Teachers Must Read: Imagining and Instructing the Teacher-as-Reader in Nineteenth-Century English Canada

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“Teachers must read,” exhorted editor Graeme Mercer Adam, writing in the March 1886 issue of the *Canada Educational Monthly and School Chronicle* (*CEM*), the journal he had founded some seven years before. “The most accomplished teacher, as well as the freshest graduate from school or college hall, *must read*. Whatever his attainments may be, he *must read*, in order to keep ‘touch’ with the ages past, with that in which he lives, and if at all possible, with the age near at hand ... To keep his heart living, and his spirit filled with glowing energy, an educator *must read*.”¹

One of English Canada’s foremost literary boosters, and an important proponent of education, whether formal or autodidactic, Mercer Adam strongly sounded both chords in his editorial, and struck a fresh note with the insistence that teachers move beyond narrowly professional reading to engage with works of imagination and power. A bookman of long standing, having been all of printer, publisher, bookseller, and an advocate for the book trades, Mercer Adam’s broad-church attitude to literature was generous, even for an educated man of his day. (Indeed, as a bookstore proprietor in the 1860s, he had stocked not only serious novels by authors such as Dickens, Disraeli, Eliot, and Scott, but popular fiction of many stripes – the sensational *Lady Audley’s Secret* was on his list of holiday gift-giving suggestions.)² Equally as he was opposed to the narrowing of choice when it came to reading materials, so too was he opposed to the gradgrindery of the education system, and the dreary and methodical study that teachers were expected to undertake in preparation for their

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¹ [Graeme Mercer Adam], “Teachers Must Read,” *CEM* 8 (March 1886): 105–6 (105).

² “G. Mercer Adam’s Holiday Book List for 1866–67 ...” *Academic OneFile*, Toronto Public Library, accessed 23 July 2015, <http://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMSC>.

duties. His views and interests more generally pervade the journal: until he left the position in 1888 to concentrate on his own writing career, *Canada Educational Monthly* introduced its readers to the new forms of literary criticism then being developed in the universities, and encouraged its audience to read widely and well.

The *CEM* (1879–97) was not the only educational journal to address an audience of teachers on the topic of reading, or to publish even more focused pieces expressly on the topic of reading *by* teachers: what materials, what approaches, and to what ends.³ Contemporary to it, the *Educational Weekly* (1885–87) (*EW*), also published in Toronto, by the Grip Printing and Publishing Company, printed over the course of its 116 issues some twenty-nine pieces advocating textual choice – “What Shall We Read?,” “Good Books,” “A Taste for Good Reading” – the best modes of reading – “How to Read,” “How Not to Read” – and sometimes both together, as in “How to Read and What to Read,” all titles indicative of a more practical focus on the part of the *Weekly*. Its successor, the *Educational Journal* (1887–97, also *Educational Journal and Practical Teacher*) (*EJ*), a further publication of the Grip house, and the result of an amalgamation between the *Educational Weekly* and the *Canada School Journal*, printed only fourteen items on the topics of adult reading and teacher self-culture during its eleven-year run, but provided intensive book-selection guidance through literary notices and reviews. While there were more print venues for such discussion in the latter part of the century, no journal treated the topic as intensively as did the *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* (1848–66, later the *Journal of Education for Ontario*, also *Journal of Education, Province of Ontario*, 1867–77) (*JE*), which published some eighty-five items (two-thirds of them appearing in the 1850s and 1860s) instructing educators on how and what to read for their personal and vocational development, or promoting the importance of books and adult reading in more general ways. For

³ I am grateful to Anna Sonser, who searched three of the journals (*Canada Educational Monthly*, *Educational Weekly*, *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* – later *Journal of Education, Province of Ontario*) in the capacity of research assistant for an earlier stage of this project. While almost all of the items identified are from five major educational journals (the three just mentioned along with *Canada School Journal* and *Educational Journal*, with a few items from the *Educationalist*), other periodicals mentioned in the introduction (*The Ontario Teacher*, *The School Magazine*) also were searched, as well as more ephemeral publications: *Companion and Teacher* (also *Our Home Companion and Canadian Teacher*), *The Educator*, *Gage's School Examiner and Monthly Review*, and *The Home and School Supplement*.

more than two decades the *JE* was the dominant – indeed, at times the sole – educational journal in the province, its only rival a paper of smaller circulation, the *Educationalist* (Brighton, 1860–62?) (*Ed*) undertaken by newspaperman Hazleton Spencer to allow for alternate views and for more general discussions of educational topics. During its tenure, the *Journal of Education* – the official educational organ for the province, under the titular direction of Reverend Egerton Ryerson but the hands-on management of John George Hodgins – played an especially important role in the education of teachers in the years when normal and model schools were only beginning to be established, and during the decades when teachers might have little or no formal training for the work, and quite likely a somewhat irregular education of their own.

Not all journals canvassed the topic, of course. *The Ontario Teacher* (Strathroy, 1873–76), for example, focused solely on practical classroom matters and on critiquing government educational policy, skirting topics with a broader cultural dimension, while *The School Magazine* (Hamilton, 1880–81?) was dedicated almost entirely to techniques for preparing students for examinations. Even the longer-running and ambitious *Canada School Journal* (1877–86, also *Canada School Journal and Weekly Review*) (*CSJ*), the successor to the *JE* and intended to be the driver of educational development throughout the Dominion, published only one editorial note on the topic and six small items (three of which were lifted from educational journals in the United States) throughout its ten-year publishing run, choosing to focus instead on curriculum, examinations and results, and news pertaining to education. Further, the attention given to the topic of teachers' reading practices might vary within a single journal with a change of editors or according to shifts in the demographics of the target audience. The *Canada Educational Monthly* addressed itself to a highly educated readership, gave considerable attention to university affairs, and took on the contours of a scholarly journal in publishing essays by professors and addresses delivered to academic organizations such as the new Modern Language Association of Ontario. As a result, despite Graeme Mercer Adam's strong commitment to adult education and to cultural development more generally, the *CEM* under his editorship published only eleven items on reading promotion or book selection, with a further eight under the editorship of Archibald MacMurchy, although new developments in literary criticism and literary studies pedagogy received sustained attention. However, the necessity for self-culture and specific instruction on

reading practices and textual selection had been running topics of educational journals for some fifty years, and the listing below provides more than 160 entries in total aimed at the “teacher reader.”⁴

Nineteenth-century journals, especially in colonial or emergent situations, are tricky both from a bibliographical and cultural-analytical perspective. Even in periodicals with some longevity and relatively stable runs (as is the case with the major educational journals canvassed here) there were frequent changes in mandate, editorial direction, content, content origin (the mixture of original, exchanged, extracted, or pirated materials) and format (permitting editorial comment, essays, and items of a more extended nature, or not). As a result, the items listed here are quite variant in terms of their origins, genres, and length. Further, given the dominance of the *Journal of Education* until the late 1870s, the distribution of items across the journals is uneven. Nonetheless, a general pattern emerges: there was an especial valence to debates over reading material and reading practices when the imagined “reader” was a teacher, whose classroom readiness and moral fitness could be, for better or ill, affected. Tracking the imagining of, and the address to (or interpellation of) this teacher-reader over the mid-to-late nineteenth century, in some long-running educational journals of wide diffusion, is the purpose of this essay. While general considerations of literary morality, literary taste, and “good reading” will of course occur again and again, my primary focus here will be on the ways that teachers – either implicitly, as the audience for a journal which they are expected to consult, or explicitly, through items in which their reading choices and practices are at issue – are being imagined as readers, and instructed in textual selection and reading methods.

This study is limited to the longer-running journals produced in Upper Canada / Canada West / Ontario between the period 1848 (when the *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* was launched)

⁴ “Self-culture” is a much-used and resultantly flexible term of the period, denoting everything from autodidacticism, to holistic mental and moral improvement, to the perfectionism of the human spirit as advocated by the Transcendentalist thinker William Ellery Channing in his influential *Self-Culture* lecture of 1838. For educational administrators of the period (as historian Patrice Milewski has noted of the Minister of Education for Ontario, George Ross [1883–1899]), self-culture would produce versatile teachers, competent in many subject areas, who retained an intellectual freshness. See Patrice Milewski, “Teachers’ Institutes in Late Nineteenth-Century Ontario,” *Paedagogica Historica* 44, no. 5 (2008): 607–20 (608).

and the century's end, but it is worth noting that some of these publications were national rather than provincial at least in aspiration (as attested by the "Canada" in two of the titles) and most were wide-ranging in outlook, drawing materials from a variety of sources well beyond the boundaries of the province.⁵ The journals with a broader scope would have found an especial readership in Manitoba, which during this period relied upon Ontario curricula and textbook choices.⁶ Without claiming, however, that journals produced in the one province were representative of attitudes elsewhere, I have chosen to limit this study not only in the interests of a more manageable analysis, but also in order to track changes in attitudes to teachers' reading, self-study, and self-culture, as they develop over time and in response to developments in one specific educational milieu. The items surveyed include pieces specifically generated for the instruction of teachers in the province, or written (especially towards the end of the century) by teachers, principals, and school inspectors themselves. Where these materials are extracted or reprinted from educational journals from elsewhere or publications of a more general nature, it is assumed that the respective editors found some of the material suitable for the provincial situation. This essay provides a general overview (organized on a decade-by-decade basis) of the sorts of instruction about self-culture and adult reading to be found in the educational

⁵ *Canada Educational Monthly* and *Canada School Journal*, particularly, addressed a Dominion-wide readership. For 1881 the circulation of *CEM* is given as 1,250, and for *CSJ* it is 5,000. (By comparison, *Rose-Belford's* circulation was 6,000, and the weekly *Grip* claimed 5,000, in the same year.) See *C.A. Cook and Co.'s United States Newspaper Directory Revised, Containing Names of all the Newspapers and Other Periodicals Published in America* (Chicago: C.A. Cook and Co., 1881). It is difficult to assess the extra-provincial circulation for *CEM*, but *CSJ* was vocal about its success, claiming a thousand new subscriptions in Nova Scotia and five hundred new subscriptions from New Brunswick in January and February of 1879 alone. "To Advertisers," *CSJ* 4, [issue 28] (September 1878): [1]. *CSJ* boasted of being recommended by the Chief Superintendents of Education for those provinces and of Manitoba and British Columbia as well, and stated in late 1879 that its issues were reaching almost 12,000 readers, presumably calculating multiple readers per issue. *CSJ* 4, [issue 31] (December 1879): [1]. I am grateful to the anonymous peer reviewer for useful suggestions for clarifying the goals and readership of these periodicals.

