

Victoria University Research Panel on the Legacy of Egerton Ryerson

March 25, 2021

Panel members:

Pamela Klassen, Professor & Chair of the Department for the Study of Religion, U of T, & Fellow of Victoria College (Convenor)

Heidi Bohaker, Associate Professor, Department of History, U of Toronto

Bonnie Jane Maracle, Indigenous Learning Strategist, First Nations House, U of Toronto

Margaret Sault, Director of Lands, Membership, and Research, Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation

Researcher & writer: Roxanne Korpan, PhD Candidate, Department for the Study of Religion, U of Toronto

Introduction

This report presents our perspectives on the legacy of Egerton Ryerson in the context of Victoria University. When Victoria University President William Robins asked us to reflect on this question, he laid out three elements for us to consider:

1. Providing a summary of Ryerson's activities and achievements as an educator and public official including his role in the early years of Victoria University;
2. Giving an account of Ryerson's relationships with and attitudes to Indigenous individuals and communities; and
3. Offering a discussion of the impact on Indigenous people and communities of decisions Ryerson made and reports he wrote.

Panel Method:

The panel members first corresponded in the early days of COVID-19 and had hoped to hold our meetings in place both at Victoria and at the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation. Due to the pandemic, our meetings ended up all being held virtually. Victoria University provided us with funding for research and writing support, and we are very grateful that Roxanne Korpan, PhD candidate and former Northrop Frye Centre Fellow, was able to attend all our meetings and prepare extensive drafts of this report.

The panel met three times on Zoom, with the first meeting focused on developing the parameters of our goal and method, and the second and third meetings focused on discussing and deliberating upon drafts of the report. In between meetings, Roxanne Korpan and Pamela Klassen took the notes from the panel conversations and combined these insights with primary and secondary source research conducted by Roxanne in order to draft and redraft the report.

This final version has been deeply shaped by the historical and community knowledge of Margaret Sault and Bonnie Jane Maracle, as well as the historical knowledge of Heidi Bohaker.

We begin by acknowledging our appreciation for the land on which we have accomplished our work. Victoria University and the University of Toronto are located on the traditional territories of the Huron-Wendat, the Mississaugas of the Credit, and the Haudenosaunee. The “Dish with One Spoon” wampum, one of the earliest agreements about resource-sharing on this land, is an important form of Indigenous law that still governs this land. This land is also part of the Toronto Purchase treaty with the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation.

[Summary of the Panel’s Views on the Legacy of Egerton Ryerson](#)

Writing, researching, and discussing this report was a challenging process. We each found ourselves outraged and discouraged at various points in the process, as we encountered again and again the reality that Egerton Ryerson knew about the importance of Indigenous protocols and governance for how Indigenous peoples lived on and shared the land. He also knew that the Anishinaabeg had their own strong visions of what a good education for their children would look like. In spite of his own close friendships with Anishinaabeg, especially the Rev. Peter Jones, Ryerson ignored and dishonoured this knowledge of Indigenous visions for their future. Instead, he, his church, and his government sought to convert and “civilize” the Anishinaabeg, steal and settle their land, and take their children away from them in both spirit and body. When seeking the royal charter from King William IV to found what became Victoria University, Ryerson used the promise of educating Indigenous children to secure royal favour. In the end, he ignored the petitions of Indigenous parents for a vision of an equitable school system and wrote a government report that recommended turning Indigenous students into a racialized servant class. This report would become one of the seeds for the genocidal residential school system.

We also learned through this work that Ryerson’s Common Schools Act of 1850 legislated racially segregated schooling for Black children. As Natasha Henry (e.g., 2019), Afua Cooper (e.g., 1991, 1994), Kristin McLaren (2004), Hunter Knight (2021, 2019), and others have shown, Ryerson played a key role in designing a religiously and racially divided school system. He also advocated for separate manual schools for deaf and/or blind children and industrial schools for lower-class children.

Our report focuses on the consequences of Ryerson’s policies for Indigenous people, but clearly Victoria University must respond to his role in designing an educational system that perpetuated systemic racism for Black students as well.

Based on our research and discussions, the panel recommends that Victoria University no longer use the name of Egerton Ryerson in an honorific manner. Ryerson’s influential and consequential role in the development of public education in Canada crushed the possibility for a different future in which there could have been Indigenous-led public education. We detail

below how we came to this recommendation, and offer a set of related recommendations to build toward a more just future.

[Egerton Ryerson: An Introduction](#)

Most commonly, Egerton Ryerson is remembered as the founder of Victoria University and a leader in bringing public education to Ontario. In 1835 he travelled to England to raise funds and royal support for a Methodist college, resulting in the original 1836 Royal Charter from King William IV of Great Britain for the Methodist Upper Canada Academy. Correspondence about the Charter indicates that Ryerson envisioned an obligation to educate Indigenous students as part of the mission of the new school (see sources below).

In 1841, the Academy became Victoria College, with Ryerson as its first Principal. But educational institutions are never founded by one person—the students, the faculty, the staff, the parents willing to support their children’s schooling—all these people and more do the work of foundation. As we consider the legacy of Egerton Ryerson, we also ask what it means that the history of universities in Canada are frequently told by celebrating specific individuals, often leaders who were white men, instead of relations among people that allowed such new ventures in education to emerge. The portraits in the foyer of the Old Victoria College building, for example, were painted at a time when to tell the stories of legacy meant visually honouring great men for their contributions. We hope that this opportunity to reconsider the legacy of Ryerson also makes room for memorializing and honouring a broader diversity of student and faculty leaders.

We are reconsidering Egerton Ryerson’s legacy at a time of great reckoning by Canadians with the ongoing effects of colonialism on Indigenous people and territories. The reckoning requires Canadians to become more educated about the history of Indigenous territorial and cultural dispossession, the persistent Indigenous refusals to relinquish their sovereignty, language, land, and laws, and the ongoing significance of treaties. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission on Residential Schools Final Report, the Land Back Movement, Black Lives Matter, and Indigenous Lives Matter: these movements and others have called people in Canada to recognize and challenge the role of racism and dispossession in this country.

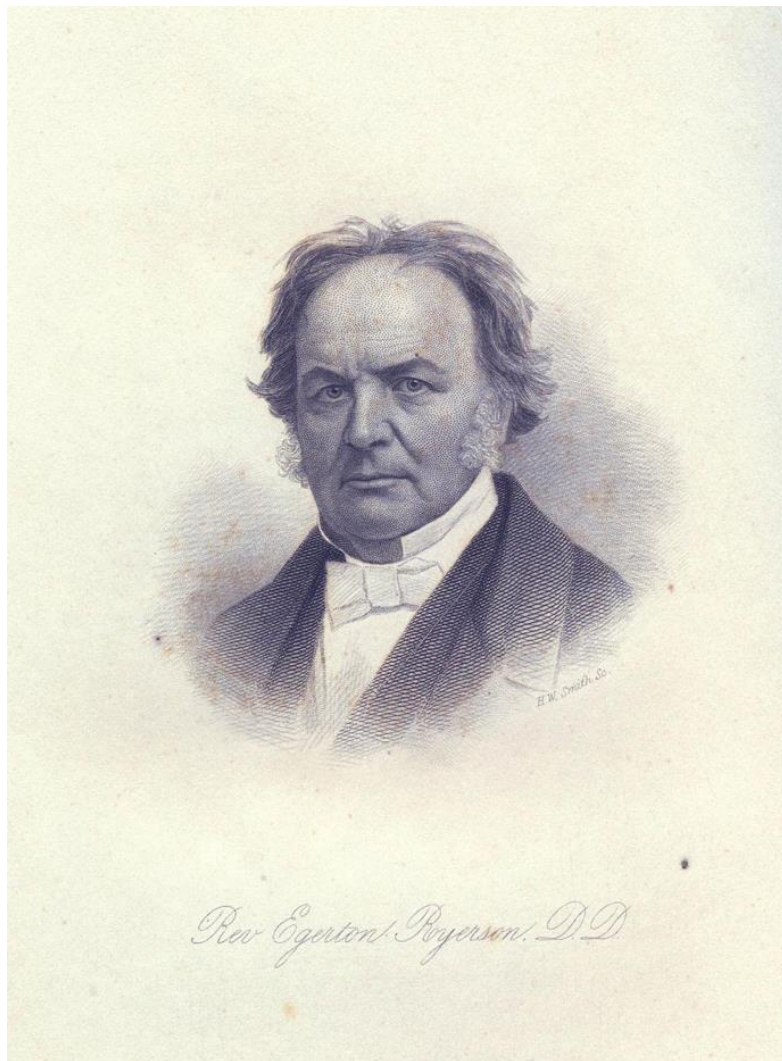
Gathering perspectives on how to think about the legacy of Ryerson at this time, the Panel has sought to understand him within his own historical context. As a man who argued for Indigenous people, Black children, and women to have access to education, but according to a second-class status, he was not exactly the advocate of “universal” education that his biographers have claimed. More specifically, Ryerson also wrote an influential report on schooling for Indigenous students that played an important role in the development of the residential school system, which is now widely recognized as a form of cultural genocide.

In our conversations, the Panel repeatedly reflected on the significance of Ryerson’s long friendship with Rev. Peter Jones, an Anishinaabe Methodist minister and political leader from the Mississaugas of the Credit. We also reflected on the fact that Ryerson studied

Anishinaabemowin when he served as a missionary with the Mississaugas of the Credit. His lifelong friendship with Jones and his attempt to learn Anishinaabemowin are both part of his legacy.

Ryerson was a man with social and spiritual capital whose story, name, and image have been used to ground and celebrate Victoria University as a university that participated in the founding of the nation of Canada. Victoria understood its mission as one of both “civilizing” and Christianizing Indigenous people, a mission that Ryerson supported. An institution with strong relations with the Crown, thanks in part to Ryerson, Victoria University also has an obligation to honour and embody the treaty relations made between the Crown and Indigenous nations. In addition to these factors, for the Victoria community to understand Ryerson’s legacy into the future, we recommend placing him in the context of his kin and co-workers, and offer this timeline of his life.

