

U. of T. (1914)

LE
3
-TG
K!

HR5IALFAT

35-

EO

399464



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

McCAUL: CROFT: FORNERI



THE MACMILLAN CO. OF CANADA, LTD.
TORONTO

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
NEW YORK • BOSTON • CHICAGO
DALLAS • ATLANTA • SAN FRANCISCO

MACMILLAN & CO., LIMITED
LONDON • BOMBAY • CALCUTTA
MELBOURNE



McCAUL : CROFT : FORNERI

PERSONALITIES OF EARLY
UNIVERSITY DAYS

BY
JOHN KING, M.A., K.C.

*Qui sui memores alios
fecero merendo*
—VIRGIL

TORONTO
MAIN ENTRANCE, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

TORONTO: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY OF CANADA,
LIMITED, AT ST. MARTIN'S HOUSE :: :: MCMXIV



MAIN ENTRANCE, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
TORONTO

McCAUL : CROFT : FORNERI

PERSONALITIES OF EARLY
UNIVERSITY DAYS

BY
JOHN KING, M.A., K.C.

*Qui sui memores alios
fecero merendo*

—VIRGIL

TORONTO: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY OF CANADA,
LIMITED, AT ST. MARTIN'S HOUSE :: :: MCMXIV

Copyright, 1914
By THE MACMILLAN COMPANY OF CANADA, LIMITED

Copyright in Great Britain

TO
My Sons
IN TOKEN OF
OUR COMMON *ALMA MATER*

A FOREWORD

A PREFATORY note seems fitting for the appearance of this little book. The biographical sketches contained in it were written primarily for an undergraduate and student constituency, and were published originally in the early numbers of *The 'Varsity* newspaper. From time to time requests have been made, which could not be acceded to, for copies of the journal in which the memoirs were printed. These requests came principally from University men, and from friends and admirers of all three personalities who were widely known in Canada and in the academic life of the time. One of the memoirs being about to be published separately, the writer was persuaded to have all three appear together in their present form. Hence their republication.

Some autobiographic notes left by Professor Forneri have been freely drawn upon in the story of his adventurous career. The facts relating to Dr. McCaul and Professor Croft have been derived from authentic sources. Although necessarily changed and supplemented, particularly with respect to the first President of University Col-

lege, the narratives appear substantially as they were first written. The trio of whom they were written have long since quit the scene. So have their colleagues in the professoriate of that day. Sir Daniel Wilson and Young of Edinburgh, Beaven of Oxford, Cherriman of Cambridge, Chapman of London, Hincks of Belfast—all have “crossed the bar.” And so, probably, has many a gownsman who sat under them. To their successors, whether professors or students, and to the older graduates especially, these pages, imperfect though they be, may, it is hoped, not be unwelcome. They are a simple recital of the life-history of men who were intimately associated with the early fortunes of the University of Toronto, who, with others of the old régime, gave of their best to help to make it what it is to-day, who were eminent as scholars and teachers in their several departments of learning—true to worthy ideals of public duty and service, and who passed off the stage with “honour, love, obedience, troops of friends.”

J. K.

TORONTO,

DECEMBER, 1914.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE REV. JOHN MCCAUL	13
HENRY HOLMES CROFT	103
JAMES FORNERI	159