⁶ While Ontario-authored and Ontario-published materials also were used in other provinces, Manitoba schools (especially English-language schools) drew heavily upon the curricula of the Ontario system, before the establishment of its first normal school (mandated in 1882) and the consolidation of a public system as initiated by the Manitoba Schools Act of 1890.

journals between 1848 and 1897, and highlights some key items where the specific purposes, selections, and practices for teachers' reading are addressed. I have approached this material with these sorts of questions in mind: Do the items reflect (or respond to) changes in the demographic make-up of teachers during the period (including their gender, class backgrounds, and training)? Are teachers seen to be similar to, or different from, the rest of the reading population, in their reasons for reading and their tastes? How much of the advice they receive is directed solely to their vocational requirements, how much to their personal (moral, ethical, intellectual) development, and how much to their recreational needs? Are institutions additional to the schools important to teachers in terms of book access and literacy/literary improvement? Are some forms and genres, or specific reading practices, seen to be more suitable than others? Are there recurrent metaphors used to illustrate the functions of reading or the particular relationships that teacher-readers are expected to hold to their reading materials? While this essay cannot claim to be a study of a reading sub-culture insofar as the items surveyed tell us little about teachers' actual reading selections and practices (and teachers themselves are rarely the authors of the items), these materials do evidence the "imagining" of a readerly sub-community in nineteenth-century English Canada, and of various attempts to shape it.

This imagining occurs in the overlap of two concurrent phenomena: the rapid development of a system of public and higher education in the province, and the explosion of print (both imported, and Canadian-generated) especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century. At the same time as advice to teachers (and particularly novice teachers) is intended to remedy deficiencies in their education and vocational preparation, and to strengthen their intellectual and moral preparedness for the work, such advice also is situated within the discussions of "reading" – good books, the best modes of reading, the place of reading in daily life – more general to the period. The educational journals track, with especially sharp definition, the shift from utilitarian/proscriptive reading advice to an anti-utilitarian and prescriptive approach to reading, and reveal the diffusion of more specifically "literary" and literary-critical modes of reading at century's end.

Establishing the *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* (with the ongoing assistance of John George Hodgins) was one of the first major undertakings of the Reverend Dr. Egerton Ryerson, following his appointment as the Chief Superintendent of Schools

for Upper Canada in 1844. (He commenced work at the end of 1845).⁷ The term “superintendent” may be somewhat misleading, at least for a twenty-first century reader: Ryerson’s task was less to “superintend” public schools than to bring them into existence, and to create the infrastructure – of legislation and funding, materials, curricula, and personnel – that would support them. (If one thinks of a “superintendent” as a “general contractor,” that is somewhat more like it.) In instituting a system of common schools Ryerson needed not only to mandate their existence, but also to instruct local towns and rural districts in the complexities of establishing their schools (an enterprise requiring local commitments of both money and land) and of conducting them on sound principles. The intended audience of the *Journal (JE)* was thus a broad one: teachers and principals, school trustees, municipal councils, superintendents, and people charged with school “visiting” or inspection. Soon realizing that the journal could not rely on voluntary paid subscriptions, Ryerson persuaded the House of Assembly in 1853 to make the *JE* the official medium for communications from the Education Department and to subsidize its publication. By the mid-1850s, while its subscription price was nominally five shillings a year, it had an unpaid circulation of some 5,000 copies a month.⁸

⁷ Egerton Ryerson brought to his position almost twenty years of experience in Upper Canadian politics (and educational politics in particular). A Methodist preacher and a most able opponent of Reverend John Strachan, and of Church of England privilege, he was a formidable writer and rhetorician, one-time editor of the *Christian Guardian* and chief steward of the Methodist Book Room, and a founder of Victoria College (then at Cobourg), becoming its first principal in 1841. See R.D. Gidney, “Ryerson, Egerton,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, 1881–1890, ed. Frances Halpenny and Jean Hamelin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 783–95, accessed 28 July 2015, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/ryerson_egerton_11E.html. John George Hodgins, whose family had immigrated from Ireland in the 1830s, was an early student at Victoria College, and was picked by Ryerson as his clerk when Ryerson became superintendent. While Hodgins is an obscure figure compared to his eminent superior, he was a powerful figure in his day, charged with executing Ryerson’s educational schemes, and was the de facto editor of the *Journal of Education* after 1852. See Judson D. Purdy, “Hodgins, John George,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14, 1911–1920, ed. Ramsay Cook and Jean Hamelin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 496–99. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hodgins_john_george_14E.html.

⁸ J. George Hodgins, *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, from the Passing of the Constitution Act of 1791 to the Close of the Rev. Dr. Ryerson’s Administration of the Education Department in 1876*, 28 vols. (Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, 1884–1910), 9:191; Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice,

Thus, while the immediate purpose of the *JE* was to effect the development of schools and to regulate their operations, attention also was given to the more general state of education in the province, not only to promote self- and mutual instruction among the population of adult learners who could not benefit from the schools now being launched, but also to instill a compelling sense of the benefits of formal education, in order to motivate communities in their efforts at school establishment. As a result, especially for the first years of its existence (the two years of the 1840s will be treated with the 1850s here), the items pertaining to adult reading in the *JE* are of a general nature for the most part, and teachers (a group that needed to be brought, demographically, into being) were addressed in a specific way in only a few of the pieces. Nonetheless, the distribution of these items is purposeful: for example, a number of items on reading accompanied the publication of the lengthy “General Catalogue of Books for Public Libraries in Upper Canada” – a catalogue of approved works, designed to guide educators and town councils in their selections – which ran across three issues of the *JE*, in July, August, and September of 1853. Items of shorter length frequently were clumped together into a section titled “Papers on Books and Libraries.” Overall, it makes sense to understand what may initially seem a somewhat miscellaneous collection of material in relation to the Education Department’s overarching efforts to promote reading and to guide book selection, in the schools directly (through the mandating of textbooks, and the acquisition of materials via the Educational Depository) and through the establishment of public libraries.⁹ The challenge, for a researcher,

Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977; reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 133.

- ⁹ The Educational Depository was the provincial system for the mass purchase and distribution of books and other educational materials. Ryerson described it to the House of Assembly in this way: “every description of the best School Maps, Apparatus and Text-books required for the Schools, and the Books for Libraries are, and will be, supplied to the remotest Municipalities in Upper Canada at lower prices than the same publications can be purchased by the public where they are printed, either in the United States or Great Britain.” *Annual Report of the Normal, Model and Common Schools in Upper Canada, for the Year 1852 ... Printed by Order of the Legislative Assembly* (Quebec: John Lovell, 1853), 206. The Depository system was designed to regularize schoolbook use, to build district libraries and (despite Ryerson’s words) to discourage acquisition of “American” materials. Books were purchased from England and Ireland – the Irish National Series of school readers, which provided sequenced courses of instruction, was heavily promoted – until the government began to produce its own readers for classroom use in the 1860s. The impact of (what was essentially) a government

is to pick out items specifically relating to reading and self-culture, from among the masses of other items relating to the development of school and public libraries, book sales and distribution, the teaching of reading, and general bits of cultural and literary intelligence. The thirty-five items so discriminated for the 1840s and 1850s should be seen as a subset of a much larger field.

It comes as no surprise to encounter the highly freighted binaries of some of the titles of these items. Books are, on the one hand, “good” or “ennobling,” the source of “companionship,” a “wonderful power,” and a “continuous reacting influence.” But they equally might be, on the other hand, “vicious” or the cause of “bad effects,” requiring the reader to exercise both “caution” and “choice” in selection and reading practice. In her study of literary production and reading tastes in early Canada, Carole Gerson has noted a spectrum of attitudes throughout the century, with a wariness of fiction particularly in the earlier decades (and a dismissal of the novel, by the elite, from the higher realms of Literature), although fiction began to be acknowledged, in the post-Confederation period, as a potentially powerful force in the shaping of national narratives.¹⁰ However, in the negativity of some of its earlier items, the *JE* is somewhat anachronistic for a mid-century journal intended for an educated audience, displaying a suspicion of fiction as inherently untrue, fantastic, or delusional, quite apart from any particular considerations of genre or content. A somewhat hysterical item on the topic of “Fictitious Reading” stretched this case to its limits. According to the article, not only do “exciting books of fiction” weave a web of delusions stronger than the experiences of real life, but these effects could be addictive, even fatal: “The perusal of such books, like indulging in the use of strong drink, tobacco, opium or any other substance of an intoxicating nature, creates so powerful an appetite for the stimulus ... that those who have once got entangled within its influence, find themselves unable to abandon it. It throws its coils around them like a monstrous boa, and death follows its terrible grasp.”¹¹ A quotation from the Evangelical moralist Hannah More warns that “habitual indulgence” in fiction, however safe its content, “performs the work of a mental

monopoly was making itself felt on Upper Canadian booksellers by the mid-1850s.