Timeline of the life of Egerton Ryerson:



Portrait by H. W. Smith published in Egerton Ryerson, *"The Story of My Life"*, edited by J. George Hodgins (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1883).

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| 24 March 1803 | Born in Charlotteville Township, Norfolk County, Upper Canada (Ontario) to parents Joseph Ryerson and Mehetable Stickney; attended the London District Grammar School in Vittoria |
| 1821 | Joined the local Methodist society |
| 1821 – 1823 | Worked at the London District Grammar School, assisting his brother George Ryerson who was master of the school |
| 1824 | Attended the Gore District Grammar School in Hamilton to study with John Law; ended his studies due to illness the same year |
| 1825 | Entered the Methodist ministry |

- 1825 Received on trial by the Canada Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Upper Canada
- 1826-1827 Apprenticed as a Methodist minister on the York and Yonge Street circuit and then as a missionary with the Mississaugas of the Credit River
- 1827 Admitted to full connection and ordained as a Methodist minister, and began working on the Cobourg and Ancaster circuits
- 10 September 1828 Married Hannah Aikman, who died in 1832 shortly after the birth of their second child. Both of these children pre-deceased Ryerson; his son Charles died in 1835 at age 6, and daughter Lucilla died in 1849 at age 17.
- 1829 – 1840 Served as first editor of Methodist newspaper the *Christian Guardian* (intermittingly)
- 1832 – 1833 Selected to travel to Britain and lead negotiations in support of a union between the Methodist Episcopal Church in Upper Canada and the British Wesleyan Church
- 8 November 1833 Married Mary Armstrong (until her death on February 19, 1882), and had two children with Mary, Charles Egerton and Sophia
- 1835 – 1837 Travelled to England to secure a Royal Charter from King William IV and financial support from the British Wesleyan Church and imperial government to help establish the Methodist's Upper Canada Academy in Cobourg, which later became Victoria College
- 1840 Appointed (with his brother William Ryerson) to negotiate the separation of the previously unified British and Canadian Methodist churches
- 1841 – 1847 Appointed first principal of Victoria College, the successor of Upper Canada Academy (formally inducted in June 1842)
- 1842 Awarded honorary DD degree from Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut
- 1844 – 1876 Appointed Superintendent of Schools for Canada West by Governor Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe and William Henry Draper
- 1844 – 1845 Toured educational establishments in Britain and North America and started work reforming elementary education upon his return
- 1847 By request of Assistant Superintendent General of Indian Affairs George Vardon, wrote a report on the schooling of Indigenous children: "Report on Industrial Schools, 26 May 1847"
- 1848 – 1875 Appointed editor of the *Journal of Education for Upper Canada*
- 1850 In his role as superintendent of schools for Canada West, Ryerson wrote and proposed *An Act for the Better Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada* (Common Schools Act of 1850), where he legalized segregated schools for Black children

1854 – 1855	Temporarily resigned from Methodist conference
1857	Awarded honorary MA from University of Toronto
1861	Awarded honorary LLD from Victoria College
1862	Had a prolonged illness that he would suffer relapses of for the rest of his life
1866 – 1867	Toured educational institutions in Europe and the United States, and wrote reports and bills on reforms of the Ontario education system on his return
1874	Elected first President of the Methodist Church of Canada
1876	Retired from his position as Superintendent of Education Office
19 February 1882	Died and was buried in Mount Pleasant Cemetery in Toronto

[Ryerson as an educator and public official, and founder of Victoria University](#)

Egerton Ryerson's first steps in his long career in education and as a public administrator were made as a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Upper Canada, which was then a colony in "British North America" (now southern Ontario, according to Canadian geography). Ordained in September 1827 at the age of 24, Ryerson's profile and influence within the church rose quickly through his work as an active newspaper writer and editor. In the same year as his ordination, Ryerson published a series of letters in the *Colonial Advocate* in which he refuted attacks on Methodism made in a sermon by John Strachan, the powerful clergyman and bishop of the Church of England in Upper Canada and officeholder on the Legislative Council for the province (1820-1841). Ryerson argued for a degree of separation between church and state; specifically, Ryerson argued that the government of Upper Canada should not support the Church of England (the Anglican Church) over other Christian denominations. Like other Methodists, Ryerson was opposed to "clergy reserves," or large areas of land that the government held in reserve as a source of revenue or property, primarily for the benefit of the Church of England (Anglicans). Clergy reserves often left large tracts of forested land where trees were not cut down and lakes and rivers were not dammed. For Indigenous people, these were treaty lands that offered space to hunt and live; for Methodists, they were evidence of unfair privileges granted by the Crown to a coterie of wealthy Anglican men, dubbed "the Family Compact" for their close business, church, and political ties.

Ryerson's social and political capital grew upon his election as the first editor of the *Christian Guardian*, a Methodist newspaper that quickly became "one of the most widely read and politically influential papers" in Canada (Gidney 1982). Holding this position intermittently from 1829 to 1840, Ryerson honed his skills in writing and publishing and accessed a significant platform to amplify his own voice and political views. Under Ryerson's leadership, the *Christian Guardian* also began an influential publishing business that eventually became the Ryerson

Press.¹ Despite his criticisms of the close relationship between the Crown and the Church of England, Ryerson travelled to England in 1835 in order to secure a Royal Charter from King William IV to establish the Methodist's Upper Canada Academy in Cobourg, and to acquire financial support from the British Wesleyan Church and the imperial government. When the Upper Canada Academy was named after the Queen, becoming Victoria College in 1841, Ryerson was appointed its first principal. He held this position until 1847 and remained a major benefactor for Victoria College throughout his life. Ryerson was not, however, especially active in his role as principal because at this same time his career also shifted toward working in government as an educational administrator.

In 1844, Ryerson was appointed superintendent of schools for Canada West by Governor Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe and his chief minister in Canada West, William Henry Draper. This appointment might have been politically expedient for Metcalfe who sought the support of Methodists in the province, among whom Ryerson was well-known and well-regarded, and of political moderates with whom Ryerson was on close terms. Ryerson held this position until his retirement in 1876. Throughout his long career in the Education Office he drafted many key pieces of school legislation, made tours of educational institutions in Europe and the United States, wrote school textbooks, promoted libraries, and created a museum of arts and science (a forerunner of the Royal Ontario Museum).

In all of this work, Ryerson is best known for being at the forefront of reforms to the educational system in Upper Canada in four key areas:

1. Promoting universal access to education

- Ryerson drafted legislation that made elementary or common schools tuition-free and implemented policies supporting compulsory attendance at schools by all children (School Act of 1871).

2. Improving the quality of education and “Canadianizing” the curriculum

- Ryerson changed the textbooks to be used in schools from American textbooks to textbooks written in Upper Canada, Britain, and Ireland, which he thought better imparted the political, social, and religious values of Upper Canada (School Act of 1846).
- Ryerson established the first teacher-training institution in Upper Canada in 1847, the Toronto Normal School, and raised standards for certification of elementary school teachers (School Act of 1846). The Toronto Normal School was the predecessor for Ryerson University.

¹ The Ryerson Press was operated by the United Church Publishing House until 1970, when it was sold to McGraw-Hill Education. In 2017, the McGraw-Hill Ryerson unit was purchased by Nelson Education, a Toronto-based textbook publisher.

3. Reforming the function and roles of grammar schools

- Ryerson changed the funding model for grammar schools to rely on local taxation, which ensured more stable funding and made grammar schools public, and publicly supported, institutions (School Act of 1853 and School Act of 1855).
- Ryerson introduced curricular distinctions between common schools and grammar schools, namely by implementing a curriculum of English, mathematics, and classical studies at grammar schools (School Act of 1871). These distinctions effectively created a hierarchy of government-funded schools with common schools at the bottom and grammar schools representing a higher academic level. Grammar schools eventually became what we now call high schools.

4. Developing a centralized administration system for schools in the province

- Ryerson created a centralized authority comprised of the Chief Superintendent (the position he occupied) and a Board of Education, which was appointed by the Governor. This body would have general oversight of schools in the province and the authority to implement policies and regulations, classify teachers, and determine textbooks and curriculum (School Act of 1846).
- Ryerson established processes for the management of individual schools where in order to receive government funding, schools were required to submit annual reports to the education office and employ teachers certified by the relevant district superintendent (School Act of 1846). Additionally, instead of being managed by boards of school trustees for individual schools, common schools would be managed by municipal boards overseeing all schools in a particular city or township (School Act of 1847).

These reforms have been widely regarded as the foundations of public education in Ontario and a model for systems of education in other provincial jurisdictions in Canada. And it is for this work in education that Ryerson has most often been celebrated.

More recently, however, scholars have produced more nuanced pictures of educational reform in nineteenth-century Ontario that complicate Ryerson's positioning as uniquely influential and a champion of universally accessible education. For instance, Di Mascio (2012) claims that Ryerson's ideas about education were based on decades of prior discourse on popular education, and Gidney and Lawr (1979) suggest that the educational policies Ryerson is renowned for were crucially shaped by local opinion and practices. Further, Houston and Prentice (1988) argue that Ryerson's authority in matters of educational policies and practices was also heightened through the publishing practices of the *Journal of Education for Upper Canada*, which was the mouthpiece of the education office and was initially financed by Ryerson himself. As editor from the *Journal of Education's* founding in 1848 to 1875, Ryerson ensured 'controversial' opinions—i.e., views that contradicted his own perspectives and policies—were not published in the widely read paper and effectively stifled any voices of

opposition to the school system he led. In this way, Ryerson effectively controlled the public narrative and documentary evidence comprising his own legacy in public education.

