of the dominant class changed with the economic order but also the value structure of this class had been altered to incorporate the ideology of pragmatism--an ideology consistent with the socio-economic system of capitalism. In 1898, the Journal of Commerce, a voice of the businessmen, complained, "as to all the practical affairs of daily life, the minds of the vast number of those who have gone through our high schools and universities are usually as blank as though they had been trained on a distant star."<sup>118</sup> Similarly, in the same year, businessmen D.R. Wilkie (President, Imperial Bank of Canada, 1906-14), director, Toronto General Trusts Co. and several other concerns) told the Canadian Bankers' Association that "the indiscriminate study of algebra and mathematics and the dead languages" was "wasted months and years" and "had no conceivable value to the real world of experience and earning a living."<sup>119</sup>

Businessmen needed graduates equipped with particular skills and with positive attitudes toward the profession. In an 1883 issue of the Journal of Commerce, it was written:

How many of our well-to-do families follow the wise example set in the highest places in Germany, by sending their sons after the college days are over to learn a trade, to get some knowledge of, say cotton or woollen manufacturing, furniture making, house-building, plumbing, etc.? The young men themselves rarely look upon such employment with any sort of favor. The consequence is that when a new cotton mill or other manufactory is started, the man

capable of managing it must be imported.... 120  
(emphasis added)

The answer for businessmen and industrialists was to establish business courses in the university where graduates would be prepared for productive employment.

In response to the demands of the business world, the University of Toronto instituted a commerce course in 1901 and a course in actuarial science in the department of mathematics in 1906. As time passed, the universities became more efficiently and directly subservient to the capitalists whose requests for the teaching of particular subjects were invariably answered. A statement from the University of Toronto Presidential report of 1902 illustrates the subservience of education to the socioeconomic order.

...In view of a feeling existing widely in business circles that a shorter course leading to a diploma instead of the usual degree in Arts would be of advantage to young men contemplating a business career, and especially in view of the representations made to this effect by the Toronto board of Trade, the Senate instituted, in June, 1901, a two years' course in Commercial Science leading to a diploma in the subject. 121

As described in the Calendar of 1901-2, the Commerce course was intended

...to supply facilities for the training of young men who...[propose to] enter[] upon a business career, especially for those who desire to turn their attention to domestic and foreign commerce, banking, or those branches of the public service, e.g., trade, consularships, in which a knowledge of business is essential; it is designed also to provide instruction for those preparing themselves for positions as Commercial Masters. 122

The businessmen not only achieved the institution of



this course in the curriculum to fulfill their needs but promoted their whims as well:

In connection with the course, the members of the Executive of the Board of Trade of the City of Toronto for 1901 have provided the sum of \$200 for scholarships, and Mr. P.W. Ellis, formerly President of the Board of Trade presents annually a bronze medal.... 123

Moreover, it was noted that because of the practical curriculum in Applied Science and Arts, "there has grown up an increased interest in the University on the part of the business community as manifested in many benefactions."<sup>124</sup> For example, the bankers of Toronto from the Canadian Bank of Commerce, the Dominion, Imperial, Standard and Traders' Banks and the Union Bank of Lower Canada organized a scholarship fund as did the Executive members of the Toronto Board of Trade.<sup>125</sup>

When it proved to be successful at Toronto, the businessmen further pursued the business curriculum. According to the Canadian bankers, university graduates raised standards among their staff. Therefore, another experiment in commercial education at the higher levels was started at Queen's in 1914 under an agreement with the Canadian Bankers' Association.<sup>126</sup>

Following the U.S. pattern, the Canadian labour force reached a new level of militance in the latter years of the nineteenth century. Strikes, boycotts, and lockouts were the weapons used by organized labour in its attempt to win demands.<sup>127</sup> Fearing the power of organized labour, the businessmen decided to take action. "Beginning in the 1880's, there was a current of business muttering to the effect that the organization of

labour had upset the balance in the industrial system and it was necessary for business to use the same methods to create countervailing power."<sup>128</sup> With the development of courses which taught students the fundamentals of business practice, or how to become wise businessmen, it was important also to institute subjects which were oriented toward solving the social ills of industrialism, concomitant social relations between employer and employee as well as the problems of urbanism. In 1888 the department of Political Science was organized at the University of Toronto and during the next year, in 1889, Experimental Psychology, involving laboratory work was introduced. Regarding the new Political Science department, Hon. Edward Blake remarked, "the bankers of Toronto are recognizing the value and practical importance of the new department in the branch of Economics, and are offering material encouragement towards its development."<sup>129</sup> The study of Political Economy was to lead to areas of investigation previously unattended by the university. Thus, the University of Toronto council reported in 1901:

In the Political Science course...it is intended in the future to give increased attention to the investigation of commercial problems, and in this connection, it may be stated that arrangements are in progress for the delivery of a course of lectures upon Economic Geography. A beginning has already been made towards a collection of statistical documents and other material relating to the resources and Commerce of foreign countries, as well as of Canada. 131

At McGill, a social science course was similarly instituted by Principal William Peterson who believed that "in no city on

earth was a department of social science needed more than in Montreal....to relieve the wants of the poor...confused by racial and religious divisions."<sup>131</sup>

[ The institution of business education in the university functioned to perpetuate an ideology supportive of the capitalist system. Business education "with a profit making orientation--as a key field of inquiry"<sup>132</sup> inadvertently teaches a reverence for the capitalist system and serves to ensure that students are instilled with an ideology necessary for the maintenance of the socioeconomic system. As early as 1842, George Renny Young, a philosopher, saw the importance of teaching the essentials of the economic system. He wrote:

...we are not aware of a likelier instrument than a judicious course of economical doctrine for tranquilizing the popular mind and removing from it all those delusions which are the main cause of popular disaffection and discontent. We are fully persuaded that the understanding of the leading principles of economical science, is attainable by by the great body of the people, and that when actually attained, it will prove not a stimulant, but a sedative to all sorts of turbulence and disorder, more particularly that it will soften and at length do away with those unhappy and malignant prejudices which alienate from each other, the various orders of the community, and spread abroad this salutary conviction, that neither Government nor the higher classes of the State, have any share in those economical distresses to which every trading and manufacturing nation is exposed. 133

By spreading the principles and ideology of capitalist economics and by relieving the government, the dominant class and the socioeconomic system itself of the blame for existing social problems, business education maintained people's faith in the capitalist system. ]

Business administration, social science and political economy became part of the university curriculum under the assumption that it was possible to eliminate social problems if they were properly studied and researched. The timing of the rise of problem-solving curriculum, the politics of the period and the developments in the socioeconomic order suggest that such curriculum arose on behalf of industrialism in order to create the impression that problems were not part of the inherent nature of the capitalist system but rather were both independent of it and solvable.<sup>134</sup> In this process, the university became an important problem-solving centre.

The function of problem-oriented and business education went further than saving the capitalist system. It became a method to keep the working class in check. In his analysis of the American system of higher education, Richard Hofstadter wrote:

At the time when the business school emerged, American industry was undergoing a major transition. Its central concern was no longer the task of erecting a nation's industrial plant and increasing productivity. Industry had reached maturity. Problems of internal personnel management, marketing, salesmanship, research, efficiency engineering and public relations had pressed to the fore. The emergence of a stable and effective trade union movement made it clear that problems of dealing with the labour force would be more pressing while criticisms by muckrakers made managers more conscious of public pressures. <sup>135</sup>

At the university the students learned to manage the working class. The clearest expression of the realization that the educated crushed workers' and worker-related activities appears in Edmund Bradwin's book, *The Bunkhouse Man*. Bradwin,

who was a worker-instructor for Frontier College until 1904, graphically illustrates the intolerable and exploitive conditions of life and labour in the northern camps before World War One. In one passage, he asks:

...Will graduates of the universities stand aside and allow work-groups in construction camps to be dominated by the agitator and the breeder of unrest? Where is more required the mental stimulus of the trained mind than among the scores of men in a bunkhouse, or with the inmates of a string of cars in an extra-gang on the riding?

In the above passage, Bradwin points out that education was used to crush dissent; education "refines" a man so that he believes in thought rather than in action.

The campman looks to university for trained leadership; this constitutes his challenge. Withhold no opportunities for education from the man in the bunkhouse. Unrest is rooted in continued neglect. It is not merely the welfare of the campmen that is desired, nor solely the making of a citizen, but the saving of Canada from being stunted in its growth. 137

In this Bradwin suggests that a trained labour force is a passive one. Canadian economic development during the late 1890's and early twentieth century required and demanded this.

Along with commercial subjects and the social sciences, another innovation of the late nineteenth century was adult education. Following the lead of British universities, University of Toronto offered a series of literary and scientific lectures to the general public in the session of 1890-1. These lectures immediately became popular and by 1894 were organized into extension courses.<sup>138</sup> The practice of extending university benefits to the public even began a decade earlier when

Professors Pike and Shutt gave an evening course in chemistry to 141 "artisans, workmen and others."<sup>139</sup> Extramural classes at Queen's started during the 1890-1 term as well and at McGill, historically the most innovative institution, a link between the community and the university was established during the late 1850's when popular lectures in zoology, natural philosophy, civil engineering, palaeography, the chemistry of life, and agriculture were offered at the fee of one pound sterling.<sup>140</sup>

Adult education was first begun in Britain. Extension courses were introduced as part of a larger reform movement in higher education stemming from the political awakening of the British working class against the elitist nature of the universities.<sup>141</sup> In order to subvert the working class attacks, Oxford and Cambridge established extension courses during the 1870's.<sup>142</sup> By 1883, in cooperation with the labour unions, the universities organized lecture series on scientific subjects related to industrialism in the industrial centres of England.<sup>143</sup> In 1903 the Workers' Educational Association was organized to formalize the link between organized labour and its educational demands and the institution of higher learning.

Although it cannot be assumed that adult education was instituted in Canada to quiet the working class as it had been in Britain, nevertheless, the British example demonstrates the possible uses for education. It is important to understand also that Canadian educational administrators often studied the British universities' programmes and organization and used them as models for Canadian institutions. Significantly, adult

education was brought to Canada at a time when social reformers were disturbed over the accumulation of a growing working class, largely composed of immigrants, at the core of the major industrial centres.

By 1900 Ontario was well on its way to becoming the "educative society" it would be labelled as more than seventy years later. By 1900 public as well as university education was offered through adult classes. By then also most of the larger cities and towns had free public libraries. The availability of education and adult education consequently led to the belief that endless opportunities for self-improvement were available. This ideology served not only to cover the injustices and inconsistencies of the capitalist system but also elevated the importance of education to become the ultimate panacea.

### The Professionalization of the University

Historically, the universities emerged as loosely formed organizations into hierarchical administrative bureaucracies. The bureaucratization of the university administration somewhat paralleled the bureaucratic organization within the corporate sector. Systems of filing and the positions of typist and file clerk were created in a concrete attempt to impose order on the increasing complexity of the institutions. In particular, the prelude to the modern university business office was born as finance committees were set up to impose

order on the previously chaotic system of bookkeeping. Such committees were to submit yearly statements of revenues and required expenditures.<sup>144</sup> This represented one of the first major concrete attempts toward long range planning in higher education.