¹⁰ Carole Gerson, *A Purer Taste: The Writing and Reading of Fiction in English in Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1989), especially 17–35.

¹¹ “Fictitious Reading,” *JE* 3, no. 6 (June 1850): 86.

atrophy.” It is illustrative of the contradictory attitudes to fiction in the 1850s, that the quotation from Hannah More is in the same issue as the installment of the General Catalogue in which selected stories and novels were recommended.¹² They are tucked away under the category of “Miscellaneous,” and much of the fictional material comes from bodies such as the London Religious Tract Society and the London Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. However, *The Arabian Nights Entertainments*, adventure stories, the seafaring fiction of Captain Frederick Marryat, and novels by popular (if slightly dated) authors such as Maria Edgeworth, Harriet Martineau, and Catharine Sedgwick, are sprinkled among the more improving selections.¹³

Despite this somewhat mixed approach to fiction, the *JE*’s concern about sensation reading was unmitigated. Typical of the time period are two items from the issue of December 1859, where warnings are issued against “vicious” literature – tales of “daggers and death, bombast and blood” – that proves particularly alluring to young minds, and against peddled books, whose colporteurs sell “lives of highwaymen, pirates, records of bold and wicked adventure” as well as the most inferior types of magazines.¹⁴ According to the latter item, reprinted from the *Vermont School Journal*, the problem of sensation reading was worse in rural areas, where readers relied on itinerant pedlars for want of better-quality materials. (It is this situation of rural book access that the Educational Depository, the new government grant for provincial libraries, and the “General Catalogue” were intended to address, and it is in recognition of the

¹² [Hannah More,] “Works of Fiction,” *JE* 6, no. 9 (September 1853): 141. The “Miscellaneous” section of the General Catalogue is in the same issue, 133–36.

¹³ There would be continuing dissatisfaction with the range of fiction offered by the depository: the literature for children and juveniles was primarily didactic (usually falling under the heading of “Practical Education,” i.e. life lessons), and there was not enough to interest the “rising generation” and the adults who also relied on the resources of school libraries. In 1865, for example, the school trustees for Simcoe requested (and received) the works of Sir Walter Scott and Edward Bulwer [Lytton]. In response to pressure, Hodgins prepared a “Memorandum on Standard Works of Fiction,” which recommended approval of the writings (in some cases, of selected works) of Bulwer, Fenimore Cooper, Dickens, George Eliot, John Galt, Thomas Chandler Haliburton, Charles Kingsley, Mrs. Mulock, Thackeray, Trollope, Charlotte Yonge, and the *Blackwood’s*-affiliated writers J.G. Lockhart and “Christopher North.” Hodgins, *Documentary History of Education*, 20:93–95.

¹⁴ “Crowd Out the Vicious Literature,” *JE* 12, no. 12 (December 1859): 184. “Caution in Regard to Peddled Books.” *JE* 12, no. 12 (December 1859): 185.

competing allure of the book peddlars that the “General Catalogue” pragmatically recommends selected stories and fiction.) That the situation might have been less dire in Canada West than in Vermont is indicated by an oddly optimistic item reprinted from the *Globe*, titled “Literature in the Canadian Bush,” which paints a rosy picture of a backwoods in which settlers willingly share their private libraries, where schools thrive, public-lecture series abound, and village libraries “are everywhere being formed.”¹⁵

Since the *JE*, at this point, is concerned with school establishment on a broader scale, the “teacher” is rarely a separate addressee. The journal in its early years lacks the discussions of curricula, the teaching and classroom management hints, and the provision of materials for classroom use that would occupy education journals later in the century.¹⁶ Nonetheless, it may be assumed that items on how and what to read, and the techniques for self-study, were intended to be of particular relevance for teachers. (That would include predictions of the dire impact of sensation reading on young and impressionable minds, which might well belong to the teachers themselves: aspiring teachers as young as sixteen could be admitted to the normal school in Toronto when it first opened, and as late as the 1890s, it still was not unusual to find teachers in rural schools who were under the age of eighteen.) A variety of items advocated methodical study and warned of the effects of miscellaneous reading. A lengthy piece, reprinted in 1854 from the *Massachusetts Teacher*, reminded readers of “The Duty of Self-Culture in Its Relations to Teaching,” arguing that self-culture bears upon each of the tripartite features – “*manners, mind, and morals*” – that must be nurtured in the teacher worthy of “his” vocation. While the encomium to the ideal teacher seems familiar and indeed somewhat bombastic, more noteworthy is the

¹⁵ “Literature of the Canadian Bush,” *JE* 11, no. 6 (June 1858): 84.

¹⁶ The lack of curriculum-related materials may seem puzzling, since the *JE* was the primary method of communicating with teachers in an education system that was under construction. However, as Penney Clark has noted, “in an era of few teaching aids and meagre pedagogical training, [school books] held de facto curriculum status” (335). Since readers and other textbooks essentially *were* the curriculum, just as students were sorted into classes according to the “level” of reader being used, it was necessary to persuade school districts to adopt approved, uniform, and (preferably) sequenced readers, rather than using whatever books they might have to hand. See Penney Clark, “The Publishing of School Books in English,” in *History of the Book in Canada*, vol. 2, 1840–1918, ed. Yvan Lamonde, Patricia Lockhart Fleming, and Fiona A. Black (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 335–40.

author's insistence that the job of "teacher" is becoming increasingly important and increasingly respected. It is this sense that the *Journal of Education* also was trying to transmit, in order to attract trained (or trainable) men, prepared for stable (rather than temporary or itinerant) teaching, to what was being newly defined as a life's work or even a vocation.¹⁷

The *JE* (which would swap the "Upper Canada" of its title for "Ontario" in late 1867) maintained its dominance over provincial educational discourse throughout the 1860s as well. Its only rival was the *Educationalist* from Brighton, C.W.: of the thirty-seven items identified for the 1860s, six come from the Brighton journal.¹⁸ It is worth noting the perceived need for alternative venues for educational discussion. (Indeed, "education" was a hotly debated topic in newspapers as well.) Historian Alison Prentice has cautioned against a "whiggish" view that would see the development of free schooling in Ontario as progressively evolutionary. There was widespread concern about, and resistance to, the process of educational centralization that began with Ryerson's appointment: "choice of courses of study, school books, school rules and prayers, which prior to the Ryerson era had been left to the discretion of parents and local school authorities was by 1871 clearly in the hands of central bodies – either provincial or municipal – as were the complex rules and regulations increasingly governing the qualifications, hiring, and behaviour of teachers and other previously unheard of functionaries within the growing public school system."¹⁹ In its opening editorial the *Educationalist* would raise just such concerns about educational centralization and the lack of voice given to teachers themselves in the *JE*, which expressly rejected any contributions or letters of a controversial nature. However, the items that the *Educationalist* devoted to the topic of adult reading differ little from what is found in the *JE* in the 1860s: teachers are advised to read as a way of acquiring mental "fuel" for their work (in

¹⁷ "The Duty of Self-Culture in Its Relations to Teaching," *JE* 7, no. 12 (December 1854): 189–91 (189).

¹⁸ The *Educationalist* produced a total of thirty-one issues. Little is known of the editor Hazleton Spencer, the son of Richard Spencer, editor of the *Brighton Flag*. Genealogical and local-history sources appear to conflate him with one or more relatives of the same name, a popular one since their forebear, Hazleton Spencer, was the Loyalist military figure and representative to the 1792 House of Assembly.

¹⁹ Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2004), 18.

the same way a steam engine needs stoking) or as a way of staying fresh for their classes (in two separate items titled “Teachers Should Study”), and reading is seen as a supplement to an otherwise active life, although care should be taken that reading not become too absorbing (“Taste for Reading”). The item with the exhortation “Young Ladies, Read!” is not about reading at all, it turns out, but rather about the need to acquire domestic skills.²⁰ While less concerned with literary morality, the items in the *Educationalist* are as narrowly utilitarian as anything in the *JE* to which it was in opposition.

The pages of the *JE* in the 1860s show a continuing moral (and moralistic) assessment of literature and reading, and it makes sense to connect this theme not only to ongoing efforts to form the characters of students and young adults, but also to the increasing regulation of the training, behaviour, and ethics of teachers in this period, as Prentice has noted. Books may be “good” and “pure and healthy,” capable of supplanting “evil habits,” or, alternatively, may themselves be “bad” and “pernicious.” (Here as elsewhere in the *JE*, the United States is almost invariably seen as the source of such “pernicious” reading matter.) Indeed, one lengthy report (which commenced, unusually, on the front page of the *JE*), titled “Influence of Pernicious Literature upon the Youthful Mind of Canada,” is a blow-by-blow case study of the evils of sensation reading, tracing the history of a young American man, Edgar E. Harter, who had been tempted into a life of crime by unwise reading beginning with the *New York Ledger*, and who recently had been executed for the murder of a man in Brockville, C.W.²¹ (See fig. 1.) The title is worth noting. Of course Harter’s mind was not formed “in Canada” at all, but the title is strategic: a repeated rationale for the establishment of common schools in Upper Canada was that idle youth (and boys especially) would turn to dissipation and crime, or become disaffected and radical, unless otherwise occupied and trained. The attitudes to sensation fiction and popular reading in the *JE* are characteristic of the time, but may be referred more specifically to the social instability of the post-Rebellion years, the erosion of youth employment and the apprenticeship system in the turbulent economic situation of the 1840s and 1850s, and the downturn of the 1860s occasioned by

²⁰ “Teachers Should Study,” *Ed* 1, no. 2 (1 October 1860): 16; “Teachers Should Study,” *Ed* 1, no. 15 (15 April 1861): 119; “Taste for Reading,” *Ed* 1, no. 11 (16 February 1861): 82; “Young Ladies, Read!” *Ed* 1, no. 2 (1 October 1860): 12.