Most importantly, though Ryerson was in favour of universal schooling because he saw mass education as a key to improving morality and ensuring political and social stability, he also did not think all schools were for all students. Instead, he proposed a number of differentiated schooling systems. For one, in *An Act for the Better Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada, 1850* (Common Schools Act of 1850), Ryerson legalized segregated schools for Black children. As Natasha Henry (2019) and Kristin McLaren (2004) explain in their analyses of forced segregation of Black students in public schools in Canada West, there was no requirement that requests to establish separate schools come from Black parents. This was different than the regulation also included in this clause for forming separate schools for Protestant and Catholic communities, as these schools were formed only by request of these communities themselves. Indeed, McLaren (2004) says there is no evidence that Black people, including Black parents, requested separate schools for their children. Rather, Ryerson implemented this regulation in support of white parents', school superintendents', government officials', and missionaries' racist demands that Black children stay out of the common schools that white children attended (McLaren 2004, 39-41). Black parents still had to pay school taxes to common schools even when their children were not allowed to attend these schools and were instead forced to go to schools that were often located farther away, chronically underfunded, staffed by poorly qualified teachers, and provided lower quality education (McLaren 2004, 41-43). In addition to separate schools for Black children, Ryerson recommended church-run industrial schools for lower-class students in a *Draft of Bill, Relating to Vagrant and Neglected Children in Cities and Towns* (1862; see Knight [2021, 2019]) and institutional schools for children who were deaf or blind in a *Report of an Inquiry in Regard to the Instruction and Care for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind* (1868; see Knight [2021, 2019]). Ryerson was also strongly opposed to girls accessing higher education in grammar schools (i.e., high schools), a view that was in conflict with the majority of school administrators and teachers at the time, who were in favour of co-education, i.e., mixed-gender schools.

Ryerson's view that different educational systems were more suitable for particular students is equally apparent in his recommendations for residential schooling for Indigenous children published in his "Report on Industrial Schools, 26 May 1847." A thorough discussion of Ryerson's views on Indigenous education is found in a subsequent section of this report.

Ryerson's relationships with and attitudes to Indigenous individuals and communities

Egerton Ryerson's relationships with Indigenous communities were first facilitated through his work apprenticing as a missionary for the Methodist Episcopal Church with the Mississaugas of the Credit River from 1826 to 1827. The Mississaugas of the Credit River are an Anishinaabe nation whose territory once stretched over 3.9 million acres in southern Ontario. In their own words, they describe their traditional lands as having "extended from the Rouge River Valley westward across to the headwaters of the Thames River, down to Long Point on Lake Erie and then followed the shoreline of Lake Erie, the Niagara River, and Lake Ontario until arriving back at the Rouge River Valley" (Wybenga and Dalton 2018, 3). The Mississaugas began officially sharing this land in 1784 when they agreed to make space for the settlement of loyalist refugees fleeing from the United States, including 2000 members of the Six Nations Confederacy. The history and current significance of this land sharing is still disputed today.

By 1820, under immense pressure from the colonial government, the Mississaugas agreed to Treaty 22, an agreement with the Crown to share the land. The treaty promises made by the colonial government were often not upheld and the validity of some of the land agreements, including the "Toronto Purchase" of 1787 and the "Gunshot Treaty" of 1788, remains controversial today ("The Mississaugas of the Credit: Historical Territory, Resource and Land Use," 13). In 1826, the Mississaugas built a mission village on the south shore of the Credit River, where presently the Mississauga Golf and Country Club is located. The village developed to eventually consist of twenty log houses, small vegetable gardens, a hospital, public and private shops, two sawmills, and a chapel also used as a schoolhouse.

By the 1840s, facing increasing encroachment on their territories by white settlers and continual refusals by the colonial government to give them legal title for their lands, the Mississaugas reluctantly left their village. In 1847, the Six Nations of the Grand River offered a tract of their land to the Mississaugas of the Credit River, returning the earlier favour the Mississaugas had granted to them when they needed a new home after the American Revolution. The Mississaugas of the Credit River accepted this offer, formally confirming their possession of the tract of land in 1903, and this reserve remains their home today ("The Mississaugas of the Credit: Historical Territory, Resource and Land Use," 15).

When Ryerson worked with the community, the Mississaugas of the Credit River were newly residing in their earlier village near the Credit River. By this time, the approximately 200 band members had largely been converted to Methodism through the work of Kahkewaquonaby, or in English, Peter Jones. Born in 1802 to his Mississauga mother Tuhbenahneequay (Sarah Henry) and Welsh-American father Augustus Jones, Peter Jones was an ordained Methodist minister and missionary to Indigenous communities in Upper Canada, a published writer and Anishinaabemowin translator, and an ogimaa or elected chief of the Mississaugas of the Credit River. Jones was a relentless advocate for Indigenous self-governance and land tenure, and had a profound ability to navigate and sometimes circumvent colonial systems for the well-being of

his community. His importance to the survival and strength of the Mississaugas in the face of intense pressures from the colonial government and white settlement cannot be overstated.

Ryerson met Jones at the Credit village when they were both young Methodist ministers working with the community, which was called by some the “Credit Experiment.” Jones largely worked with the goal of saving his people from the onslaught of settlers and Ryerson’s approach was one of converting the Mississaugas to Christianity and assimilating them to the Canadian state by way of so-called “civilization.” Though he only spent a year with the community, Ryerson was part of a broader, imperial project of assimilation that continues today. Jones was part of a wider network of Indigenous leaders who sought to preserve their nations’ sovereignty in the face of the ever-expanding settler state.

Ryerson’s friendship with Jones was one of the most important relationships he developed at the Credit River mission. The two young missionaries worked closely together, with Jones acting as an Anishinaabemowin translator for Ryerson and teaching him some of the language, and helping Ryerson understand that many of the Christian Mississaugas wanted to retain their language, autonomy, and aspects of their Anishinaabe beliefs and practices. One example of this understanding is that Ryerson helped Peter Jones and his brother John Jones fundraise to build a schoolhouse where children would be instructed in both English and Anishinaabemowin. Jones and other members of his community thought highly of Ryerson and gave him the Anishinaabemowin name “Cheechock” or “Chechalk,” meaning “Bird on the Wing,” at a council meeting in 1826 (Smith [2013] 2015, 19-21).

In some ways, it appears Ryerson was well-liked by the Mississauga community at Credit River. But as a missionary, Ryerson’s work in the broader context of Canadian colonization was fundamentally to convert Indigenous peoples to Christianity. Missionaries and government officials colluded in outlawing Indigenous practices and removing them from their lands to settle them in smaller mission villages.

Jones and Ryerson wrote warmly of each other and benefited from their mutual support long after Ryerson left the Credit River. For instance, when Peter Jones was terminally ill and near the end of his life, he and his wife Eliza Field Jones stayed for a month with Ryerson and his family in Toronto to access medical care. When Jones died in 1856, Ryerson gave a eulogy at his funeral at Jones’ request and wrote and published a long obituary in the *Christian Guardian*. In this piece, Ryerson praised Jones for his impressive career in which he was “an instrument of immense good to his own people, as also of hundreds of white people on both sides of the Atlantic” (Ryerson 1856; see appendix for full article). He fondly described his friend as “a man of clear perceptions, good judgment, great decision of character—a sound preacher, fervent and powerful in his appeals—very well informed on general subjects, extensively acquainted with men and things,—serious without gloom, cheerful without levity, dignified and agreeable in his manners—a faithful friend, a true patriot, a persevering philanthropist—a noble specimen of what christianity can do for the Indian gentiles of Canada, and therefore for the Gentiles of the whole world” (Ryerson 1856). Ryerson’s support for Indigenous people—including those

who were his personal friends—was very much tied to their embrace of Christianity. This did not necessarily mean that he curtailed their critiques of and opposition to the Canadian government.

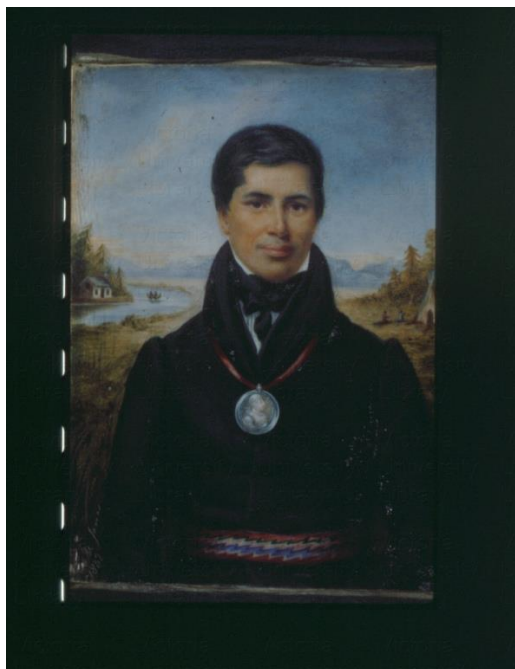


Image at left: “Portraits (miniature; oil) of Peter Jones: painted by Matilda Jones in London, England, in 1832,” Peter Jones, Victoria University Library Special Collections, University of Toronto, Series 1, Box 6.

Image at right: “Portraits (miniature; oil) of Eliza Field: painted by Matilda Jones in London, England, ca. 1831-32,” Peter Jones, Victoria University Library Special Collections, University of Toronto, Series 1, Box 6.

Ryerson also supported other Indigenous people, particularly in advancing their professional careers through accessing jobs in publishing or Christian education. For example, Ryerson helped John Sawyer, son of Chief Joseph Sawyer of the Mississaugas of the Credit River (and Peter Jones’ uncle), to secure an apprenticeship at the printing office that published the *Christian Guardian*. William Willson of the Mississaugas of the Credit River also apprenticed at this office, and Ryerson acted as Willson’s sponsor when he attended the Church of England’s Upper Canada College in Toronto. Ryerson also enrolled Shahwahnegezhik, or in English, Henry Bird Steinhauer, an Anishinaabe Methodist minister, teacher, and translator, at the Upper Canada Academy—the predecessor to Victoria College—where he graduated at the head of his class in 1839 (Smith [2013] 2015, 253, 280; Sieciechowicz 1982). Steinhauer named one of his sons after Ryerson: Egerton Ryerson Steinhauer. Ryerson additionally supported Allen Salt, a Mississauga missionary from the Rice Lake area, in attending the Toronto Normal School, the teachers’ training institute that Ryerson founded. Ryerson also published articles in the *Christian Guardian* by Indigenous missionary writers including Peter Jones and Pahtahsega, or

Peter Jacobs; importantly these articles could be sharply critical of the colonial government in its dealings with Anishinaabeg.