ILLUSTRATIONS

- MAIN ENTRANCE, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, TORONTO *Frontispiece*
Facing Page
- THE REV. JOHN McCAUL, LL.D., Principal of Upper Canada
 College, Toronto, 1839-1842. (*From an engraving in the
 possession of his daughter, Mrs. Alan Macdougall, Toronto*) 40
- THE REV. JOHN McCAUL, LL.D., Professor of Classics, 1842-
 1880; Vice-President of the University of King's College,
 Toronto, 1842-1849; President, 1849-1853; First President of
 University College, Toronto, 1853-1880. (*From an oil paint-
 ing by A. Dickson Patterson, A.R.C.A., in University Con-
 vocation Hall*) 92
- HENRY HOLMES CROFT, D.C.L., F.C.S., First Professor of Chem-
 istry and Experimental Philosophy in the University of
 King's College and University College, Toronto, 1842-1880.
 (*From an oil painting by A. Dickson Patterson, A.R.C.A., in
 the Senate Chamber of the University*) 134
- HENRY HOLMES CROFT, Captain of No. 9 (University) Company,
 Queen's Own Rifles, Toronto. (*From a photograph, taken
 in 1867, now in the possession of R. E. Kingsford, M.A.,
 LL.B., Toronto*) 142
- JAMES FORNERI, LL.D., First Professor of Modern Languages
 in University College, Toronto, 1853-1865. (*From a photo-
 graph taken in Belleville, Ont., after his retirement*) . . . 162
- COAT OF ARMS OF THE FORNERI FAMILY 254

THE REV. JOHN McCAUL, LL.D.

FIRST PRESIDENT OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
TORONTO

THE REV. JOHN McCAUL

DEAN STANLEY, in a review of the life of a notable Englishman, remarks that sometimes famous men have had to be sought for in obscure country parsonages, or in sequestered nooks of their own choosing. This is a characteristic of English social life, against which may be placed another peculiar to this country, namely, the difficulty of tracing the antecedents of prominent Canadians, born and bred in the British Isles, who emigrated to Canada in what may be called its colonial days, and who here emerged into the full light of distinction and influence. Their names may in time have become as familiar as household words, but their family history in the old land is a sealed book which has seldom been opened even by themselves. This reticence, which makes itself felt in word and action, often extends into the domain of biography. So much so, that it is all but an impossible task to enter the penetralia where can be found family ancestry and hereditary characteristics, and the earlier facts and incidents of their lives. We meet with this experience in writing of the careers of not a few of the public men

who have left a marked impress upon our national life and the character of our national institutions. The interest attaching to a life and career in a new country overshadows the memories of a past associated with other lands.

These remarks are quite as applicable to the subject of this memoir as to many other old countrymen who became eminent Canadians. Dr. McCaul, like Sir Daniel Wilson, his successor in the Presidency of University College, was never communicative as to his ancestry, or the history or antecedents of his family. And he was just as averse to newspaper publicity in regard to matters of this nature. He well knew that, in a country described by Goldwin Smith as "rough, raw, and democratic," and where every man is the architect of his own fortune, his reputation as a scholar and professor and the Head of the first educational institution in the Province, depended on no such considerations. His successor in office, who declined more than once to furnish the facts of his early life and career for publication, said on one occasion: "We should not live too much in the past, or sermonize over it immoderately. This is a practical, work-a-day world, engrossed in the daily round, the common task; what we are ourselves and what we do is of greater concern to the communities in which we live and labour than who our fathers were, or what they did."

Ancestry—Parentage—Early Years

Dr. McCaul was evidently of the same opinion, for he certainly acted upon it. The fact, however, is that he was a member of a well-known Irish family, one of whom was a professor of Hebrew in King's College, London, and another engaged in business in Dublin. His ancestors had emigrated from Scotland at an early period to the north of Ireland, and, like many other Scottish immigrants, were known as "Ulster Scotsmen." There are to this day, in the old country and in Canada, McColls and McCauls, the former Scots or of Scottish descent, and the latter Irish or of Irish descent, whose names, although not spelled the same, have the same pronunciation. Is it too much to assume that both have a common ancestry in the land of the heather, "the Mother of half a world's great men"?

Be this as it may, there seems no doubt that McCaul's parents, perceiving his abilities and ambition at an early age, did their best to promote his desire for a successful college career. That they judged truly, that their efforts were diligently seconded by the youth himself when he entered the lists as a competitor with some of the cleverest young men of his time, and that he brought honour and fame to the home and household where his tasks were first begun and his love of learning

stimulated,—all this goes without saying as we trace the principal events of his life in the old land and in this country, which owes so much of its highest development and the enrichment of its citizenship to men of Irish birth or extraction.