²¹ “Influence of Pernicious Literature Upon the Youthful Mind of Canada,” *JE* 14, no. 4 (April 1861): 49–51.

the Civil War to the south.²² No other items are so lurid, although several display a concern not only with literary morality but also with cultural value, through their assessments of the "value of" evening schools, good books, and school libraries.

Figure 1. "Influence of Pernicious Literature Upon the Youthful Mind of Canada," *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* 14, no. 4 (April 1861), 49.

²² Houston and Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars*, 98–101; 104–06.

There is also an interesting appearance, in the item titles, of a vocabulary we could now term “bibliophilic.” Readers might have an “Affection for Books,” and are encouraged to engage in “The Art of Reading,” to “Develope [*sic*] a Love of Reading,” while books and the possession of a personal library are described in terms of their “enjoyments” and “pleasures.” Despite the presence of these bibliophilic intimations, nowhere in the items from the 1860s is there advocacy of the reading style that we might think of as “Romantic,” Rousseauesque, or, more generally, affective. The dangers of an irrational cathexis to books, of a reading practice that is entirely too emotional or embodied, is well illustrated in the cautionary tale of the criminal Edgar E. Harter.

There is concern, too, over a reading practice that is unsystematic or “desultory,” and this is an issue additional to the question of the quality or morality of any given book or magazine. It appears motivated, as much as anything, by the sense that there is a rapidly expanding realm of print – a “vast ocean” in the terms of Reverend Frederick Arnold – that the reader will be unable to navigate, and that he may risk (to continue Arnold’s analogy) encountering only whatever “shells” are cast up for his perusal. While Arnold acknowledges the use of recreational reading for those whose lives are otherwise effortful and well-ordered, he states that it is on the whole “a mistake to divest reading of the aspect of a duty,” and that it should be undertaken with a “determinate object” in view – acquiring knowledge of history, science, philosophy, or an ancient or modern language, for example. The navigational metaphor was popular; so too was a physiological one, as shown by a quotation from Sir William Hamilton, twice printed by the *JE*: “As it is not the largest quantity of any kind of food taken into the stomach that conduces to health, but such quantity of such a kind as can be best digested; so it is not the greatest complement of any kinds of information that improves the mind, but of such a quantity as determines the intellect to most vigorous energy.”²³ This argument is at base utilitarian: information is food or fuel for the brain, and rather than an end in itself, reading is an exercise of mental muscle, a way to increase thinking capability. Both the Reverend Arnold and Sir William Hamilton advocate the construction of a sort of intensive reading practice within the

²³ [Rev. Frederick Arnold], “Systemic and Desultory Reading,” *JE* 20, no. 6 (June 1867): 105–6 (105); [Sir William Hamilton], “Rules for Reading,” *JE* 14, no. 4 (April 1861): 52; “Rules for Reading,” *JE* 17, no. 9 (September 1864): 139.

context of (what book historians now would call) a print-saturated or “extensive” reading culture. Of course, to the Reverend Arnold (a Cambridge-educated cleric then living in Surrey) and Sir William (holder of a chair at Edinburgh) the “vast” availability of print material may have seemed more of a problem than it was, say, to a junior schoolteacher in Madoc or Owen Sound, although he or she may well have shared their opinion of the advantages of systematic study.

While no analysis can rest too heavily on the number of items detected in any given time period or on their distribution, it is worth noting the clustering of items on self-culture and on adult reading in the late 1850s and the early 1860s. Of the sixty-four items identified for the 1850s and 1860s (quite evenly distributed across the two decades), more than half of the items (56 percent) fall into the five-year window of 1858–62. (If one adds the seven items from the year 1863, the percentage of items clustered at mid-century rises to 67 percent.) This may be related to a disjunction, at the time, between the scarcity of opportunity for teachers’ higher education or formal training, and a newly emergent sense of the social, cultural, and economic importance of their vocation. Self-education was the temporary glue to hold this situation together.

It also is interesting to note the relative paucity of relevant items (fifteen) for the 1870s in the *JE*, even bearing in mind that the journal would cease publication mid-way through 1877, following the retirement of Egerton Ryerson, to be replaced by the *Canada School Journal* that year.²⁴ The scarcity of items may be due partly to the success of Ryerson’s other ventures: by 1875, there were 1,390 public school libraries in Ontario, serving both students and the surrounding communities, with collections totalling almost 275,000 volumes.²⁵ To this could be added the holdings of libraries maintained by Mechanics’

²⁴ The *CSJ* was established initially with an editorial committee of five men: the school inspectors J.A. McLellan and James Hughes, University of Toronto mathematics tutor Alfred Baker, normal-school science master Thomas Kirkland, and the *Globe* writer William Houston, who had graduated from University College only five years before and had not yet achieved his reputation as an educational reformer. At some point during 1884 (the date is not clear from the journal itself) J.E. Wells assumed the editorship. *CSJ* provides very little by way of items pertaining to adult reading (no items in the 1870s, and only seven in the 1880s) and so does not receive detailed treatment below.

²⁵ Yvan Lamonde, Peter F. McNally, and Andrea Rotundo, “Libraries and Their Publics,” in *History of the Book In Canada*, vol. 2, 1840–1918, ed. Yvan Lamonde, Patricia Lockhart Fleming, and Fiona A. Black (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 250–71 (252).

Institutes and voluntary associations. However, while the school collections themselves were curated according to well-established criteria, the proliferation of newspapers, magazines, and booksellers in the period meant that readers still required guidance. At this point the *JE* – perhaps reflecting the fatigue of its founder and its manager – appeared to have little new to say on the topic; in half of the fifteen items on the time-worn topic of literary morality the *JE* continued to harp on the “evils” of fiction and modern literature (the term occurs in three titles) or their “bad influence” (although one item does advocate the use of fiction pedagogically). Crime fiction is again deplored, and religious reading is predictably extolled. The narrowness of the items stems in part from the restricted range from which they are drawn: four of the items are addresses by religious ministers, and another two are taken from religious papers (the *Canada Christian Advocate*, and the *Churchman*). This makes a certain sense. Concerned not only with the morality of reading, reverend clerics often were called upon to address groups such as Mechanics’ Institutes and literary societies, and not infrequently took a keen interest in reading promotion. (The role of organized religion in the development of literacy and literary culture, and the provision of book access, remains a subject for more intensive research by English-Canadian book historians.) However, the lack of space provided for educators themselves in the *JE*, although they had a voice in *Ontario Teacher* and would, before long, find a role as columnists and contributors for the *Educational Weekly*, helps to account for the *JE*’s lack of momentum. Its replacement, the *Canada School Journal*, was a somewhat more welcoming journal of broader aspiration and was steered by an editorial committee of five prominent educators with provincial editors also appointed. Its pages were open to teachers – it was intended to be, in the words of an inaugural prospectus, “the Organ of the teachers themselves” – and it further planned to showcase curricular developments across the country and to initiate an educational discussion that was national in scope.²⁶

There were other ways to conduct that conversation, however. Such was the intent of the *Canada Educational Monthly*, which came into existence some eighteen months after the *Canada School Journal* was launched.²⁷ A lengthy editorial by Graeme Mercer Adam in the

²⁶ “Under the conviction ...” *CSJ* 1, no. 1 (June 1877): 4.

²⁷ Graeme Mercer Adam launched the *CEM* with strong experience as an editor, an author, and an educator: a former editor of *Canada Bookseller* and a founder of the important *Canadian Monthly*, he had been associated with both *The Bystander* and *The Week*. Widely published as a journalist and an author (including a

second issue, titled “The Promotion of Culture,” provides both a manifesto for the new publication, and marks off its differences from the *JE* and the *CSJ*, and, indeed, from the provincial educational authority. “The not unreasonable expectation of those who closely and interestedly watch the result of educational work in Canada,” wrote Mercer Adam, “is, that it shall largely contribute to the public culture, and be successful in elevating the tastes and refining the life of the people. In the cities, and in the older and more thickly-settled portions of Ontario, at any rate, is this influence expected to be at work. In the country towns, also ... there is an inviting field for the meliorating and refining influences of education ... we begin our educational work at a higher pitch, though the height we reach at the finish should be correspondingly elevated, and the results looked for those that mark the fulfilment of a great expectation.”²⁸ Education conducted on these principles, Mercer Adam was clear to point out, was far removed from the spiritless teaching currently being practiced throughout the province; and in encouraging “educational work at a higher pitch,” the *CEM* would orient strongly to the activities of the universities (the University of Toronto in particular), would throw open its pages to professors and to the “university men” now teaching in the high schools and colleges, and would advocate for the study of humanities on liberal and modern principles.

The *CEM*, then, was more than an educational journal narrowly defined, and shared something with the earlier, important cultural journal also edited by Mercer Adam: the *Canadian Monthly and National Review*, later *Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review*. While *CEM* was in many respects the premier educational journal of the 1880s and 1890s, its particular mandate left the field open for journals that were more specifically focused on classroom practices and the daily needs of teachers, leading to the launch of two

number of books of Canadian history), he had edited the five volumes of the Canadian Royal Readers for schools in 1883. After leaving *CEM*, he dedicated himself to his own (prolific) writing career and then worked for a time in publishing in New York before founding the educational journal *Self-Culture* in Chicago in 1896. See Henry James Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Hand-book of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), 5–7. See also Robert L. McDougall, “Graeme Mercer Adam,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14, 1921–1930, ed. Ramsay Cook and Jean Hamelin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 5–7, accessed 28 July 2015, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/adam_graeme_mercer_14E.html.