It is clear from these gestures of support that Ryerson saw some Indigenous people as having great potential in institutions of higher education and the professional careers that could follow. Indeed, this view was part of his initial vision for the Methodist Upper Canada Academy (Victoria College after 1841). In a letter sent to the law officers of the Crown answering questions about a draft of the royal charter for the school, Ryerson wrote that the primary goal of the academy was “the education of youth, of poor young men of religious character and promising talents, and of native Indian youths connected with the Methodist congregations” (Burwash 1927, 36). Likewise, a letter sent to Ryerson from the Comptroller of the Duchess of Kent (mother of the soon-to-be Queen Victoria) affirmed that Ryerson foregrounded the intent of the school to admit Indigenous students: “Her Royal Highness is most happy in patronizing, as you request, so useful and beneficial an Institution and calculated essentially to promote the best interests of the Native Population, the British Emigrants and the Aboriginal Tribes of that valuable and important British Province [Upper Canada]” (Conroy to Ryerson, 25 February 1837 [UCA, PP RYE Box 2 File 27]).

It is helpful to contextualize this original intent that the Upper Canada Academy, and later Victoria College, be a school for Indigenous students as well as settlers. First, as the quotations here make evident, Ryerson’s support for Indigenous students accessing higher education extended largely only to Christian males. Indeed, it was impossible at this time to separate Christianity from education; even schools that were denominationally inclusive² like the Upper Canada Academy explicitly sought to provide a Christian education. The royal charter for the Upper Canada Academy states, “We do hereby will and ordain that the various branches of Literature and Science shall be taught on Christian principles” (*The Royal Charter of Upper Canada Academy, October 12, 1836*). Though Ryerson might have been convinced that a Christian education was in the best interests of Indigenous students, others, including Indigenous people who were not Christians, may have firmly rejected this view. In any case, the requirement marked a significant prerequisite and potential barrier for Indigenous access to education.

Further, it is also the case that relatively few Indigenous students attended the Upper Canada Academy or Victoria College in the nineteenth century. A comprehensive study of Indigenous students enrolled at Upper Canada Academy and Victoria College in the early years of the school is not available, though we do know of some, including Henry Steinhauer (Mississauga from Lake Simcoe), William Willson (Mississauga from the Credit River), John Sunday (Mississauga from the Credit River, son of Chief Shawundais), Charles Jones (Mississaugas from

² The statement in the Upper Canada Academy’s Royal Charter, “That no religious test or qualification shall be required of, or appointed for, any person on his admission as a Student or Scholar into the said Academy” would have meant that students did not have to belong to a particular Christian denomination, namely the Church of England.

the Credit River, son of Peter Jones), and a young woman named Sully Cow (Mississauga from Rice Lake). The accomplishments and presence of these students at the school should not be downplayed. But it appears that though Ryerson was comfortable using promises of Indigenous education to secure royal favour when he sought the royal charter from King William IV to found what became Victoria University, he was less committed to ensuring this promise was fulfilled.

Further context for Ryerson's impact on Indigenous people and communities, including the development of Residential Schools

Ryerson made his most profound impact on Indigenous education through his work designing the residential school system. In 1847, Ryerson was asked by Assistant Superintendent General of Indian Affairs George Vardon to write a report on the schooling of Indigenous children: "Report on Industrial Schools, 26 May 1847." In this report, Ryerson ignored alternative visions and promises that saw Indigenous education as a pathway to equality and self-governance, instead recommending an educational system intended to turn Indigenous students into a racialized subservient class. These recommendations shaped what Indigenous education in Canada would look like for the next 150 years, and are the basis on which many institutions and individuals are rethinking what it means to honour Ryerson's legacy today.

Ryerson's report took shape in a context of fervent debate over the education of Indigenous children. At the time Ryerson wrote his report, some Indigenous leaders and parents supported the creation of schools, including boarding or "residential" schools, because they saw European-style education as key to their children's economic survival in a rapidly changing political and social climate. Peter Jones, for instance, was a leading advocate for residential schools. Jones saw education as a means of ensuring community survival and had already seen how successful Indigenous schools could be. For example, the school at the Credit River, which nearly all eligible children voluntarily attended, taught students in English and Anishinaabemowin, used Anishinaabemowin texts, and used the Infant School or Pestalozzi system that relied on holistic and child-led pedagogies (Maclean 2005, 97). In addition to the basic elementary education provided at day schools like this one, Jones was also convinced that residential schools should provide manual training in trades for students as such skills could secure Indigenous economic independence (*Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Volume 1, Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 1 Origins to 1939*, 74). In the 1830s, Jones had toured such manual schools for the Cherokee and Choctaw nations in the United States where students were trained in trades, sewing, cooking, and agriculture, and he was impressed by what he saw. Jones further imagined that the residential schools he endorsed would be Indigenous-led and staffed by Indigenous teachers (*Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Volume 1, Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 1 Origins to 1939*, 74). Indeed, Jones himself oversaw the construction of the Mount Elgin residential school in Munceytown in between 1847 and 1851 and was supposed to be its superintendent, but was prevented from doing so by illness.

By this time, the government of Upper Canada had also determined that residential schools were the preferred system for Indigenous education. The 1844 report of the “Bagot Commission,” which reviewed Aboriginal policies in the province, concluded that government policies, which had largely kept Indigenous families and communities intact, had failed. In part, this was thought to be because of the ineffectiveness of day schools. With a particular concern for irregular student attendance and what was perceived as excessive parental influence on Indigenous students, the commission recommended the establishment of residential schools to be run in partnership with churches. This endorsement was put into action at a meeting in Orillia in 1846 with George Vardon and Visiting Superintendent General of Indian Affairs Thomas G. Anderson, thirty Indigenous leaders (including Peter Jones), and eighty young Indigenous men (*Minutes of the General Council of Indian Chiefs and Principal Men, Held at Orillia, Lake Simcoe Narrows, 1846*). At this conference, the government promised to build residential schools for Indigenous children in Owen Sound, Munceytown, and Alderville that would provide a high level of education and manual training to prepare students for careers in trades and professions like medicine and law. In exchange, the government asked the chiefs present to commit one-quarter of their treaty annuities to support the schools—a kind of tax on treaty funds.

Some Anishinaabe leaders approved of the colonial government’s investment in Indigenous education, but this proposal was also met with strong resistance for the way that the government was using the promise of schooling as leverage to convince the Anishinaabe nations to give up their reserve lands. Anderson proposed that the Anishinaabeg in Upper Canada leave their small villages and relocate to the three centralized locations where schools would be built and threatened that children would be removed from their home communities regardless of whether or not bands moved too. Most of the chiefs ultimately agreed to reallocate their annuities to pay for the schools but did not agree to relocate.

One of the key reasons many of the chiefs present at the Orillia conference supported this proposal was because the government of Upper Canada and the Methodist Episcopal Church explicitly framed the residential school system as a way for Indigenous people to achieve equality with white settlers. This framing is evident in comments recorded in the meeting minutes for the conference, which were printed for distribution at the Canada Gazette Office in 1846. Reverend William Case, general superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church and superintendent of the conference’s missions in Indigenous communities, summarized this position most clearly:

We see no reason why the Red Man should not be as comfortable, respectable and happy as the white man. We know not why your young men should not be educated as to be able to transact your affairs as well as your white brothers. You may, indeed, live to see some of your sons doctors, attorneys, and magistrates. This is a thing not at all improbable. You have already lived to see your warriors become Ministers of the Gospels, Interpreters, and Teachers of your Schools. These you now see standing before

you. Such important and useful stations are not to be filled by the rude and ignorant but by those who have been made wise by industrious habits and a religious education.
(Minutes of the General Council of Indian Chiefs and Principal Men, Held at Orillia, Lake Simcoe Narrows, 1846, 9-10)

Here, Case promised that the education offered at residential schools would lead to Indigenous self-government, autonomy, and advancement in settler society.

This framing of the intent of the residential school system at the Orillia conference contrasts sharply with the recommendations Ryerson included in his 1847 report on Indigenous education, which he was asked to prepare shortly after this meeting. Rather than promoting an educational system that would equip students for professional careers, economic independence, and social equality as was promised at Orillia by the colonial government, Ryerson recommended that male Indigenous students be trained as farm labourers. He summarized this purpose of the schools in his report:

In the contemplated industrial schools, I understand the end proposed to be the making of the pupils industrious farmers, and that learning is provided for and pursued only so far as it will contribute to that end. (Ryerson 1847)

Ryerson made no mention of female students; presumably they would continue to be educated at existing day schools.

In the rest of his report, Ryerson outlined an educational model that would support this stated goal. Though the schools would also instruct students in a curriculum typical of common schools in Upper Canada—"English language, arithmetic, elementary geometry, or knowledge of forms, geography and the elements of general history, natural history and agricultural chemistry, writing, drawing and vocal music, book-keeping (especially in reference to farmers' accounts), religion and morals"—students would spend most of their time engaged in agriculture, gardening, and mechanics related to agricultural equipment. Ryerson envisioned an exhausting program where students would work in the school fields between 8 and 12 hours a day and study for 2 to 4 hours.

In addition to training students as agricultural labourers, Ryerson also recommended that the industrial schools provide Christian instruction. As he stated in his report, "the North American Indian cannot be civilized or preserved in a state of civilization (including habits of industry and sobriety) except in connection with, if not by the influence of, not only religious instruction and sentiment but of religious feelings." By "civilizing," Ryerson meant converting Indigenous peoples to Christianity and to the modes of living of settler society, in keeping with the wider settler habit of denigrating, undermining, and ignoring the sophisticated and sustainable lifeways of Indigenous nations. Further, the dual project of conversion to Christianity and settled agriculture was a way of removing Indigenous peoples from their lands, constraining them in one place, and curbing Indigenous access to their hunting and fishing grounds, which

are issues still alive today. Ryerson had already shown himself to be invested in this project when he was a missionary at the Credit River twenty years earlier.