The bureaucratization of the university administration developed in accordance with the numerous changes within the university structure. New programmes and courses of instruction were introduced into the curriculum while some disciplines were separated into distinct subjects. For example, eventually the social sciences were split into the separate disciplines of sociology, economics, political science and psychology.

Divisions were also made between botany and zoology and English and history and as mentioned previously between mathematics and physics and Greek and Latin. In that year there were five honours courses and by 1904 there were fourteen.<sup>145</sup> Graduate work began in 1882 when a fellowship of \$500 was offered to graduates who intended to further their own research and study in return for tutorial assistance. In the same year the Ph.D. degree was established and eleven new professorships were added in astronomy, botany, mathematics, physiology, German, romance languages, Greek, English, constitutional law, jurisprudence and political economy.<sup>146</sup> In addition the university plant was extended to include a growing number of buildings and laboratories. The complexity of the university increasingly called for more organization. Thus in 1877 the department of education was established as a regular government department,



headed by an appointed minister.

The development of the university was paralleled by the emergence of the high school. Like the universities, the high schools were also subservient to the needs of the socio-economic order; technical and commercial courses were established when required in response to industrial needs.<sup>147</sup> Besides providing a practical curriculum for the industrial order and preparing students to enter the occupational structure, the high school served another purpose; with the proliferation of free secondary schooling, the universities were no longer expected to provide college preparatory courses. Instead high schools were given this task. In the days of rising university enrollment, this facilitated the admission process. The universities, in time, relied on the supposed accuracy of the high schools' merit systems to indicate one's potential abilities. As a prerequisite for university entrance high school students were required to pass standard examinations and within the university itself, written tests and essays replaced the older methods of oral examinations and recitations.<sup>148</sup>

Examinations and entrance requirements were steps taken toward the professionalization of knowledge in the university. The more loosely organized idea of investigation, study and discussion had over the century given way to a tightly organized system wherein students chose and specialized in one of the many distinct disciplines or fields of inquiry. The university expected to graduate men (and women) fitted with practical theories or skills, trained expertise, rather than cultured

gentlemen of earlier times. In order to produce trained expertise, university educators relied on specialization of knowledge, formal methods of appraisal of students' work and increasingly sought to push for the advancement of knowledge through research. In fact by the turn of the century it was more and more commonly believed by educators that:

A great national or provincial university should not simply exist for the purpose of teaching a knowledge acquired somewhere else, but it should take an active part in the advancement of knowledge... Without research, without an active participation in the progress of science, a university necessarily degenerates into a species of mediaeval institution. The efficiency of a university should be measured not merely by the number of students in attendance--for that is subject to many influences--nor by the extent and splendour of popular display, nor by the amount of interest taken by the public in university affairs...but rather by the amount accomplished in educational work and research of a positive and lasting value. 149

In the twentieth century the mission of the university was clear. Not only was it to be responsible for educating members of the middle and upper classes, for preparing a number of white collar and professional workers for their respective occupations but at the same time it was to become the "knowledge-producing appendage" of Canadian capitalism.

### Conclusion

After the University Act of 1906 and the secularization of the denominational colleges, the state was responsible for financing and maintaining the institutions of higher learning. Some feared that government intervention in higher

education would present a challenge to popular democracy while others championed the idea of state involvement in education. Education was becoming an increasingly complex and expensive institution which only the state could afford to maintain. Moreover, proponents of a state controlled educational system often argued that if higher education were left to private enterprise it would become a luxury of the wealthy.<sup>150</sup> It was believed that a state controlled institution, by definition, would be equalitarian and democratic in all matters.

To guard against the evil of oligarchical and undemocratic tendencies in state controlled higher education, the state avoided direct control by appointing a board of governors as the supreme decision-making body in the university. Historically, this body was composed of members of the dominant class who also sat at the "command posts" of the Canadian financial and industrial empires and who dominated the Canadian political system. In the capacity of university decision-makers, the governors acted as "gatekeepers" for the socio-economic order they represented. The importance of the position of gatekeeping was evident. The university, an institution dealing with the dissemination of knowledge and ideology can be potentially dangerous by employing pedagogues who voiced disagreement with the ongoing political and economic system. The governors as gatekeepers guarded over the university to ensure that its curriculum and its professors served to legitimate and perpetuate the status quo.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, universities altered their curriculum to become more practical. In this process, they adopted the function of preparing students for entry into the occupational structure. Not only was this type of education more beneficial to the capitalist class in that graduating students had acquired knowledge of skills directly relevant to their enterprises, but, and perhaps more importantly, it had the effect of disseminating ideas conducive to capitalist development.

Educational reforms of the period, including the development of the elective system, the graduate schools and the professional schools, brought about a new type of educated man. These changes all contributed to the creation of experts and consequently to the belief in expertise.<sup>151</sup> It was no longer acceptable for the university graduate to boast of his liberal education but rather scholars were expected to display technical competence in a particular field in order to gain the respect and faith of the people.