²⁸ [Graeme Mercer Adam], “The Promotion of Culture,” *CEM* 1 (February 1879): 65–69; (65).

successive journals from the enterprising Grip publishing house.²⁹ The *Educational Weekly* ran from 1885 to 1887, edited first by John E. Bryant and then, as of early 1886, by T. Arnold Haultain, and the source of its success may lie in the way it was able to position itself between the *CEM* and the *CSJ*.³⁰ (See fig. 2.) It was more practical and pedagogic in focus than the *CEM*, but more teacher-centred and more liberal in its educational principles than was the *CSJ*, as may be seen in the portrait of the ideal teacher sketched in an opening editorial prospectus: "He may gain much from the study of methods, but it is his life and example and intelligence, working in and upon the life and intelligence of his pupil, that produces the one educative result of value – intellectual power."³¹ This publication would be succeeded in turn by the *Educational Journal*, a "consolidation" of the *Educational Weekly* and the floundering *Canada School Journal*, and the *EJ* enjoyed a ten-year run under the steady editorial hand of J.E. Wells, producing its issues biweekly.³² While Grip publishers evidently had identified a sound commercial opportunity for its education department, the social reform leanings of J.W. Bengough (and of his brother Thomas Bengough, who was intermittently involved with the family publishing venture) also are apparent in the two journals that they published, particularly in the journals'

²⁹ On the Grip publishing house see Carl Spadoni, "Grip and the Bengoughs as Printers and Publishers," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada / Cahiers de la société bibliographique du Canada* 27, no. 1 (1988): 12–33.

³⁰ Considered one of the foremost teachers in Ontario, Bryant had been an instructor at Pickering College before assuming the principalship of the prestigious Galt Collegiate. Ill health forced him to resign from teaching to work as a journalist and editor. He also founded the Bryant Press. See Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women*, 121. T[héodore] Arnold Haultain (later Arnold Haultain) was a journalist and essayist with little connection to the educational world when he commenced as editor, although he would be made an Examiner for the University of Toronto in 1887 and for the provincial Education Department the following year. See Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women*, 449.

³¹ "Greeting," *EW* 1, no. 1 (1 January 1885): [1]

³² Originally from New Brunswick, Wells had come to Ontario as a classics master for the Canadian Literary Institute, a Baptist college in Woodstock. Resigning from the college in 1880, he embarked on a career as an author and editor, working for a number of years as an editorial writer for *The Week*, and taking on the editorship of *CSJ* in 1884. Following his editorship of the *EJ*, he became editor of *Canadian Baptist*. He is noted today for his contributions to the Social Gospel movement. See Ann DeVries, "Wells, James Edward," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 12, 1891–1900, ed. Frances Halpenny and Jean Hamelin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 1094–95, accessed 28 July 2015, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/wells_james_edward_12E.html.

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Educational Weekly

Vol. I.
THURSDAY, JANUARY 29, 1885.
Number 5.

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Figure 2. Front page of the *Educational Weekly* 1, no. 5 (29 January 1885), including advertisements of the publisher, the Grip Printing and Publishing Company of Toronto.

support of female teachers, who were struggling for higher pay, for teaching positions outside of the kindergartens and primary schools, and against being relegated (in schools large enough to have sex-segregated classrooms) to classes composed only of girls.³³

Despite the differences of the four educational journals operating in the 1880s, it makes sense to look at their items pertaining to self-culture and reading in the aggregate, forty-nine items altogether, to identify some general trends. Most notable is the waning of distinctively “moral” vocabulary: while three items advocate “good” books and literature and reading, only one is concerned with “bad” and “vicious” literature and one other with literary sensationalism. The term “culture” has become firmly established: five items discuss or advocate “culture” while another two are concerned with “self-culture” (and there are two related items on “self-education” and “self-made” men). It is in keeping with the refreshed mandates of the educational journals of the 1880s that the reading needs of teachers are expressly addressed in a variety of pieces. Three of the items with culture as a keyword are with specific reference to teachers (“Books on Self-Culture for Teachers,” “Literary Culture Among Teachers,” “The Teacher’s Own Culture”) and the specific reading needs of teachers are addressed in a further six pieces (“Books for Teachers,” “Do Teachers Read?” “Teachers’ Reading” – the same title for two different items – “Teachers Must Read,” and “What Should the Teacher Read?”). However, insofar as all four of the journals take teachers as their target audience, it may be assumed that the many other items instructing adult readers on how and what to read are printed with their needs in mind. As the above titles will indicate with the keyword “culture,” the ideas of Matthew Arnold had achieved

³³ John Wilson Bengough remains well-known today for his work as a journalist, political commentator, cartoonist, and as the publisher of the satirical magazine *Grip*. See Ramsay Cook, “Bengough, John Wilson,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 15, 1921–1930, ed. Ramsay Cook and Jean Hamelin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 94–97, accessed 28 July 2015, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/bengough_john_wilson_15E.html. His brother Thomas Bengough was a political and court reporter, proprietor of the Shorthand Atheneum in Toronto, and a prominent spelling reformer. On the politics of J.W. Bengough see Christina Burr, *Spreading the Light: Work and Labour Reform in Nineteenth-Century Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), especially 56–97. J.W. Bengough published the *EJ* until October 1893, at which point the *Grip* house was closing down its other “departments” to focus on engraving. A newly formed Educational Journal Publishing Company took over the journal.

a general diffusion by this point (assisted by his tour of Canadian cities in 1884) and would be specifically referenced in some essays of the late 1880s, to be discussed below.³⁴

As in the 1860s and 1870s, adult readers of the 1880s are advised to exercise choice over their reading material, to pick “good books” or the “right books” or to read “in the right direction,” and are guided in “The Choice of Books,” “What Not to Read,” and “What Shall we Read?” (See fig. 3.) A closer look at these items shows some significant developments, however. Book choice is not so much a case of choosing what is moral or useful – indeed, some major essays are expressly anti-utilitarian – but of being able to negotiate the world of print in order to find items to one’s taste, or conducive to one’s general cultural development. In other words, items of the 1880s dealing with book selection are for the most part less proscriptive in nature, and more along the lines of a *vade mecum*. A vogue for book lists swept through reading culture in the late 1880s and the 1890s, in all of England, Canada, and the United States, and there are two particular points of reference for this in the Ontario educational journals. The first is Sir John Lubbock (first Baron Avery), an English banker, Liberal politician, and accomplished amateur scientist, who is credited with starting the craze.³⁵ In 1886 Lubbock began circulating, informally at first, a list of “One Hundred Books” that he had developed for the Workingmen’s College. He would continue to tinker with the list over the next ten years, but it quickly became known through his public lectures (the *Educational Weekly* published an excerpt in early 1886) and through publication in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and was further publicized as a result of additions and suggestions made by prominent figures such as William Gladstone, Thomas Carlyle, and the Prince of Wales. The list also attracted high-profile criticism and generated a debate in the pages of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. John Ruskin’s withering riposte also was reprinted by the *EW*.³⁶ (The “list”

³⁴ On Arnold’s 1884 tour, and his influence in Canada more generally, see Beatrice Barbara Opala, “Matthew Arnold in Canada,” master’s thesis, McGill University, 1968.

³⁵ On the history of “great books” and “one hundred best” lists see W.B. Carnochan, “Where Did Great Books Come from Anyway?” *Stanford Humanities Review* 6, no. 1 (1998), <http://web.stanford.edu/group/SHR>; and Donald L. Foster, “100 Best Books,” *RQ* 8, no. 1 (1968): 20–22.

³⁶ Lubbock’s address is excerpted in “A Hundred Books,” *EW* 3, no. 59 (18 February 1886): 100–1. The Ruskin letter is “The Choice of Books,” *EW* 3, no. 65 (1 April 1886): 196–97.

The Educational Weekly.

TORONTO, AUGUST 27, 1885.

THE *Dominion Churchman* contains in its last issue an article headed "What Reading shall we Choose?" It complains that "the kind of literature that prevails in the comparatively small book shops, in Toronto and other towns of Ontario, is in its judgment neither the best nor the safest literature. Many of the country weekly newspapers often devote several columns to lightest fiction, romance, sensational stories of an unhealthy moral tone, thus proving what is the taste and patronage in this respect, which it believes is found to be more on the part of your youth than on the part of the advanced in years. Can we not," it proceeds, "as we ought, do something to raise the standard of choice reading? May we not strive to make reading not only amusement for the time, but also improvement of our minds, of strengthening our faith, and warming our love as children of God? We would gladly strive to promote a high, healthful standard of reading as Church people of Canada. We would gladly assist, as is done by associations, to promote the fine arts. Perhaps, in our towns and cities, the choice of books might be cultivated, e.g., by a general committee yearly adopting certain authors for reading, and by some means, encouraging their attentive perusal by those who have expressed themselves as members of such association." The aim the *Churchman* puts before it is laudable, but we fear the means it suggests for the attainment of that aim are impracticable. Had such an association as the *Churchman* recommends existed in Edinburgh in Carlyle's or Wordsworth's earlier days, certainly Jeffrey would have been a member, and certainly Carlyle and Wordsworth would have been ostracised. For how long did the "Sartor Resartus" remain unpublished, hidden away in the author's drawer till the "poor beast," as they called it, became an object of jealousy to the great seer and his talented wife? And to how many has it now become a sort of second prayer-book? Was not this sort of ostracism also the fate of Keats, of Shelley, of Galileo? And now to the first is traced the chief source of the most characteristic tendency of modern verse; the second stands first amongst English lyricists; the third is the father of modern astronomy. How many of Charles the First's courtiers read Milton or Cowley? And when the royalists lost their ascendancy what member of a puritan association but would have placed Suckling, Waller, Lovelace on the *Index Expurgatorius*? Again, who would for a moment listen to the advice of such an association? Were Zola to publish another "Nana" we all know—especi-

ally after the recent experiences of the *Pall Mall Gazette*—how it would be received by the masses.