It is worth stating that Ryerson's recommendations for Indigenous education would have been very much aligned with similar "civilizing" policies and practices of the colonial government at this time. Indeed, it is likely that Ryerson was commissioned to write his "Report on Industrial Schools" because government officials were confident his vision for the future of Indigenous peoples would support theirs. Ryerson, of course, was not the only person qualified to write such a report; Peter Jones, for instance, had extensive experience and expertise in Indigenous education through his work establishing schools in Indigenous communities in Upper Canada and his own tours of educational institutions in the United States. Unlike Ryerson, however, Jones would have certainly advocated for an education system that advanced Indigenous sovereignty and would lead to the futures promised at the Orillia conference as he did at this meeting. But the colonial government did not ask for his expert guidance.

Though Ryerson was not present at the Orillia conference like Jones was, he would have most certainly been aware of what was promised to the Chiefs because the published meeting minutes cited in this report were widely available. But when he wrote his recommendations for Indigenous schools, he completely disregarded these alternative visions for Indigenous education. Ryerson's failure to convey the breadth of education promised to the children, along with his relentless focus on manual labour training, was devastating for the future of Indigenous education, families, and languages.

Indeed, within ten years of their opening, the residential schools precipitated by Ryerson's report and the Orillia conference were plagued with problems that led many Anishinaabe chiefs to withdraw their support. For one, the school promised at Owen Sound to serve northern bands was never built. Anishinaabe leaders and parents were also severely critical of the Alnwick school in Alderville and the Elgin School in Munceytown for the excessive manual labour children were expected to perform, outbreaks of infectious diseases, and high rates of children running away from the schools. Even the government acknowledged that the schools were largely a failure. In 1858, a Special Commission of Indian Affairs that had been formed to investigate the schools, chaired by Indian Department Superintendent General R. T. Pennefather, recommended their closing (MacLean 2005, 119).

Despite these serious problems with the early residential schools in Upper Canada, the Canadian government formed after Confederation in 1867 would go on to expand the residential school system across the country. This national system of government-funded and church-run schools existed from the 1880s until the last school was closed in 1996. As the 2015 Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada draws out in devastating detail, the residential school system was a key component of the Canadian government's project of cultural genocide against Indigenous peoples by forcibly separating over 150 000 First Nations, Inuit, and Métis children from their families and home communities with the aim of eradicating Indigenous languages, cultures, and spiritualities. Though we cannot know how

Ryerson would have assessed this educational system that was largely implemented after his death in 1882, his report endorsing residential schooling for Indigenous children was instrumental to the design of the schools. More precisely, Ryerson's recommendations that schools prepare students for agricultural labour jobs precipitated an Indigenous education system that consistently undermined and streamlined Indigenous students in ways that denied their creativity, their ability, and their promise, casting them into service roles for settler society. This vision of Indigenous education would fit well with what became the Indian Act, which on the one hand positioned Indigenous people as wards of the state and on the other hand used education as a tool of assimilation that would deny Indigenous identity and status.

The current honorific use of Ryerson's name on the Victoria University campus: Further recommendations

As Victoria University grapples with the current honorific use of Ryerson's name on campus, we have an opportunity to learn more about the hard truths of Canadian colonialism and racism through the lens of the University's history. The Panel concludes that Victoria has the chance to be more creative and responsible in the ways that the University demonstrates and embodies what it is to "honour" a legacy. The Panel offers a broad array of steps to action that could both contextualize Ryerson in his time, and actively reckon with the responsibilities of living as treaty people in the twenty-first century.

- **The honorific use of Egerton Ryerson's name:**
 - The panel recommends that Victoria University no longer use the name of Egerton Ryerson in an honorific way, in recognition of the fact that Ryerson's role in the development of public education crushed the possibility of Indigenous-led public education in his day. We do not recommend forgetting him or his role. Instead, we recommend that all Victoria University community members learn more about the choices Ryerson made in direct contradiction of the vision of the Indigenous people he knew, including friends, fellow Methodists, former students, and more.
 - In making this recommendation, we consider it important to bear in mind and seek to understand the experiences and feelings of Indigenous students currently enrolled at Victoria University, for whom the honorific use of Ryerson's name continues to have negative effects.
 - We also consider it important to consider the effects on Black students of using Ryerson's name given his fundamental role in establishing segregated schools.
 - We also consider it important to consider the experience of settler students from many backgrounds who, after having learned about Canadian history, seek to grapple with their responsibilities as treaty people today. We need to think again about the biblical citation inscribed in the arch of Old Vic: "The Truth Shall Make You Free."

- **Accountability:**

- Write a full history of the land on which Victoria University operates, including attention to the question of treaties and clergy reserves, from a treaty relationship perspective.
- Investigate the history of Victoria University in relation to Black students and the education system that Ryerson established, including segregated schools.
- **Language revitalization:**
 - Consider how Victoria University can mark Egerton Ryerson's efforts to learn Anishinaabemowin by devoting resources to Anishinaabemowin language revitalization, in partnership with U of T's Centre for Indigenous Studies, the Mississaugas of the Credit, and other language revitalization organizations.
- **Student-focused initiatives:**
 - Strengthen Fall Orientation as a time when students learn about Indigenous governance and the history of this land.
 - Embed awareness of the significance of Indigenous governance and land-based history as well as histories of racism including anti-Black racism in all "Program Learning Outcomes" in Victoria programs.
 - Assign to all Vic students Ryerson's report on Indigenous schooling, "Report on Industrial Schools, 26 May 1847," to read with support from professors and Indigenous knowledge holders.
 - Assign to all Vic students extracts from Ryerson's Common Schools Act of 1850 pertaining to the establishment of segregated schools for Black children, to read with support from professors and community educators.
- **Research & archival support:**
 - Formalize a relationship with the Mississaugas of the Credit to ensure that sources related to their history located in the library and the United Church Archives (including the Peter Jones and Donald Smith fonds) are made available to them.
 - Provide archival and administrative assistance for the collections held by the Mississaugas.
 - In collaboration with the Mississaugas, develop a digital humanities project focused on Peter Jones supported by Pratt (similar to the A.P. Coleman exhibit).
 - Engage student researchers in exploring specific questions about the foundation of Victoria University, its charter, and the Anishinaabeg and Haudenosaunee.
 - Develop a complete scan and digitization of the *Christian Guardian* (and other relevant publications in the Victoria University library) that include articles by and about Indigenous peoples. This would be an important source both for Indigenous communities and U of T researchers and may also have important information about Black communities in Canada.

- **Relationship building:**

- Connect with efforts at Massey College and the University of Toronto Mississauga to build relationships with the Mississaugas of the Credit.
- Consider building relationships with Ryerson University, including with students who are working on examining the legacy of Egerton Ryerson.
- Facilitate in-person visits and digital community engagement that welcomes Indigenous communities to the U of T campus.
- Develop programs focused on youth engagement (K-12) with the Mississaugas of the Credit and other Indigenous nations.

In closing, we thank Victoria University for the opportunity to take the time to consider and reconsider the legacy of Egerton Ryerson. We all learned a great deal in the process, and are eager to continue in the process of building relationships characterized by respect, reciprocity, relevance, and responsibility.

Works Cited & Recommended Readings

- Burwash, Nathanael. *The History of Victoria College*. Toronto: Victoria College Press, 1927.
- Conroy, John to Egerton Ryerson, 25 February 1837. United Church Archives, PP RYE Box 2 File 27.
- Cooper, Afua. "Black Women and Work in Nineteenth Century Canada West: Black Woman Teacher Mary Bibb." In *We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up*, edited by Peggy Bristow, 143-170. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- Cooper, Afua. "Black Teachers in Canada West, 1850-1870: A History," MA thesis, University of Toronto, 1991.
- Di Mascio, Anthony. *The Idea of Popular Schooling in Upper Canada: Print Culture, Public Discourse, and the Demand for Education*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012.
- Friedland, Martin L. *The University of Toronto: A History, Second Edition*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.
- Gidney, Robert. "Ryerson, Egerton." *Dictionary of Canadian Bibliography*, vol. 11. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1982.
- Gidney, R. D. and D. A. Lawr. "Egerton Ryerson and the origins of the Ontario secondary school." *CHR*, 60(4) (1979): 442-65.
- Grant, John Webster. *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.
- Henry, Natasha. "Racial Segregation of Black People in Canada." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Historica Canada. Article published May 28, 2019; Last Edited May 27, 2019. <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/racial-segregation-of-black-people-in-canada>.
- Houston, Susan E., and Alison L. Prentice, eds. *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.
- Ibrahim, Awad and Ali A. Abdi, eds. *The Education of African Canadian Children*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016.
- Jones, Peter. *Life and Journals of Kah-ke-wa-quo-nā-by: (Rev. Peter Jones) Wesleyan Missionary*. Toronto: Anson Green, 1860.
- Knight, Hunter. "Egerton Ryerson: Racist philosophy of residential schools also shaped public education." *The Conversation*, February 22, 2021, <https://theconversation.com/egerton-ryerson-racist-philosophy-of-residential-schools-also-shaped-public-education-143039>.
- Knight, Hunter. "Imagining Institutions of Man: Constructions of the Human in the Foundations of Ontario Public School Curriculum." *Curriculum Inquiry* 49, no. 1 (2019): 90-109.
- MacLean, Hope. "Ojibwa Participation in Methodist Residential Schools in Upper Canada, 1828-1860." *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 25(1) (2005): 93-137.
- McLaren, Kristin. "'We had no desire to be set apart': Forced Segregation of Black Students in Canada West Public Schools and Myths of British Egalitarianism." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 37, no. 73 (2004): 27-50.
- Minutes of the General Council of Indian Chiefs and Principal Men, Held at Orillia, Lake Simcoe Narrows, On Thursday, the 30th, and Friday, the 31st July, 1846, on the Proposed*