On the occasion of his appointment as chairman of the Board of Governors of the University of Toronto in 1910, B.E. Walker<sup>152</sup> emphatically stated: "I regard this university second only to the Government of Ontario in importance to the people of the province."<sup>153</sup> Why would one of the most prominent and powerful men of the time make such a statement? As a member of the Canadian dominant class, it was extremely important to B.E. Walker that the Canadian socioeconomic system

be maintained through the proper socialization of future generations of leaders, educators, professionals, scientists, businessmen and philanthropists. Historically, education has been one of the most effective agencies of socialization. Under the careful guidance of the "gatekeepers" of the corporate order, it was more effective and dependable than traditional socialization agencies, the family and the church.

With the advent of industrial capitalism, the function of the university and the educational order in general in the socialization process took on new dimensions in accordance with the transformed economic order. Whereas in earlier periods it was essential to create moral people who would accept the ongoing economic and political system, along with this, during industrial capitalism and later, education was to prepare the student for life and work in the increasingly organized and complex network of corporate and government bureaucracies which were emerging. In 1918 one educator examined the problem:

It is not the main business of our schools and colleges to impart knowledge which is mere information; nor even to cultivate, to stimulate the power of research, discovery, and independent thinking--of vastly greater importance though this may be; but it is their main business...to lay the foundation of and...to build in each student who passes through them...sound and sterling character...154

The cultivation of character and morality was not enough. People were to be taught to deal with the industrial system in their daily lives.

But the great scientific and industrial progress that has been made within the past century has

resulted in so enormously increasing the complexity and tension of human relationships that the ordinary man unless specially trained with that definite end in view, finds difficulty in framing for himself any reliable ethical judgment, in many of the difficult situations constantly confronting him....Of what use will mere ethical habits, sound character and goodwill be, unless these are accompanied by, and based on, definite training leading to clear insight into the highly complex and intricate political, economic and other social relationships into which practically every activity finally enters? 155

The pragmatic curriculum which emerged during the transition to industrial capitalism was beneficial to the dominant class in more subtle ways and was not merely designed to provide trained graduates. The commissioners who authored the Report on Industrial Training and Technical Education accurately observed in 1913 that "the 'industrial factor' is the chief factor in modern social, political and educational problems; because industry is the determining factor in fixing the conditions of living, working, playing, associating, resting."<sup>156</sup> The commissioners recognized that the industrial system was more than an economic system but rather had become part of all social and political relationships and activities. In the industrial system therefore, education--even pragmatic education--was to teach more than practical skills. Thus, the commissioners further stated that "technical instruction must be regarded in the first place as a means of character training..."<sup>157</sup> The pragmatic curriculum was indeed excellent preparation for life and work in the ongoing socioeconomic system. With its inherent ideology of progress and national and economic development students were not only taught acceptance of the system but were instilled with the desire to further its goals.

## Footnotes

1. W.S. Wallace, A History of the University of Toronto, 1827-1927, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1927), p. 126.
2. W.J. Alexander, editor, The University of Toronto and Its Colleges, 1827-1906, (Toronto: The University Library, 1906), p. 52.
3. Principal Grant, Three Brief Addresses By Principal Grant on the Duty of the Legislature to the Colleges of the Province, (P.A.O., undated), p. 8.
4. Ibid., p. 4.
5. Ibid., p. 8. Significantly, Grant had many wealthy friends, including Sandford Fleming, William Van Horn and E.W. Rathbun.
6. Ibid., p. 6.
7. W.L. Grant and F. Hamilton, George Munro Grant, (Toronto: Morang and Co. Ltd., 1905), p. 421.
8. E.E. Stewart, "The Role of the Provincial Government in the Development of the Universities of Ontario, 1791-1964" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1970), p. 256.
9. Ibid., p. 261.
10. Ibid., p. 265.
11. Wallace, op. cit., p. 167.
12. Ibid., p. 169.
13. The University Act of 1906 reproduced in Alexander, op. cit., Appendix J, p. 263.
14. Ibid., p. 263.
15. Report of the Royal Commission of 1905-6 in Ibid., Appendix K, p. 265.
16. For a contemporary study, see John Barkans and Norene Pupo, "The Boards of Governors and The Power Elite: A Case Study of Eight Canadian Universities" in Sociological Focus, (Volume 7, Number 3, Summer 1974), pp. 81-98.

17. Thorstein Veblen, The Higher Learning in America, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1969), p. 50.
18. Ibid., p. 51.
19. These works are described in D.N. Smith, Who Rules the Universities? An Essay in Class Analysis, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974), chapter 2, pp. 37-57. See also Joel Spring, Education and The Rise of the Corporate State, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), pp. 128-37.
20. Smith, Ibid., pp. 41-2.
21. Scott Nearing, cited in Ibid., p. 38.
22. Veblen, op. cit., p. 48.
23. Ibid., p. 57.
24. John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 301.
25. Ibid., p. 301.
26. Ibid., p. 302.
27. See for example, Ferdinand Lundberg, The Rich and The Super-Rich, (New York: Bantam Books Inc., 1969), chapter X.
28. Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1975), pp. 252-3.
29. According to C.W. Mills, this was one of the key factors in understanding the "power elite." See The Power Elite, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p.19.
30. Ralph Miliband, The State in Capitalist Society, (London: Quartet Books, 1973), p. 225.
31. Ibid., p. 226.
32. Leo Johnson, "The Political Economy of Ontario Women in the Nineteenth Century" in Acton, Goldsmith and Shepard, editors, Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1930, (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974), p. 28.
33. In 1871, the Banking Act, introduced in Parliament by Francis Hincks was passed. This act placed all existing banks on equal grounds; the government terminated its arrangement with the Bank of Montreal in regard to the issue and redemption of provincial notes. (See D.C.



33. continued...

Masters, The Rise of Toronto, 1850-1890, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), chapter IV.