Yet this question, What shall we read? if we look at it from another aspect, must assuredly be one which many of those who sincerely desire to read all that is best in literature find it difficult to answer. Those who from their youth up have been made conversant with all that is now called classical in the ancient and modern languages will, of course, find little or no difficulty in knowing a good book when they see it. But by those without such advantages no such critical taste is obtainable. And yet without such critical taste there is no safeguard against pernicious literature and no guarantee that healthy literature will produce beneficial results. Each of us, we fear, as far as contemporaneous literature is concerned, must be a "general committee" to himself, but, happily, as regards all other literature, there is an association whose mandates are irrevocable, and that is posterity, and beside this we know of no other rightful *arbiter legendi*—to coin a phrase. The only remedy is to encourage the study of those authors upon whose works posterity has passed its favorable judgment.

THE initial stages of a new career of prosperity and success in the public schools were marked, and to a large extent caused, by the abolition of township superintendents and the substitution of county inspectors some fourteen years ago. The influence which these gentlemen have exerted on the intelligence of the country has been in the main wise and wholesome. That the work of inspection could be more thoroughly done by men specially trained in the art of teaching, possessed of a fair amount of scholarship, and devoting their whole time to the work, then by men largely devoid of these special qualifications, and occupied most of the time with other employments, will now be universally acknowledged. It speaks well for the progress made in these years, that while at first there was some difficulty in finding men whose scholarship was sufficiently extensive and thorough to entitle them to inspectors' certificates, that difficulty is no longer experienced. For some time the opinion has begun to prevail that the standard of qualification for inspectors' certificates might very properly be raised. The influence exerted by these gentlemen in their respective counties makes it very necessary that they should be men of broad and liberal culture. The Minister of Education, in his recent address to the teachers, announces that after 1888 these certificates will be

granted only on a degree in arts with honors. The long notice given will enable all those who are now preparing for first class certificates of the highest grade, to secure the coveted prize before the higher standard is enacted. This will prevent injustice being done to any of those who have begun a course of study under the present regulations.

The success of the annual meeting of the Ontario Teachers' Association is to a considerable extent due to the energy and courtesy of the secretary, Mr. Doan, whose labors for the comfort of the teachers and the prosperity of the association are fully appreciated by those interested. The executive ability and kindness of Dr. Purlow in the chair made those in attendance regret less the absence of the president, Dr. McLellan, than would otherwise have been the case. Teachers generally were anxious in their inquiries concerning the health of the last named gentleman.

CHANGE and uncertainty have been the predominant traits of our educational machinery and regulations for a number of years. Everything seems to have been tentative and experimental; each new departure appeared to be made, not as the natural outcome of an exact deduction from rigorous principles, but as a sort of happy guess, the success or failure of which in actual operation was to justify or condemn it. Until recently the wisdom which is born of practical experience has too often been lacking in the enactments of our educational guides. In one thing the present Minister of Education has shown more wisdom than any of his predecessors; he announced to the Provincial Association his expectation that when the new regulations, now under consideration, are brought into operation, no further changes will be necessary either in the school law or the departmental regulations for at least five years to come. Five years of peace and quiet, without the turmoil and disquiet which extensive alterations always make, would be as enjoyable and conducive to prosperity as novel and unexpected. Variety may be the spice of life, but it should be only a condiment and not a dietary article.

THE *Atlantic Monthly* for September fully maintains the high reputation which this valuable magazine has acquired with the reading public. Among the many well-known names which one meets in the list of contributors, those of W. D. Howells, M. G. U. Oliphant, and Charles Dudley Warner, will at once attract the attention of the student of current literature.

Figure 3. "Yet This Question, What Shall We Read?" *Educational Weekly* 2, no. 35 (27 August 1885), 547. This article recommends reading canonical authors – "those authors upon whose works posterity has passed its favorable judgment."

– which, it is worth noting, was of one hundred "good" books and did not pretend to be of the "best" – along with an accompanying essay titled "The Choice of Books," continued to circulate via Lubbock's much-reprinted collection of essays *The Pleasures of Life*.

William Briggs issued a Canadian edition in 1889.)³⁷ Of more general impact than Lubbock's actual choices were the very concepts of the "hundred best books" or of identifiable "great books." The making of such lists became a popular parlour game as well as a means of canon-formation, and the trend continued into the new century, and indeed continues today.

There is a second major point of reference in discussions of book choice in this period. The eminent English jurist and man of letters, Frederic Harrison – a radical in politics and a positivist by philosophical inclination – for some years had been turning his attention to the question of what and how to read. The *CEM* had published a snippet from one of his lectures in 1879, and a version of his essay "The Choice of Books" already had appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*. It may have been the quick success of the Lubbock list that caused Harrison to get "The Choice of Books" into monograph form along with a selection of his other writings.³⁸ The *EW* published an excerpt in April 1886 and a detailed review the following week which, while unsympathetic to Harrison's positivism, particularly praised the care with which he had identified the best translations of classical and foreign-language authors for readers to use.³⁹ The books advanced by Harrison are quite different in purpose and in tone, and while they seem more practical in inclination than Lubbock's, the two men's lists share an advocacy of "great" works of literature and of readers' grappling with them. The success of these authors seems related to the way each fit with the tenor of the times, both the dictum that one should turn one's mind to "the best that has been thought and said" as formulated by Matthew Arnold, and the philosophical idealism that had spilled over into more popular cultural discourse, in English Canada particularly.⁴⁰

Replacing the *Educational Weekly* beginning in April 1887, the *Educational Journal* paid less attention than did its predecessor to the topics of "how and what to read," in the sense of specific essays devoted to that theme. Its pages do illustrate, however, how

³⁷ Sir John Lubbock, *The Pleasures of Life* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1889).

³⁸ Frederic Harrison, *The Choice of Books, and Other Literary Pieces* (London: Macmillan, 1886).

³⁹ The excerpt from Harrison is *EJ* 3, no. 67 (15 April 1886): 228–9; the review is *EJ* 3, no. 68 (22 April 1886): 249.

⁴⁰ On idealism in Canada see A.B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

important a topic book choice had become, a topic now diffused across the journal in different ways. While educational journals earlier had provided some notices of new publications and brief reviews, the *EJ* provided its teacher-readers with extensive textual guidance of the most concrete sort: book reviews, items of literary intelligence, announcements of new publications, and recommendations for the best features and stories in recent magazines. Collected under the overarching headings of “Book Notices” and “Literary Notes,” there were multiple such items in each *EJ* issue. Booksellers and book publishers also took advantage of the back pages of the *EJ* to advertise recent publications and reference works of interest to adult readers, along with textbooks and materials for classroom use.

Perhaps most noteworthy in the items of the 1880s is the incursion of the new debates about literary study. The appointment of W.J. Alexander to the Chair of English Language and Literature at Toronto early in 1889 was a watershed moment for humanities study in Canada. The appointment was hotly contested, and the process leading to the appointment was the subject of keen (and partisan) interest. Alexander, with a doctorate from Johns Hopkins and a book on Browning, came to represent the new directions for literary study – distinctively literary rather than etymological or philological, and focused on ideation and aesthetics rather than viewing literature as the expression of a “race” or a national culture.⁴¹ Alexander’s inaugural address “The Study of English,” which created a stir when he delivered it, attracted a further readership when published both in *CEM* and in *The Week*, as well as in monograph form.⁴² But Graeme Mercer Adam had published earlier items by learned literary professors. In March of that same year, *CEM* commenced a three-part essay titled “Books and Reading” by the Reverend Professor William Clark, who took a particularly Arnoldian line in arguing for the role of literature in counteracting the excessive practicality both of the age

⁴¹ On the appointment, and Alexander’s further influence, see Heather Murray, “The Appointment of W.J. Alexander,” in *Working in English: History, Institution, Resources* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 17–46; and “Alexander and After: Natural Method and National Education 1889–1914,” *Modern Language Quarterly* 75, no. 4 (2014): 149–70.

⁴² The inaugural address was published in *CEM* 11 (1 November 1889): 337–43; in *The Week* 6, no. 52 (29 November 1889): 823–24 and *The Week* 7, no. 1 (6 December 1889): 9–10; and in W. J. Alexander, *The Study of Literature: Inaugural Lecture Delivered to the Convocation Hall, October 12th, 1889* (Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchinson, 1889).

and of the new country. Further, the same issue as Clark's second installment also featured a piece titled "Literature and Culture" by the Reverend Professor A.H. Reynar, which he had delivered as an address to the Modern Language Association of Ontario.⁴³ Around the same time, in February 1889, Arnold Haultain launched his career at the *Educational Weekly* with a three-part editorial also titled "The Study of Literature."⁴⁴ The need to modernize English studies had, of course, been in the air even before the hiring of Alexander, although the appointment controversy served to focus the debate. (For example, at the same time that *CEM* was running the items mentioned above, it also featured contributions by Sir Daniel Wilson, the University president, and his vocal opponent William Houston on the topic of English requirements for junior matriculation, followed by a response by J.E. Wetherell. At the beginning of the next year *CEM* published a lengthy essay, "Subjects and Methods in the Study of English," by Professor James Cappon of Queen's University.)⁴⁵ The establishment of the Modern Language Association of Ontario in 1886 (a sister organization to the better-known Modern Language Association in the United States) was intended to bring together high school and collegiate instructors with scholars in the universities, and to promote advanced work in linguistic and literary study.⁴⁶ It was a narrowing gap, for by the mid-1890s a requirement had been introduced that teachers newly hired into high schools, colleges, and preparatory schools in the province be holders of an honours degree (although this was not required of kindergarten or primary teachers, nor of

⁴³ William Clark, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy at Trinity College, also was a literary scholar (an expert on Tennyson) and a powerful cultural booster of the period, in demand as a lecturer and essayist. A.H. Reynar was a professor of modern languages and English literature at Victoria University, among other appointments. Rev. Prof. William Clark, "Books and Reading," *CEM* 11 (March 1889): 85–91; 11 (April 1889): 121–25; 11 (May 1889): 161–64. Rev. A.H. Reynar, "Literature and Culture," *CEM* 11 (April 1889): 125–31.