- Removal of the Smaller Communities, and the Establishment of Manual Labour Schools.* Montreal: Printed at the Upper Canada Gazette Office, 1846.
- Praxis Research Associates. *The Mississaugas of the Credit: Historical Territory, Resource and Land Use.*
- Ryerson, Egerton. "Report on Industrial Schools, 26 May 1847." In *Statistics Respecting Indian Schools.* Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1898.
- Ryerson, Egerton. "Brief sketch of the life, death, and character of the late Rev. Peter Jones." *Christian Guardian*, 23 July 1856.
- Semple, Neil. "Egerton Ryerson." *The Canadian Encyclopedia.* Historica Canada. Article published December 17, 2007; Last Edited July 27, 2017.
<https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/egerton-ryerson>.
- Sieciechowicz, Krystyna Z. "Steinhauer, Henry Bird." *Dictionary of Canadian Bibliography*, vol. 11. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1982.
- Sissons, C. B. *A history of Victoria University.* Toronto, 1952.
- Sissons, C. B. *Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters, Volume 2.* Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited, 1947.
- Sissons, C. B. *Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters, Volume 1.* Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1937.
- Smith, Donald. *Mississauga Portraits: Ojibwe Voices from Nineteenth-Century Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, (2013) 2015.
- Smith, Donald. *Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians, Second Edition.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, (1987) 2013.
- Smith, Donald. "Jones, Peter." *Dictionary of Canadian Bibliography*, vol. 8. University of Toronto, 1985.
- The Royal Charter of Upper Canada Academy, October 12, 1836.* Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1936.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. *Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Volume 1, Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 1 Origins to 1939.* Winnipeg: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015.
- Wybenga, Darin P. and Kaytee Dalton. *Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation Past and Present.* 2018.
- Yates, David. "'Bred in the Bone:' Egerton Ryerson, Methodist Polity and Educational Administration, 1844-1850." *Canadian Society of Church History.* 1996.

Appendices

Appendix 1.

Ryerson, Egerton. "Brief sketch of the life, death, and character of the late Rev. Peter Jones." *Christian Guardian*, 23 July 1856.

From Peter Jones Fonds 17, Series: 1: Material Relating to Peter Jones, Material about Jones – Clippings, Box 8 File 4, Victoria University Library

Brief sketch of the life, death, and character of the late Rev. Peter Jones.

(By the Rev Dr. Ryerson.)

In the death of the Rev. Peter Jones, or Kakkewaquonaby, closed the earthly career of the first converted Ojibeway Indian in Canada, or in America, who became a minister of the Gospel, and who, during a period of thirty years, has led a life remarkable for piety, labours, and usefulness, whose praise is in all the Churches, who has enjoyed the esteem of, and had access to, every class of Canadian society, from the poorest Indian to the Representative of Royalty, and who has been honored with audiences by two British Sovereigns, and preached the Gospel to multitudes of all ranks and persuasions of the British people, and who, under all these circumstances of varied travel, temptation and labour, has maintained the simplicity of the Christian, the dignity of the minister, and the spirit of the messenger of Christ. The life of such a man cannot be without interest, whether viewed as the representative of a noble race, an illustration of the power of divine grace, or the centre of a group of remarkable facts not excelled in interest and importance in the modern history of Christian civilization. It is gratifying to know that Mr. Jones has left ample materials for a history of his own life, including copious journals of his travels and labours, as also a history nearly, if not quite completed of his nation. These will be published at no distant day. It is not my intention to anticipate the interest which such publications will doubtless command. I limit myself here to the briefest sketch of such a life adapted to the columns of a newspaper. I knew him when a lad; I was present on the occasion of his conversion; I was subsequently the first missionary stationed among his people on their settlement at the River Credit in 1826; I have known him intimately from that time to the close of his life. I therefore speak of him from personal knowledge, although, in the following sketch, I do but little more than condense the facts, sometimes without altering the words, which have been furnished to me by one who shared his trials, sorrows and joys, during the last twenty years and upwards.

Peter Jones was born the 1st of January, 1802. His father was a Welshman, and a Government Surveyor, and learned the Indian language, and employed the Indians to assist him in surveying. His mother was a native of the Ojibeway tribe of the Indians. Peter was brought up by, or rather wandered with his mother about the head of Lake Ontario until he was fourteen years of age. He was brought up after the heathen manners and customs of Ojibeway Indians. His mother

taught him to fast in honor of the gods, or, munedoos, on which occasions he used to blacken his face, and observe the idolatrous ceremonies of the Indians. His first mental anguish of a religious character arose from his breaking his fast one day, by drinking a little water before the sun went down. His heart was filled with sorrow and he wept much. When he grew large enough to handle the spear, the gun, and the bow and arrow, he became expert in the use of them, and excelled his play-fellows in hunting. At the age of fifteen his father took him and sent him to school, where, in the course of a year, he acquired considerable knowledge of English, and learned to read and write. His school instruction seems to have been then discontinued. But such was his desire for learning, that in the summer of 1822, he hired himself out at brick-making on the Grand River in order to pay his board and tuition during the ensuing winter, (for about three months,) when he applied himself closely to study arithmetic and other useful branches of English learning. This appears to have been the extent of his early school education.

The following June, 1823, he and a sister attended a "Camp-meeting" in the neighbourhood of Ancaster. They went from motives of curiosity, but were both converted and returned praising God. The sister first rejoiced in a sense of forgiven sins, and then encouraged and prayed for her penitent and sorrowing brother, "the remembrance of whose sins was grievous unto him and the burden of them intolerable," until he was enabled to believe or trust in Christ alone as his Saviour, when he experienced "peace with" God through our Lord Jesus Christ," and "rejoiced with joy unspeakable and full of glory." He and his sister returned home with joy, and declared to their parents what great things Jesus Christ had done for them, and that night Peter Jones commenced family prayer in his father's house. The immediate result was the conversion of both his parents. He soon felt it his duty to exhort [?] his fellow-countrymen to turn to the true God [?], and the Lord blessed his efforts in a remarkable manner; so that he soon had the happiness of seeing numbers of his relations and friends rejoicing in the love, and walking in the service of the Great Spirit. His "growth in grace and in the knowledge of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus" was manifest to all, and he increased in labours and usefulness. It belongs to a more extended history of his life to narrate his now commenced public career--his prayers, and exhortations--his admission by the Conference on trial as a minister--his travels, labors, success--the conversion of his own and kindred tribes--his transatlantic voyages and ministrations--his appointments to Indian Missions, missinary [sic] tours, and usefulness in regard to both the temporal and spiritual interests of his countrymen, during more than a quarter of a century.

At length his never very vigorous constitution began to yield to successive exposures, colds and fevers. In the spring of 1850 he had so severe a fit of sickness that few who saw him had any expectation of his recovery. But many prayers continued to be offered up by both Indians and whites for the blessing of God upon the means employed for his recovery, and his valuable life was prolonged a few years. On his recovery he said, "the prayers of the good people have have [sic] kept me out of heaven." In the autumn of the same year he experienced a very severe trial in the death of a beloved and promising boy; but his sweet resignation under so heavy a blow, exemplified the supporting grace of God to the heart of a true christian. At length, from his

failing and precarious health, and by the advice of his physician, it was not deemed advisable for him to attempt to continue any longer in charge of a mission station; he therefore superannuated. At the same time wherever health permitted, he was ready to go forth and preach the gospel, or attend missionary meetings. He often journeyed to the New Credit settlement, where he attended both to the spiritual and temporal concerns of his Tribe,-- settling their accounts, attending frequent counsels, communicating with the Indian Department, &c., &c.

During this period in the summer of 1853, while on a visit to New York, he experienced a great deepening of the work of grace in his heart--a fresh baptism of the Holy Spirit--even that perfect love that casteth out all fear that hath torment. His own account of this experience is as follows, in a letter to a friend: "On Tuesday afternoon I attended one of Mrs. Palmer's meetings in her house. Dr. Bangs and about forty others were present. These meetings are held for the special purpose of promoting holiness of heart. Several rose and declared that the blood of Christ had cleansed them from all sin. Amongst those who spoke was a sailor who said that the Lord had enabled him to enjoy this blessing on board his ship. My own soul was greatly blessed at this meeting. Glory be to God for what I enjoy! My soul is happy. Of a truth God *is* love. I know that the precious blood of my dear Saviour cleanseth my poor heart from all sin. Join with me in praising God for what He has done for my soul. My heart is full of Jesus.--Little did I think when I came to this bustling city, that I was going to obtain such a baptism from above. Continue to pray for me that I may retain this simple power to believe what God has promised in His Holy Word." This deeper work of grace continued to strengthen and mature; and the effect of it was manifest in his increasing deadness to the world, his simple faith in the promises of Christ and fervent appeals to the consciences of his hearers.