Although the depression of 1873-79 severely hit many industrial concerns, the strength of the banking institutions was apparent upon examination of assets.

Ibid., p. 150. Similarly, loan and savings companies expanded during the depression. For example, in 1877

the Globe reported that loans on real estate increased in Ontario from \$15,630,820 in 1875 to \$39,827,000 in

1877 (Cited in Ibid., p. 150) and the Monetary Times

noted that the number of loan companies in Ontario

increased from 30 in 1875 to 39 in 1877 to 46 in 1879.

(Cited in Ibid., p. 151) Other "mobilizers of capital"

--insurance companies and brokerage businesses--continued to flourish. (Ibid., p. 152)

34. See Ibid., pp. 146-7.

35. Ibid., pp. 147-8.

36. Adapted from Census Reports, cited in D.C. Masters, op. cit., p. 174.

37. The Monetary and Commercial Times Insurance Chronicle, Feb. 7, 1873, p. 671.

38. Johnson in Acton et al, op. cit., p. 28.

39. See T.W. Acheson, "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910" in Glenn Porter and Robert Cuff, editors, Enterprise and National Development: Essays in Canadian Business and Economic History, (Toronto: Hakkert, 1973), pp. 51-79.

40. Ibid., p. 51.

41. Ibid., pp. 53-4.

42. Ibid., p. 66.

43. Ibid., p. 62.

44. Ibid., p. 63.

45. The Monetary Times, October 28, 1870, p. 207.

46. Howard Adelman, The Holiversity: A Perspective on the Wright Report, (Toronto: New Press, 1973), p. 3.

47. Alexander, op. cit., p. 83.

48. Adelman, op. cit., p. 4.

49. D.D. Calvin, Queen's University at Kingston: The First Century of a Scottish Canadian Foundation, 1841-1941, (Toronto: Hunter-Rose Co. Ltd., 1941), p. 141.
50. Nathanael Burwash, "Dr. Burwash's Address to the Alumni on University Confederation in 1885" in Nathanael Burwash, The History of Victoria College, (Toronto: The Victoria College Press, 1927), Appendix V, p. 529.
51. Egerton Ryerson, cited in Adelman, op. cit., p. 4.
52. Egerton Ryerson, Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada, 1846 in J.G. Hodgins, editor, Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, 1791-1876, (Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, Printers, 1899), p. 142.
53. Michael B. Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), p. 119.  
Interestingly, in his inaugural address as President of Victoria College in 1841, Ryerson compared the structure and government of that institution to that of the family. Echoing the late President of the Wesleyan University, he said, "The government of a well regulated literary seminary is not a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a republic; but is patriarchal. The nearer it approaches to this character, the more perfect it is. Like a household, a literary institution should have but one head, and that head should have the ability to govern, or he is unfit for his office. In this government, it is true, he ought to be assisted by subordinate officers; but the government itself should be a unit, and receive its direction and influence from a common head. Like a family, the intercourse between a student and the President and professors should be of an affectionate and familiar character. Faculty meetings before whom the young transgressor is arraigned, with all the sternness of a public prosecution on the one hand, and with all the cunning and duplicity of a studied defence on the other, should be avoided. Moral and religious influence to aid in the government of youth, is of paramount importance. With such an influence government is easy; without it, good government is impossible." Egerton Ryerson, "Ryerson's Inaugural Address, 21st. October, 1841" in Burwash op. cit., Appendix II, p. 505.
54. Ryerson in Burwash, Ibid., p. 504.
55. J.W. Dawson, On the Course of Collegiate Education adapted to the circumstances of British America: The Inaugural Discourse of the Principal of McGill College (Montreal: H. Ramsay, 1855, P.A.O.), pp. 5-6.

56. Wilson, cited in Adelman, op. cit., p. 4.
57. later president of Victoria College, 1887-1913.
58. Burwash in Burwash, Appendix V, op. cit., p. 531.
59. Ryerson in Burwash, Appendix II, op. cit., p. 505.
60. Ibid., p. 506.
61. Burwash in Burwash, Appendix V, p. 533.
62. Ibid., p. 533.
63. Katz, op. cit., p. 88.
64. James Loudon, Convocation Address, University of Toronto, October 2, 1899, (P.A.O.), pp. 2-3.
65. Smith, op. cit., p. 75.
66. Adelman, op. cit., p. 61.
67. Ibid., p. 61.
68. Dawson, 1855, op. cit., p. 20.
69. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
70. Katz, op. cit., p. 89.
71. S.B. Ryerson, Unequal Union: Roots of Crisis in the Canadas, 1815-1873, (Toronto: Progress Books, 1973), p. 303.
72. Alexander, op. cit., pp. 141-2.
73. J.W. Dawson, Science Education Abroad: A Lecture (Being the Annual University Lecture of the Session 1870-1 Delivered in The William Molson Hall, November 18, 1870, (P.A.O.)), p. 3.
74. Alexander, op. cit., pp. 69-70.
75. Dawson, 1870, op. cit., p. 4.
76. Wallace, op. cit., p. 104.
77. Ibid., p. 144.
78. Annual Report of the Council of the University of Toronto, 1901, (P.A.O.), p. 4.

79. The 1901 Annual Report (Ibid., p. 2.) stated that the following numbers of students received laboratory instruction in 1899-1900 in the various branches of science:

Physical	176
Chemical	237
Mineralogical	25
Biological	215
Psychological	44
Physiological	68

The report further noted that figures were even higher for the 1900-01 school year.