⁴⁴ [T.A. Haultain], "The Study of Literature," *EW* 3, no. 58 (11 February 1886): 88; *EW* 3, no. 59 (18 February 1886): 104; *EW* 3, no. 60 (25 February 1886): 120.

⁴⁵ Sir Daniel Wilson, "English at Junior Matriculation," *CEM* 11, no. 3 (March 1889): 81–85. William Houston, "The Proposed English Curriculum for Matriculation," *CEM* 12, no. 3 (March 1890): 90–2. J.E. Wetherell, "A Recent Criticism," *CEM* 12, no. 2 (February 1890): 59–64. James Cappon, "Subjects and Methods in the Teaching of English," *CEM* 12, no. 1 (January 1890): 8–14; *CEM* 12, no. 2 (February 1890): 45–49.

⁴⁶ On the MLOA see Heather Murray, "Adjusting the Scale of Values: The Modern Language Association of Ontario, 1886–1916," *English Studies in Canada* 33, no. 1–2 (2007): 29–51.

already-serving teachers). Instructors from this newly educated generation themselves began to author essays and columns in the educational journals, which, until that point, had viewed teachers primarily as an audience rather than as experts who could be drawn upon for their pedagogic knowledge and their views on cultural questions.

The relative paucity of items in the 1890s at twenty-one (half as many as in the 1880s) is due in part to the decline of the educational journals in this decade. *CEM* ceased publication in 1896, and *EJ* the following year. The smaller number of items is not due entirely to the winding down of the pre-eminent journals, however, but also to their changes in focus. *CEM*, for example, published no items on the topics of reading for teachers, or even adult reading, in the five-year period between 1887 – when Mercer Adam was leaving the editorship – and 1892, and only a handful of such items in the journal's closing years under the editorship of Archibald MacMurchy.⁴⁷ As has been demonstrated by the items mentioned above, *CEM* was taking on more and more the contours of a learned journal, publishing papers from the new scholarly organizations that were springing up throughout Ontario, as well as accounts of their meetings. For decades, local and county teachers' associations had been holding regular meetings, and by 1884 attendance at Teachers' Institute conferences was made compulsory for teachers in Ontario. Such meetings characteristically were focused on pedagogical topics, although there might be visiting speakers or evening lectures of a more general nature.⁴⁸ However, by late century, a separate infrastructure for the discussion of educational topics had developed, independent of ministry supervision, and these associations also functioned as forums for continuing liberal education. The Modern Language Association of Ontario was joined by organizations such as the Classical Association, the Historical Association, and the Scientific Association. Beginning in 1892, the Ontario Educational Association, an organization that had achieved a firm footing despite fits and

⁴⁷ Although Archibald MacMurchy is known today for his *Handbook of Canadian Literature: English* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1906), he was one of the province's foremost educators, and was the principal of Jarvis Collegiate in Toronto (formerly the Home District Grammar School) for more than twenty-five years. Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women*, 712.

⁴⁸ On compulsory attendance at Teachers' Institutes, and their role in the "formation" of provincial teachers, see Milewski, "Teachers' Institutes in Late Nineteenth-Century Ontario."

starts over several decades, began to provide an umbrella for the discipline-specific associations. No longer forced to be as reliant on their own autodidactic efforts, Ontario teachers could take advantage of a number of opportunities for continuing education, in addition to the teachers' organizations and new academic societies. While University Extension was frustratingly slow to get off the ground, although the topic was much discussed throughout the 1890s, some university faculty had begun to give guest lectures in small towns throughout the province. The Chautauqua Institution in upper New York State had developed a strong infrastructure for correspondence education, and many Ontario teachers followed Chautauqua courses or participated in locally based reading groups affiliated with the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. The summer courses and lectures offered by the two independent Chautauquas operating in southern Ontario also proved to be especially attractive to teachers. The Niagara Assembly, established at Niagara-on-the-Lake in 1887, had its "education work" under the supervision of school inspector James Hughes. Even more popular was the Assembly that ran during the summers at Grimsby Park, founded in 1875 on the grounds of a former Methodist meeting camp. Grimsby Park held an especial appeal for teachers, clerics, divinity students, and Sunday School teachers, offering an array of lectures, sermons, concerts, and classes in elocution and literary topics.⁴⁹ (See fig. 4.)

Clearly, the educational journals had less of a role to play in adult reading guidance by the 1890s. However, the new demands for "advanced" learning, and the restructuring of English curricula and matriculation examinations, had created a conundrum for teachers who found themselves called upon to explicate works of literature for which their prior training had not prepared them, and for which they did not have a vocabulary of technical terms.⁵⁰ Poetry was seen to present a particular set of problems. That it had moved to the centre of the English curriculum in the higher grades was a source of anxiety for many. (The perceived difficulty of the poetry of Robert Browning, with which many a teacher-reader struggled in his or her

⁴⁹ On the CLSC circles, and the Canadian Chautauquas, see Heather Murray, *Come, Bright Improvement! The Literary Societies of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 75–96.

⁵⁰ As of 1876, the reading list for the English literature examination for a first-class normal-school certificate was: *Macbeth*, Milton's "Il Pensero," ten essays from *The Spectator*, and Samuel Johnson's "Lives of Milton and Addison." Hodgins, *Documentary History of Education*, 26: 316–17.

64 The Educational Journal.

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Figure 4. *Educational Journal* 4, no. 4 (2 June 1890), 64. Two opportunities for teacher education are advertised here: the Grimsby Park Assembly, and the Canadian Chautauqua (Niagara Assembly).

leisure hours, brought home the difficulty in an additional way.) In 1896, W.J. Alexander edited the first of his annual volumes of *Select Poems* (there would be twenty in all), the textbooks designed for the junior matriculation and junior leaving examinations, with

seven poets (Browning, Byron, Goldsmith, Keats, Scott, Shelley, and Wordsworth) prescribed for the 1897 examinations.⁵¹ The *Educational Journal* put its finger on the problem, editorializing that of the thousands of teachers then practising in the province, only a very small percentage had a full university education, and many lacked even a collegiate course of study. The editor encouraged teachers to use the examination preparation of their students as an opportunity for their own literary improvement, and recommended careful perusal of the introduction, titled "Poetry, its Thought and Form," that Alexander had written to assist them. Not all approved of the new examinations, nor of the principles espoused by Alexander, however. Teacher and poet Thomas O'Hagan, in several submissions to the *EJ*, was concerned that the examinations had become a purely intellectual exercise, and that students' understanding of the ethical dimensions of the literature they were studying, and their ability to read it aloud and to provide vocal interpretation, were no longer deemed important. O'Hagan cited in his support some recent writings by the Browning scholar Hiram Corson, a rival of sorts to Alexander, thus illustrating the degree to which theories initially generated in response to Browning's works had become general to discussions of the study of poetry.⁵²

It is interesting to note the absence of some topics that one might have expected to encounter in the educational journals of the 1880s and 1890s. Although fiction had achieved both popular and academic acceptance late in the century, and the outcry over sensation reading was by now exhausted, a new form of moral concern had arisen in response to the development of literary naturalism in the style of Zola, and of social problem fiction, especially the New Woman novel. (In another context, writing a review of recent fiction in 1895, even Graeme Mercer Adam was moved to illiberalism, and denounced both naturalism and the New Woman novel as degenerate.)⁵³ This revamped moralism is not evident in the educational journals, in part, perhaps, because advice as to reading choice had become prescriptive rather than proscriptive, as seen in the success of the Harrison and Lubbock lists. Perhaps, too, it was assumed by these

⁵¹ W.J. Alexander, ed., *Select Poems Prescribed for the Junior Matriculation and Junior Leaving Examinations, 1897* (Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1896).

⁵² "The Study of Poetry," *EJ* 10, no. 13 (16 November 1896): 196–97; Thomas O'Hagan, "Reading and Literature," *EJ* 10, no. 12 (2 November 1896): 179; "Reading and Literature," *EJ* 10, no. 16 (1 January 1897): 242.

⁵³ See Gerson, *A Purer Taste*, 29.

journals that contemporary literature of all varieties would be of interest to teachers, now as a whole more highly educated than their mid-century predecessors, and possibly considered to be inoculated against literature's more "pernicious" effects.

Notably, too, despite the explosion of literary production in English Canada in the decades following Confederation, there are no articles recommending that teachers acquaint themselves with Canadian literature or advocating the teaching of it in schools. In the first case, it may have been assumed that teachers would do this of their own volition – recent Canadian publications were reviewed in the *EJ*, for example – and in the second case, that contemporary Canadian literature required neither the background information nor the critical precepts needed to understand earlier, canonical authors, or the more obscure of contemporary writers. (Even many of Canadian literature's most ardent defenders doubted that it was as yet sufficiently evolved for classroom or, particularly, university study.) This absence may not be due solely to a colonial mentality, however. The boom in English-Canadian literary production postdated Confederation, but living authors of any national origin still were a rarity on school and college syllabi in the 1880s and 1890s (although the writings of Browning, in this case as in others, had exerted pressure on the situation).