Last December he rode in a lumber wagon over bad roads to the New Credit Settlement of his Tribe--a distance of about twelve miles; sat in Council all the next day--feeling very unwell; and then returned home through a drizzling rain. No sooner did he reach his own house, than he was obliged to lie down. The next day medical aid was called in. Until the second of January he was able to sit up part of the time. The following month he was entirely confined to his bed,--at times sickness at the stomach attended with extreme general prostration reducing him so low, that the effort to move him often produced faintness. About the beginning of February, he appeared to rally a little, but only being able to sit up and walk, or ride about a little, the next day confined to his bed. The 24th of April he, accompanied by his wife, went to St. Catharines, to try the effect of the celebrated waters, but was disappointed; and the medical advice sought there, communicated the sad tidings, that his case was beyond all human power--that to alleviate his sufferings was all that could be done. He took leave of his kind and sympathizing friends at St. Catharines, amidst their tears and prayers, that the Lord would still spare his valuable life. Medical gentlemen at St. Catharines [sic] having recommended him to consult Dr. Bovel of Toronto, he left home for that purpose the 20th of May--hoping at the same time that he might be able to attend to some business with the Indian Department in behalf of his people; but medical aid here could only mitigate suffering; and medical consultation only

confirmed previous apprehensions. During his stay of four weeks in Toronto, I had the melancholy pleasure of entertaining him, and the opportunity of witnessing his calm resignation, his simple faith, his devout gratitude, his ardent solicitude for the welfare of his people, his enlightened and exalted views of Christian truth and privilege, his tender affection for his family. After two days he was entirely confined to his bed. Among other ministers who visited him was the Rev. Dr. Hannah, (Representative of the British Conference) who, at his request, administered to him and others present the memorials of the broken body and shed blood of our blessed Saviour. It was a deeply affecting solemnity.--Seeing he grew rapidly worse, medical advice was taken as to the practicability of removing him home where he so much desired to be. He was conveyed on a litter to the Rail-road, where a room was kindly allotted to him and his friends. He reached home the same evening, being carried by kind friends from the Rail-car to his own house--a distance of about half a mile. Many tears were shed when those who awaited his arrival witnessed the sad change that one short month had made, but a song of thankfulness was in his heart that, he was permitted to see his dear children and enter once more his much loved home. This was on the 18th of June, from which time he became rapidly worse--being unable to retain any nourishment on his stomach, and discharging little else than blood the last two or three days. But he uttered not a murmuring [sic] word. The Rev. John Ryerson, (who happened to be in Brantford a day or two) visited him, and was much affected at his emaciated appearance; but he said, "not a wave of trouble has crossed my breast; I feel resting on the Rock of ages." When the Indians of his tribe from the New Credit came, much sorrow filled their hearts to see their best earthly friend so low that they proposed at their own expense to despatch a messenger to Rice Lake, for a noted Indian Doctor; and they assembled several times a day in an adjoining house, where they prayed, and sang and wept aloud.

I give the following particulars of his last hours in the words of an eye witness:

"Many friends came from day to day to see him, to each of whom, as long as he was able, he addressed a few appropriate words. To one, pressing both his hands in his, he said--"I am going home, going to my Father's house above; all is well; meet me there." To the Doctor (Griffin) he said, "I thank you for all your kind attentions; you have done all you could; but it is the will of God to take me home. I hope you will give God all your heart, and meet me in a better world." To others he said--"God bless you; be faithful unto death, and you shall receive a crown of glory." Hearing him say, "Blessed Redeemer," it was remarked, you can say "I know that my Redeemer liveth." "O yes, he replied, I could say that all the time." On Friday afternoon he took formal leave of his dear children, presenting the three elder ones with the Bibles he had long used, and the youngest with his Wesleyan Hymn Book, with other appropriate tokens of remembrance. He put his dying hands upon each of their heads, saying, "God bless you my dear boys. Be good children. Be affectionate and obedient to your dear mother. Be kind and loving to each other. Give God your hearts, and meet me in a better world." He then took the hand of his dear wife, saying, "I leave these dear boys to the care of their Heavenly Father, and yours, for you to train them and teach them the good way, God bless you all!" On Saturday he

continued to sink, and knowing that his death was fast approaching, and being in the full possession of his mental faculties, he gave, with the greatest composure, several instructions as to what he wished done. His voice soon became inaudible. The last intelligible words were, "addressing his sorrowing partner,) "God bless you, dear." About nine o'clock in the evening, the weary wheels of life seemed about standing still, and the happy spirit waiting for the welcome message, "Come up hither." Surrounded by his weeping wife and children, friends and Indians, his only surviving sister, his aged mother, who had been converted by his instrumentality, the solemnity and affecting character of the scene can be better conceived than described. The contest between spirit and flesh seemed long. At length the deep breathing gave way, and fainter and yet lower still,--the last quiver of the lips told all was over. "Victory! Victory! O death where is thy sting, O grave, where is thy victory!"

"On Tuesday, July 1st, his precious remains were taken from their late happy home to an adjoining grove, where the Rev. Dr. Ryerson, from Toronto, delivered an address founded on Acts, xi. 24; and from thence to the cemetery [sic] at Brantford, followed by upwards of 80 carriages, and great numbers of white people and Indians on foot. At the grave, into which many flowers were thrown, the beautiful burial service was read by the Rev. I. B. Howard."

Such are the particulars which have been furnished to me by an eye witness and a deeply sympathizing party of the life and last hours of this first fruit of Wesleyan ministrations to the Ojibway Indians of Canada--this first missionary of that nation--an instrument of immense good to his own people, as also of hundreds of white people on both sides of the Atlantic, who have been led by his simple testimony to embrace the truth as it is in Jesus.

Mr. Jones was a man of athletic frame as well as of masculine intellect;--a man of clear perceptions, good judgment, great decision of character--a sound preacher, fervent and powerful in his appeals--very well informed on general subjects, extensively acquainted with men and things,--serious without gloom, cheerful without levity, dignified and agreeable in his manners--a faithful friend, a true patriot, a persevering philanthropist--a noble specimen of what christianity can do for the Indian gentiles of Canada, and therefore for the Gentiles of the whole world.

There is one circumstance connected with Mr. Jones' last illness which I ought not to omit: It is the more than human strength, courage, resignation, evinced by the bereaved partner of his earthly joys and sorrows, whose assiduity and attention day and night, devoted affection, pious readings and exhortations excelled any thing of the kind that I ever witnessed. I knew them both before their marriage, and have been on terms of intimate friendship with them ever since, and I question whether a happier marriage than theirs, on both sides, was ever experienced--truly in life they were of one heart and one soul, and in death that oneness seemed to speak out only the more touchingly and entirely in mutual sympathies and solitudes, in mutual prayers and consolations, in the "patience of love" in protracted sufferings on the one side and unceasing attentions on the other.

Mr. Jones died at the age of 54 years, leaving a widow and four sons--the oldest 17 and the youngest 9, to mourn their loss, but "not as those who have no hope."

Toronto, July 18, 1856.

Appendix 2.

Ryerson, Egerton. "Report on Industrial Schools, 26 May 1847." In *Statistics Respecting Indian Schools*. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1898.

Report of Dr. Ryerson on Industrial Schools

Education Office, Toronto, 26th May, 1847.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th March, requesting such suggestions as I might be able to offer as to the best method of establishing and conducting Industrial Schools for the benefit of the aboriginal Indian Tribes, and after a longer delay than I had at first anticipated, I find myself at length able to command the time in stating to you, in as few words as possible, what occurs to me on this most important subject.

The first thing to be considered, is the precise objects and designation of such establishments, secondly, the extent and manner of Government control respecting them; and then the general regulations under which they should be conducted.

1. In regard to the designation and objects of such establishments, I would suggest that they be called Industrial Schools; they are more than schools of manual labour: they are schools of learning and religion; and industry is the great element of efficiency in each of these. I should, therefore, prefer the designation of industrial school to that of manual labour school.

As to the objects of these establishments, I understand them not to contemplate anything more in respect to intellectual training than to give a plain English education adapted to the working farmer and mechanic. In this their object is identical with that of every good common school; but in addition to this pupils of the industrial schools are to be taught agriculture, kitchen gardening, and mechanics, so far as mechanics is connected with making and repairing the most useful agricultural implements. It is, therefore, necessary that the pupils should reside together. Hence the necessity of providing for their domestic education, and for every part of their religious instruction. This last, I conceive to be absolutely essential, not merely upon general Christian principles, but also upon the ground of what I may term Indian economies, as it is a fact established by numerous experiments, that the North American Indian cannot be civilized or preserved in a state of civilization (including habits of industry and sobriety) except in connection with, if not by the influence of, not only religious instruction and sentiment but of religious feelings. Even in ordinary civilized life, the mass of the labouring classes are controlled by their feelings as almost the only rule of action, in proportion to the absence or partial character of their intellectual development. The theory of a certain kind of educational philosophy is falsified in respect to the Indian: with him nothing can be done to improve and elevate his character and condition without the aid of religious feeling. This influence must be superadded to all others to make the Indian a sober

and industrious man. Even a knowledge of the doctrines and moral precepts of orthodox Christianity, with all the appliances of prudential example and instruction, is inadequate to produce in the heart and life of the Indian, the spirit and habits of an industrial civilization, without the additional energy and impulsive activity of religious feeling. The animating and controlling spirit of each industrial school establishment should, therefore, in my opinion, be a religious one. The religious culture in daily exercises and instruction should be a prominent object of attention; and besides vocal music, generally, sacred vocal music should form an important branch of their education.

Then in respect to secular learning, I conceive there is, and ought to be, a wide difference between the objects of these schools, and what are usually termed manual labour schools. In the latter, learning is the end proposed; manual labour is the means to that end, and subordinate to it. The chief prominence is, therefore, given to learning, and labour is pursued only two or three hours a day, and more as a recreation than as employment, as a means of aiding the pupil to support himself, by reducing the ordinary charges of the school or providing additional resources for its support. In the contemplated industrial schools, I understand the end proposed to be the making of the pupils industrious farmers, and that learning is provided for and pursued only so far as it will contribute to that end.

I believe the educating of the pupils as mechanics as well as farmers has been spoken of; but however imposing such a proposal may be in theory, however pleasing may be the thought of thus training up to the Indian youth as carpenters, cabinet-makers, shoemakers, tailors, &c., I think it is neither expedient nor practicable with the probable resources available to provide for educating them in the industrial schools to any other pursuit than that of agriculture. The following are my reasons for this opinion:—

1. To employ tradesmen in order to give instruction in each of those branches of labour will require a large expenditure, besides the heavy expense of erecting buildings for their accommodation and stock of tools for them to work with.
2. The management of schools including so many departments and so many agents, in connection with each establishment, will be very difficult at best, and will often be attended with perplexing embarrassments.
3. I do not think a sufficient number of tradesmen will be required or find continuous employment among the Indians to justify the expense of thus providing for the teaching of trades in the industrial schools. In any instance in which an Indian youth may evince an inclination and genius for a particular branch of mechanics, I think it will be better to apprentice him to some competent and trustworthy tradesman than to incur the expense and difficulty of teaching various trades in the industrial schools.