80. Grant and Hamilton, op. cit., p. 240.
81. Calvin, op. cit., p. 111.
82. Ibid., p. 108.
83. Ibid., p. 106.
84. Ibid., pp. 99-106.
85. Ibid., p. 95.
86. Ibid., p. 109.
87. Ibid., p. 110.
88. Lieutenant-Governor Howland, cited in Stewart, op. cit., p. 187.
89. Edgar Collard, "Sir William Dawson's Principalship, 1855-1893" in Hugh MacLennan, editor, McGill: The Story of a University, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1960), p. 69.
90. Alexander, op. cit., Appendix K, p. 292.
91. Michael Bliss, A Living Profit: Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business, 1883-1911, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, Ltd., 1974), p. 116.
92. Walker, cited in Ibid., p. 114.
93. Ibid., p. 115.
94. Alexander, op. cit., pp. 95-6.
95. In an article entitled "The Fiscal Crisis of the State" Rick Deaton argues that "the increasing economic importance and accelerated growth of the public sector in Canada and other advanced industrialized economies

95. continued...  
has proceeded steadily without interruption." (p. 18)  
"The development of the public sector," he argues,  
"provides the framework for stability and growth  
of the corporate sector by absorbing the costs of  
social overhead and making public ("socializing") the  
costs of maintaining the technical infrastructure:  
railroads, highways, schools, universities, hydro-  
electric power, hospitals. The most expensive economic  
needs of corporations are the costs of research (R&D),  
development of new products, new production processes,  
and above all, the costs of maintaining the health and  
providing for the training and retraining of the labour  
force." (pp. 19-20) In this process the government  
functions to "socialize" the risk to which private en-  
terprise would otherwise be open. Such actions of the  
public sector have ultimately proven to enhance the  
profits of the private sector. D.I. Roussopoulos,  
editor, The Political Economy of the State, (Montreal:  
Black Rose Books, 1973), pp. 18-58.
96. Loudon, 1899, op. cit., p. 1.
97. R.S. Harris "The Establishment of a Provincial University  
in Ontario" in D.F. Dadson, editor, On Higher Education:  
Five Lectures, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press,  
1966), p. 24.
98. The Report of an Inquiry in Regard to Schools of Technical  
Science in Certain Portions of the U.S. was authored  
by Dr. J.G. Hodgins and Dr. A.T. Machattie. Cited in  
Stewart, op. cit., pp. 189-90.
99. Alexander, op. cit.; p. 180.
100. Ibid., p. 182.
101. Ibid., p. 60.
102. Grant and Hamilton, op. cit., p. 335.
103. Ibid., p. 338.
104. Ibid., p. 344.
105. Calvin, op. cit., p. 112.
106. Wallace, op. cit., p. 180.
107. Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and  
Technical Education, (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1913;  
P.A.O.), Part II, pp. 136-7.

108. Ibid., p. 132.
109. The first cooperative educational programme in Canada was developed in the newly established University of Waterloo in 1957. The programme was immediately successful; it drew more than adequate support from business and industry while student enrollment grew phenomenally.  
For an interesting account of the history of co-operative education in the U.S., see P.W. McBride, "The Co-operative Industrial Education Experiment 1900-1917" in History of Education Quarterly, (Volume 14), pp. 209-21.
110. Report...1913, op. cit., Book IV, p. 1896.
111. Ibid., p. 1896.
112. See Ibid., Part II, pp. 153-7.
113. Wallace, op. cit., p. 299.
114. G.G. McNab, The Development of Higher Education in Ontario, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1925), p. 97.
115. George Renny Young Esq., On Colonial Literature, Science and Education, (Halifax: J.H. Crosskill & Co., 1842; P.A.O.), pp. 106-7. Young was an author, journalist and politician. In 1824 he founded the Nova Scotian, a weekly newspaper he edited until it was purchased by Joseph Howe in 1828. He was a prominent member of the liberal opposition in the legislature of Nova Scotia and was a member of the Uniacke administration from 1848-51.
116. Ibid., p. 137.
117. Report...1913. op. cit., Part II, p. 131.
118. Cited in Bliss, op. cit., p. 118.
119. Cited in Ibid., p. 118.
120. Cited in Ibid., pp. 117-8.
121. Cited in Alexander, op. cit., pp. 95-6.  
Because the business course was only two years, one may wonder why the course was not removed to the high schools where it could have been administered more cheaply and perhaps more efficiently. It seems that at the time businessmen were concerned with the status of their profession. Thus a delegation from the

121. continued...

Toronto Board of Trade complained before the Royal Commission on Technical Education "about the element in the universities who were being trained to despise commercial and industrial life, students who did not realize that the captains of industry 'are just as great in the sight of Providence and in the sight of the nation as men in some of the professions.'" (Cited in Bliss, op. cit., p. 117) Perhaps it was believed that the university and the university degree would help to lift the status of business as a profession and therefore promote interest in it.