Last, the changing gender balance of the teaching body does not seem to have resulted in differentiated advice, or in any specific consideration of women's reading tastes and habits. In the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s, the assumed "he" of educational publications appears exclusionary rather than generic. Ryerson was dismissive of the work of women teachers in early Upper Canada, whether paid or voluntary, and sought to develop a teaching cadre that was male, moral, and formally educated. However, the history of education in nineteenth-century Ontario is also the history of the women's resurgence. (The oft-quoted statistic is that female teachers formed 49 percent of the total teaching body in 1867, of 4,890 teachers in total, and 67 percent twenty-five years later, in 1892, of a total of 8,480).⁵⁴ Despite the few early items devoted to suitable reading for girls and young women, the early educational journals took the male reader as normative; later in the century, this flatness of address might be ascribed to more progressive principles, as in the *EJ*, for example, which argued that women and men teachers should be on an equal

⁵⁴ See *EJ* 10, no. 1 (1896): [3].

footing with the same opportunities for experience and advancement, and which deplored the tendency of some school boards to take on women teachers only because they were cheaper to hire. (The editors would also have been aware of conservative concerns over the exposure of women students to frank or bawdy material. Even in the universities some were of the view that female students should use bowdlerized editions of Shakespeare or avoid some plays altogether.) However, given the hard reality that women teachers in the 1880s and 1890s would have had little or no opportunity to attend college or university, might have been debarred from classical training even if they attended a collegiate, and might well have had an interrupted or inferior schooling, would they have appreciated articles about reading and reading practices that addressed their particular needs for self-study?⁵⁵ Such absences, as with the silent dog in the Sherlock Holmes story, are an encouragement to speculation.

While the primary intent of this essay has been to survey the ways a particular readerly sub-community was envisaged and exhorted, a secondary purpose is to suggest that Canadian educational journals are an under-used resource for the study of book access, literary taste, and readership practices in early English Canada. There are a number of journals that could be surveyed for this purpose. In Nova Scotia, for example, there is a strong succession of educational journals spanning almost a century: the *Journal of Education for Nova Scotia* followed by the *Journal of Education for the Province of Nova Scotia* and then the *Journal of Education, Nova Scotia*. There were several journals of lesser duration produced in New Brunswick and for anglophone educators in Quebec. (The Western provinces did not have a journal of any longevity until the *Educational Journal of Western Canada* commenced publication in Manitoba 1899.) As with the Ontario journals discussed here, these journals provide a repository of attitudes to, and information about, nineteenth-century book access, book selection, and reading tastes, and of the operations of the book trade (both through the journals' content, and their advertisements), as well as "literary intelligence" of a more general nature. More specifically, they evidence attempts to promote and to direct reading during the years when educational journals had a double role to play, that of

⁵⁵ The sole article from the 1890s on reading for "ladies," in *CEM*, assumes that the female reader is a wife and mother, who fits reading into the round of her daily duties: "The Reading Habit," *CEM* 14 (January 1892): 21–22.

promoting schooling in the colonies and in the new Dominion, and educating the educators themselves.

Figure 5. "The Teachers' Reading," *Educational Journal* 7, no. 11 (15 October 1893), 167. "Try it, young teacher. Brace up with a little of the poets' elixir every day."

Handlist of Items Advising Teachers About Reading Choices and Practices in Upper Canada / Ontario Educational Journals, 1848–97

CEM = *Canada Educational Monthly*

CSJ = *Canada School Journal*

Ed = *Educationalist*

EJ = *Educational Journal*

EW = *Educational Weekly*

JE = *Journal of Education for Upper Canada*; later *Journal of Education, Province of Ontario*

1840s

“Libraries – Study – Means and Aids to Self-Education.” *JE* 1, no. 5 (May 1848): 135–41. [adapted from address by Thomas Osborne Davis]
“Popular Literature.” *JE* 2, no. 11 (November 1849): 176. [source *Edinburgh Review*]

“Reading – Mechanical, Intellectual, and Rhetorical.” *JE* 1, no. 8 (August 1848): 228–31. [source *The Teacher Taught*]

“Taste for Reading.” *JE* 1, no. 9 (September 1848): 272–73.

1850s

“Bad Effects of Miscellaneous Reading.” *JE* 4, no. 9 (September 1851): 138. [address by (George Stillman) Hillard to the Mercantile Library Association]

“Be Choice in Your Reading.” *JE* 12, no. 12 (December 1859): 184–85.

“Bonaparte on Novel Reading.” *JE* 6, no. 11 (November 1853): 176.

“Book Knowledge of Farmers – Derided by Whom?” *JE* 6, no. 9 (September 1853): 140. [source *Plough, Loom and Anvil*]

“Books for Farmers in School Libraries.” *JE* 12, no. 1 (January 1859): 5. [source *Ohio Farmer*]

“Caution in Regard to Peddled Books.” *JE* 12, no. 12 (December 1859): 185. [source *Vermont School Journal*]

“Cicero on Books.” *JE* 6, no. 9 (September 1853): 141.

“The Companionship of Good Books.” *JE* 11, no. 6 (June 1858): 83–84. [address by S.S. Nelles to the Cobourg Mechanics’ Institute]

“The Continuous Reacting Influence of Books.” *JE* 9, no. 2 (February 1856): 27.

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1860s

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- "Selecting Books." *JE* 16, no. 2 (February 1863): 20.
- "Suggestions for Household Libraries." *JE* 14, no. 4 (April 1861): 51–52.
- "Systemic and Desultory Reading." *JE* 20, no. 6 (June 1867): 105–06. [Rev. Frederick Arnold; source *Christian Guardian*]
- "Talk About Books." *JE* 14, no. 2 (February 1861): 21–22. [on discrimination in buying]
- "Taste for Reading." *Ed* 1, no. 11 (16 February 1861): 82.
- "Teachers Ought to Read More." *JE* 16, no. 6 (June 1863): 89. [source *Connecticut Common School Journal*]
- "Teachers Should Study." *Ed* 1, no. 2 (1 October 1860): 16. [source *Rhode Island Schoolmaster*]
- "Teachers Should Study." *Ed* 1, no. 15 (15 April 1861): 119. [source *N.Y. Teacher*]
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- "Value of Reading Good Books." *JE* 14, no. 2 (February 1861): 22.
- "Value of School Libraries." *JE* 13, no. 2 (February 1860): 17–19. [for the population as a whole]

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- "The Bad Influence of Novels." *JE* 25, no. 2 (February 1872): 23. [source *Leader*]
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- "Mr. Frederic Harrison on Books." *CEM* 1 (March 1879): 175–76.
- "Modern Literature." *JE* 26, 8 (August 1873): 118. [source *Churchman*]
- "Necessity for a Teacher's Higher Literary Culture." *JE* 28, no. 7 (July 1875): 105–7. [address by Rev. H.J. Borthwick]
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- "Read an Hour a Day." *JE* 28, no. 8 (August 1873): 119.
- "Reading and Thinking." *JE* 23, no. 4 (April 1870): 53. [quotation from Rev. C.H. Spurgeon]
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- "Reading for the People." *JE* 23, no. 4 (April 1870): 53. [source *Leader*]
- "Time for Reading." *JE* 26, no. 8 (August 1873): 118. [source *Scribner's*]
- "What Ought We to Read." *JE* 25, no. 2 (February 1872): 23. [address by Rev. M.J. Ferguson]
- "What Shall I Read?" *JE* 23, no. 4 (April 1870): 52. [quotation from Rev. Ray Palmer; source *N.Y. Independent*]

1880s

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- "Do Teachers Read?" *EJ* 1, no. 11 (15 October 1887): 172.
- "Education and Culture." *EW* 2, no. 33 (13 August 1885): 520.

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- "We have in another column spoken ..." *EW* 1, no. 19 (7 May 1885): [289]. [editorial on how to read]
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- "The Teacher Out of School." *EJ* 5, no. 14 (1 December 1891): 572–73. [on summer reading]
- "The Teachers' Reading." *EJ* 7, no. 11 (15 October 1893): 167.
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SOMMAIRE

Au tout début de ce qu'on nomme aujourd'hui le Canada anglais, les revues éducatives occupaient un rôle de premier plan dans la formation d'un public lecteur informé. En effet, elles informaient les conseils des écoles et les professeurs sur les meilleures façons d'enseigner la lecture et de promouvoir l'alphabétisation. De telles revues servaient également à guider les choix et les pratiques de lecture des publics lecteurs adultes à qui elles s'adressaient. Durant la majeure partie du dix-neuvième siècle, les professeurs recevaient souvent une éducation inégale et ils ne bénéficiaient pas d'une formation officielle en vue d'exercer leur profession. Ainsi, les revues éducatives comblaient un

vide : en fait, elles étaient essentielles à la formation des professeurs. L'auteure de cet article étudie plus de 160 articles, issus de revues éducatives du dix-neuvième siècle publiées dans le Haut-Canada / le Canada-Ouest / la province de l'Ontario. Ces articles concernent le choix des livres, la moralité littéraire, les lectures utiles et les plaisirs occasionnés par les livres. L'auteure retrace les différentes façons dont le « professeur-lecteur » était envisagé dans ces périodiques. Elle montre aussi comment ils ont conduit les professeurs en devenir à se préparer moralement, émotionnellement et intellectuellement, et ce, de façon autodidacte, en vue de leur vocation future – une vocation qui, il est utile de le rappeler, est de plus en plus investie par les femmes au XIX^e siècle.