Agriculture being the chief interest, and probably the most suitable employment of the civilized Indians, I think the great object of industrial schools should be to fit the pupils for becoming working farmers and agricultural labourers, fortified of course by Christian principles, feelings and habits.

2. Such being, as it appears to me, the appropriate objects of the industrial schools, it now becomes a question of great practical importance, how far Government can advantageously interfere in their management and control. I think that any attempt to carry on these establishments by providing merely for secular instruction, will prove a failure; and that any attempt on the part of the Government to provide religious instruction will be found equally impracticable. I think, therefore, the interference or control of the Government should be confined to that which the Government can do with most effect

and the least trouble, namely, to the right of inspecting the schools from time to time by an agent or agents of its own, to the right of having detailed reports of the schools as often as it shall think proper to require them, at least once or twice a year, and the right of continuing or withholding the grant made in aid of these schools. It is this power over the grant, the exercise of which will be determined by the inspections made and the reports given, that the paramount authority of the Government, in respect to these schools will be secured, while the endless difficulties and embarrassments arising from fruitless attempts to manage the schools in detail will be avoided.

I think there should be a mutual understanding, and, on the following points, concurrence between the Government and the religious denomination through the agency of which each of these schools is to be conducted: 1. The appointment of the superintendent. 2. The buildings to be erected. 3. The conditions on which pupils shall be received into the schools. The appointment and dismissal of the other assistants and labourers at the industrial school establishment, can be most beneficially left with the authorities of the religious persuasion having charge of the majority of the Indians where each school may be established. Such religious persuasion contributing part of the funds necessary to support the school and being the spiritual instructor of the Indians concerned, will have a direct interest in the most economical management of it, and in the employment of the best agents, and will have much better opportunities of doing so than the Government. Even in the common schools in England, the Government lays down general principles and regulations and claims the right of inspection in granting aid to religious denominations complying with those regulations in the establishment and support of such schools, but does not otherwise interfere with the local management of them.

3. As to the general regulations on which the Government should insist in the management of these industrial schools, the following remarks and suggestions are respectfully submitted:—

1. The religious character of these contemplated schools and the religious influences which must pervade all departments of their immediate management, in order to their efficiency and permanent success, have been sufficiently remarked upon in the former part of this communication.
2. It follows as a necessary consequence, that everything as to human agency in regard to the success of these schools, depends upon the character and qualifications of the superintendent and agents employed to conduct them. It was the piety and judgment and example of the late excellent Mr. de Fellenberg, more than any code of rules, that rendered his agricultural school for the poor, at Hofwyl, near Berne, in Switzerland, a blessing to hundreds of peasant youth, and a model of all similar establishments as it still continues to be under the direction of his sons and son-in-law. I visited that establishment in the autumn of 1845, and found it the *beau ideal* of what I would wish our Indian industrial schools to be. On my visiting the celebrated Normal School at Haarlem, and after conversing a long time with the head master, the venerable Prinsen (who for more than twenty years has stood at the head of the school teaching system of of [sic] Holland, and whose system is adopted in Belgium), I asked him for the printed rules and regulations of his establishment; he replied (pointing to himself) "I am the rules of the school. If the master of a school has not the rules in his head and heart (pointing to his head and heart) they will be of little use on paper." But I do not think we can altogether dispense with rules in our Indian industrial schools, yet the rules however carefully prepared and excellent, will be of little advantage unless they are exemplified in the character, example and spirit of the

instructors and assistants, and the task of selecting and overseeing such agents can be much more effectually performed by the authorities of a religious body than by the Government.

3. As to the number of agents to be employed in each establishment, that must depend on circumstances. I do not think any rule can be laid down on this point. As labour and instruction must be carried on together, under a paternal discipline, it would be desirable that the master of the school should also be the farmer and the pupils be members of his family. But it is seldom that such a variety of rare qualifications is found in one person. Mr. de Fellenberg could, during his whole life, meet with but one such person; his son-in-law now sustains this three fold office with great piety, and zeal and efficiency. But, I think in general, it will be found necessary to employ at each of the establishments, a superintendent who ought to be the spiritual pastor and father of the family; a farmer and a schoolmaster.

Perhaps a person may be found for each of these establishments who will combine in himself the qualification of farmer and school teacher. I think it will also be found necessary to employ occasionally a mechanic and one or more labourers.

4. In regard to the pupils, I think the time occupied in labour should be from 8 to 12 hours a day during the summer, and instruction from 2 to 4 hours, and that during the winter the amount of labour should be lessened, and that of study increased. During two or three weeks of planting in the spring, of harvest in the summer, and of seed-sowing, &c., in the autumn, it may, perhaps, be well to omit instruction altogether. Gymnastic exercises in the winter may replace the agricultural labour of summer, but the time and kinds of recreation must depend upon circumstances.
5. In respect to the division of time, perhaps something like the following may be advisable. To rise at five in the summer, attend to the police of the house, and have prayers and lessons in the school until seven, breakfast at seven, labour from eight until noon, dinner and intermission from twelve until one, labour from one until six, supper at six, lessons until eight, have prayers and retire to bed between eight and nine. On Sunday the hours of rising, prayers, meals and retiring to bed the same as on other days. The pupils belonging to the religious persuasion by whom the school is managed should attend to its public services, pupils of any other religious persuasion should attend their own places of worship, if there be any in the neighbourhood, otherwise attend the worship of the school. In the intervals of public service, both in the morning and in the afternoon, they should have lessons in sacred music, the catechism, &c. The hours of rising might be made an hour later in winter than in summer.
6. The course of instruction should include reading and the principles of the English language, arithmetic, elementary geometry, or knowledge of forms, geography and the elements of general history, natural history and agricultural chemistry, writing, drawing and vocal music, book-keeping (especially in reference to farmers' accounts) religion and morals. The instruction during the summer should, I think, be connected with the agricultural employments of the pupils, including exercises in reading and vocal music, natural history of the plants, vegetables, trees, birds and animals of the country in the first place, together with its geography and history, book-keeping and farmers' accounts. The pupils should be taught natural history by means of drawing as well as by oral instruction, and lessons from books in regard to the character and habits of birds and animals, and the growth, qualities and culture of plants, vegetables, &c. Each pupil should be taught and required to keep a cash, a real, and, after a time a personal account,

the first including the little money that he may receive and spend, the second, the clothes as well as money and any other articles that he may receive, his boarding and lodging, school teaching, school books, &c. I think it would be beneficial to allow each pupil, say a penny or so per day, for work, allowing twelve hours' labour for a day's work; and paying him the sum thus earned at his leaving the school to set up for himself. This gratuity might be increased during the last year or two of his remaining in the school. His receiving it should be made dependent upon two conditions, his good conduct and correctness in keeping and posting his accounts from time to time according to the system laid down. In this way the head master of Hofwyl Agricultural School requires each of his agricultural pupils to keep accounts: he devotes half an hour each day during the summer, immediately after dinner, to teaching his pupils how to enter into their waste books or journals the items above referred to, and how, from time to time, to post and balance their accounts; and he informed me that he considered all his labour fruitless if he did not teach these young farmers to keep correct, detailed accounts.

7. In connection with the above methods of teaching book-keeping and farmers' accounts, I think the superintendent of each industrial school should be required to keep a journal, a cash, a real and a personal account, together with the proper ledgers. The journal should include the transactions of every day. — The cash account, the money that he receives and pays out. In the real account, there should be an account opened for clearing land, for each field, each kind of grain, each kind of stock, for farming implements, for the boarding hall, the school, fuel, &c. There should be also an account for capital or stock, and an inventory of it made once or twice a year, and the superintendent should be held personally responsible for every article not accounted for by being worn out, broken, &c. Thus the expense, the profit and loss, not only of the whole establishment could be ascertained from time to time, but also the expense of every department of it, of every kind of grain, stock, &c. The keeping and posting of these several accounts might after a time be assigned to the more advanced pupils, and should in due course be taught to them all, so that they might thus advance from keeping accounts involving a few pence or a few shillings and few articles, to keeping accounts embracing every branch of agriculture and to the amount of hundreds of pounds. The Government Inspector would, of course examine these accounts and the proper vouches with the greatest care, and the Government might require an abstract of them from time to time.

This system of accounts, it appears to me, will be one of the most effectual means of securing correctness and economy in the management of these industrial schools, of checking extravagance, preventing injudicious expenditures, and of suggesting from time to time the means and subjects of retrenchment and improvement, while it will train up the pupils to habits of order and business, that will render them objects of desire by proprietors, as overseers of farms, should they not settle on farms of their own, as many of the pupils of the Irish National Agricultural School, near Dublin, are to proprietors in different parts of Ireland. It would be a gratifying result to see graduates of our Indian industrial schools become overseers of some of the largest farms in Canada, nor will it be less gratifying to see them industrious and prosperous farmers on their own account.

8. Of course no age can be prescribed at present for the admission of pupils into the industrial schools. In general, I think they should remain there from four to eight years, according to the age of entering and according to attainments and capacity to manage for themselves.

I think with judicious management, these establishments will be able in the course of a few years very nearly to support themselves, besides enabling the industrious and prudent pupils to accumulate considerable sums for their assistance in commencing business for themselves. But, of course, considerable outlays will be necessary in establishing these schools.

I make no remark on plans of buildings, systems of agriculture, nor on numerous details as to modes of transacting business and teaching. I fear, indeed, I have entered too much into details already. But I submit these observations, suggestions and hints, such as they are, to the indulgent consideration of His Excellency and the Indian Department.

If I have omitted to notice any points which you think of importance, I will readily supply such omissions, and will be ready at any time to do what I can to promote the objects of these contemplated industrial schools.

I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

E. Ryerson.

George Vardon, Esquire,
Assistant Superintendent General
Indian Affairs,
Montreal.