122. Cited in Alexander, op. cit., p. 96.

123. Ibid., p. 96.

124. Ibid., p. 96.

125. Ibid., p. 257.

126. Calvin, op. cit., p. 155.

127. For accounts of working class militancy and labour organization, see Steven Langdon, "The Emergence of the Canadian Working Class Movement, 1845-75" in Journal of Canadian Studies (Volume VIII, Number 2) and (Volume VIII, Number 3); Jack Scott, Sweat and Struggle: Working Class Struggles in Canada, (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1974); Charles Lipton, The Trade Union Movement in Canada, 1827-1959, (Montreal: Canadian Social Publications, 1966). To illustrate the point that labour organization and militancy was seen as a "problem", it was found in the Department of National Defence records that the militia was called out on forty-eight separate occasions between 1867 and 1914 and this included 33 different interventions in strikes. (Desmond Morton, "Aid to the Civil Power: The Canadian Militia in Support of Social Order, 1867-1914" in M. Horn and R. Sabourin, editors, Studies in Canadian Social History, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1974, p. 417) Further, after the 1870's "most of the disturbances in which the aid of the militia was sought had an economic rather than a religious or political basis...General Selby Smith used the growing apprehension of labour violence to justify increased military expenditure." (p. 423)

128. Bliss, op. cit., p. 92.

129. Edward Blake, Address at the Convocation of the University of Toronto, June 10, 1890, (P.A.O.), p. 3.

130. Annual Report....1901, op. cit., p. 4.
131. Edgar Collard, "Sir William Peterson's Principalship, 1895-1919, in MacLennan, op. cit., p. 90.
132. Smith, op. cit., p. 64.
133. Young, op. cit., pp. 80-1.
134. This point has been influenced by the writings of Dusky Lee Smith who has argued that American sociology was a product of the reform movements which aimed to save the capitalist system. See "Sociology and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism" in L.T. Reynolds and J.M. Reynolds, editors, The Sociology of Sociology: Analysis and Criticism of the Thought, Research and Ethical Folkways of Sociology and Its Practitioners, (New York: David McKay Co., Inc., 1970), pp. 68-84.
135. R. Hofstadter and C.D. Hardy, The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 92-3.
136. E.W. Bradwin, The Bunkhouse Man, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 234.
137. Ibid., p. 337.
138. Alexander, op. cit., p. 98.
139. L.E. Westman, "Historical Summary of the Development of the Teaching of Chemistry at the University of Toronto" in U. of T. Monthly, (March 1921; P.A.O.), p. 141.
140. Cyrus Macmillan, McGill and Its Story, 1821-1921, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1921), pp. 230-1.
141. Stewart, op. cit., p. 184.
142. The following quote from millwright McTavish, spokesman for labour at the Workers' Educational Association should illustrate the workers' attitudes toward the British Universities. "I am not here as a suppliant for my class. I decline to sit at the rich man's table praying for crumbs. I claim for my class all the best that Oxford has to give, claim it as a right, wrongfully withheld, wrong not only to us, but to Oxford. What is the true function of a University? Is it to train the nation's best men or sell its gifts to the rich? Instead of recruiting her students from the widest possible area, Oxford has restricted the area of selection to the fortunate few. They come to her not for intellectual training but veneering. Not



142. continued...  
only are working people deprived of the right of access to that which belongs to no class or caste, but Oxford herself misses her true mission, while the nation and the race lose the services of its best men.... We want Oxford to open wide her doors to the best of our people.'" Cited in E.A. Corbett, Henry Marshall Tory: Beloved Canadian (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1954), p. 125.
143. Ibid., p. 124.
144. Edward Blake, Address at the Convocation of the University of Toronto, June 10, 1892, (P.A.O.), p. 3.
145. McNab, op. cit., p. 233.
146. Harris in Dadson, op. cit., p. 26.
147. For a history of the high school see Walter N. Bell, The Development of the Ontario High School, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1918).
148. Adelman, op. cit., pp. 59-60.
149. Annual Report...1901, op. cit., p. 8.
150. J.W. Dawson, The University in Relation to Professional Education: Being the Annual University Lecture of McGill University, Montreal in the Session of 1887-8, (P.A.O.), pp. 1-2.
151. See Henry J. Perkinson, The Imperfect Panacea: American Faith in Education, 1865-1965, (New York: Random House, 1968), pp. 172-9.
152. Besides the presidency of the bank and chairmanship of the board of governors, some of the positions Walker held were: directorships in Canadian Life Assurance Co., Toronto General Trusts Co; Vice-president of the American Bankers' Association; President, Toronto College of Civic Art, Royal Canadian Institute; chairman of the Royal Commission to determine the financial position of the Ontario government, 1899 and chairman of the Royal Commission to re-organize the University of Toronto, 1905-06.
153. Z.A. Lash, The University of Toronto Past and Present: An Address Before the University Club, Toronto, November, 1913, (P.A.O.), p. 2.

154. C.V. Corless, Educational Reform: Its Relation to a Solution of the Industrial Deadlock, (P.A.O.), p. 46.
155. Ibid., p. 46.
156. Report...1913, op. cit., Part IV, p. 178.
157. Ibid., p. 169.

## Chapter Six

### Conclusion

Sound education has this effect--it softens the angry passions of our nature--it improves our virtuous tendencies. By education the Government will make the people more industrious, more moral, more cheerful and contented. If it be the duty of rulers to build gaols and workhouses, it is surely not less their duty to build schools, and open institutes and museums, to prevent the former from being filled. 1

Historically, education has functioned, along with the familial and religious institutions, as an agency of socialization. During the nineteenth century, following transformations in the modes of production, changes evident in the wider social structure were gradually reflected in the schools. In the stage of natural production, institutions of higher learning were mainly intended for (and attended by) members of the dominant class. The main function of the early universities was to disseminate ideas which taught the necessity of maintaining Canada's colonial position vis-a-vis Britain. Educators such as John Strachan and John G. Simcoe believed that "stronger attachments" to England could be made by strengthening religious and political ties with the Mother Country. They chose to institute a university to accomplish this. Under the guidance of the carefully chosen instructors whose first duty was to spread the teachings of the Church of England, students were socialized to believe in the superiority of the British

political system. In graduating students who desired to maintain the British colonial connection, the universities performed an important service for the local ruling groups, the Family Compact and the Chateau Clique which depended for their power and positions on the British connection. As future government administrators, officials or new men of wealth and power themselves, the graduates of the universities would be ideologically prepared to maintain the ongoing socioeconomic order.

By mid-century, the Presbyterian and Methodist groups had begun to demand a share in the government funds for higher education. Like the Anglicans these groups were concerned with creating a moral and obedient population and with preserving the status quo. As the mode of production changed from natural production to independent commodity production, the Family Compact lost support and the British imperial ties weakened owing to the reform movement which had begun during the 1830's. Although struggles over the question of finances for the denominational universities were often bitter, no major changes in the university structures were made until much later after the university federation movement was well under way. Educational administrators of the various denominational colleges refused to discontinue the relationship between religion and education and secularize their respective universities. They feared that a secular university could not properly socialize students into moral and obedient citizens. It seems that the proponents of denominational colleges misunderstood at first that it was in the interests of the state, the new patron of

education, as well as the economic order to train and socialize an orderly population. Finally the churches could no longer afford to support the increasingly expensive university programmes required by the evolving socioeconomic system. It soon became obvious to the churchmen that drastic changes in the nature and function of education would not follow if the institutions were placed under the control of the state. In the process of transforming the universities from denominational colleges to state supported secular institutions, the educational order gradually assumed the role of dominant "ideological state apparatus" over the formerly ascendent religious order.

Finally, during the stage of industrial capitalism which began toward the latter part of the nineteenth century, the universities prepared students for life and work in the capitalist system. They did so by promoting an increasingly pragmatic curriculum which not only served to equip students with the proper skills required by the system but also perpetuated an inherent ideology of the necessity of progress and of economic development to the state of the nation. It was during this time as well that the relationship between the dominant class and the universities was fully legitimated. Under the direction of the state, members of the dominant class were chosen to occupy the "command posts" of the universities. As "gatekeepers" of the educational order, the dominant class served to guard over the socialization process at work in the university and in this way served to protect the political and economic system which it aimed to maintain.

As an agency of socialization, the educational order teaches people to accept the dominant ideology and therefore legitimizes the system of political and economic organization. Bowles and Gintis have emphasized the importance of legitimacy in their analysis of the American educational system. They wrote: "If one takes for granted the basic organization of society, its members need only be equipped with adequate cognitive and operational skills to fulfill work requirements; they need only to be provided with a reward structure to motivate individuals to acquire and supply these skills."<sup>2</sup> Thus once the dominant class is assured of the acceptance and perpetuation of the ideology of the ongoing system, it is rather a simple task to reproduce the necessary social relationships of production.

It is expected that this work will provoke criticisms from certain sections of the left because of its overtones of lamenting the exclusion of the lower classes from higher education. Further, since it is argued in the thesis that education functions as an agency of political socialization to maintain the unequal socioeconomic system, the question may be asked: "Do we want more of this?" This apparent contradiction of proclaiming the alarming atrocities of education and then seemingly begging for more widespread class involvement can only be resolved by reviewing the educational ideology which promises progress or mobility through education. Although in practice the lower classes were excluded from higher education for a

variety of reasons, it was often stated by educators that university doors were open to all who showed promise. The idea of a meritocracy together with the notion of upward mobility led to the belief that education was a panacea for social inequality. It is the ideology of social betterment through education rather than the concrete reality of social inequality which served to create a demand for more education. Thus trades and labour councils and liberal reformers around the turn of the century began to criticize the exclusive nature of the universities and to seek the means by which university education could be made more available to a broader spectrum of people. The ideology of such reformers served to hide the fundamental reality of the nature and function of education as a means of socialization and social control working to maintain the socioeconomic system. In masking the fundamental nature of the relationship between the superstructure--the political, religious and educational orders--and the infrastructure--the economic base--the dominant ideology tends to impose on society a way of life which is made to seem best for the "general good."<sup>3</sup> That education functioned as an agency of socialization and was used to maintain the status quo was marked by an ideological smokescreen of liberalism. Paulo Freire would refer to this as an instance of "false generosity." He states,

Any attempt to 'soften' the power of the oppressor in deference to the weakness of the oppressed almost always manifests itself in the form of false generosity; indeed, the attempt never goes beyond

this. In order to have the continued opportunity to express their 'generosity', the oppressor must perpetuate injustice as well. 4

Not only were people fitted with the necessary skills and ideas for life and work in the ongoing socioeconomic system but they were falsely led to the belief that education was an ultimate panacea for social inequalities and problems. Hence, the nature and function of education was rarely thoroughly questioned. Rather, criticisms on the universities have historically been concerned with furthering the availability of these institutions. Thus the Canadian people continued to rely on the schools for clues to the solution of seemingly solvable social problems.

In order to understand the nature of the present educational system, it is important and necessary to study the historical development of that system. This work had been an attempt to search for the historical roots of the modern universities. From such research one should gain insights into the social and economic formations which gave rise to the institutions. By understanding the framework in which education and educational ideology developed, it is hoped that one will be more clearly able to perceive the meaning and direction of the institutions' further progression and change in the developing political economy.



Footnotes

1. George Renny Young, On Colonial Literature, Science and Education, (Halifax: J.H. Crosskill & Co., 1842., P.A.O.), p. 140.
2. Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and The Contradictions of Economic Life, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976), p. 82.
3. See Nicos Poulantzas, Political Power and Social Classes, (London: New Left Books, 1975), p. 214.
4. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, (New York: Herder & Herder, 1972), pp. 28-9.

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