John McCaul was born March 7, 1807, in the city of Dublin, the intellectual centre and literary metropolis of Ireland, and the seat of a famous University. He was one of very many in the long muster-roll who, in arts, in arms, in song, have given the Irish capital an illustrious name by claiming it as their birthplace. In his boyhood he was first a pupil at a private school popularly known in the city as "White's School," and which had quite a reputation for efficiency in training and strictness in discipline. It corresponded in these particulars, although not otherwise, with the late Dr. William Tassie's school at the town of Galt in this Province, and with the old Royal Grammar School at Kingston, of which George Baxter was Head-master, and where, as we have heard Sir Richard Cartwright say, the boys were "well drilled and sometimes well flogged." From the class rooms at White's, where he was a fellow pupil of many youths belonging to some of the principal families in Dublin and its suburbs, young McCaul went to the "Moravian School" in Antrim. His stay there was comparatively brief. It was a school at which there were pupils in residence, and where fees were charged

for tuition to all pupils alike. The newcomer appears to have been a resident; but the school, of which much had been heard before he left home, did not apparently come up to his expectations, and he returned to White's, where his school life ended. It ended because during the previous years he had as the goal of his application and diligence the college lecture room and a University degree. His return to White's was for the fulfilment of that purpose. He remained there a twelvemonth for a final "grind" before entering the University of Trinity College, Dublin, as a matriculant in the Faculty of Arts. This he did in 1820, while he was yet in his fourteenth year.

Career at Trinity College, Dublin

During the first three years of his undergraduate course, McCaul devoted himself more particularly to the study of mathematics, in which, as he once said in Convocation Hall, he gained his first college prize. Dr. Sandes, afterwards Bishop of Cashel, was his mathematical tutor. This prize, which was the young student's first reward of merit, was founded in 1796 by John Law, Lord Bishop of Elphin, a brother of Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough. He donated to the University the sum of seven hundred guineas, on the express condition that it should be applied to encourage the study of

mathematics according to a scheme which he drew up himself, and which, with a slight modification, made during his own time, has remained in all its original integrity and usefulness.¹

In his fourth academic year McCaul gave special attention to classics, which was afterwards his favourite subject, and the one which brought him the highest honours and rewards as a scholar and professor. He was the winner not only of important and valuable prizes, but also of a scholarship of the annual value of £20, tenable for five years. The scholarship entitled him, in addition, to free rooms and meals in residence. His career as a student, up to this point, had been a series of brilliant successes, all the more notable on account of the acknowledged abilities of the men who were his competitors. The crowning honour came when he graduated with the highest distinctions the University could bestow, namely, the University gold medal in classics, and, later on, the Berkeley Greek medal for superior scholarship in the Greek language. Two of his competitors for these much coveted distinctions were the Rev. Dr. Greig, Bishop of Cork, and the Rev. Dr. Hamilton Verschozles, Bishop of Killaloe, both of whom were,

¹ *History of the University of Dublin* (p. 175), by W. B. S. Taylor, F.M.A. The author includes Dr. McCaul in his list of distinguished graduates of the University, and says he "obtained a very high place at scholarship examinations."

and continued to be as long as they lived, his warm personal friends.

It is an interesting fact in connection with these highest awards of an ancient University, which were given at the annual commencement, that the awarding of the series of gold medals began in 1793. In that year the Provost, who was the Head of the College, and the Senior Fellows resolved that a gold medal should be given to such students as shall have answered every examination from their entrance to the taking of their Bachelor's degree, "provided they shall have got judgments, at each examination, not inferior to one *Bene* with *Valde Benes*." This quaint mode of preferment was altered in 1816, when the medals were given, one to the best answerer in classics, and the other to the best answerer in science, at an examination held in distinct courses prescribed for that purpose. It was apparently under this altered regulation that McCaul won his gold medal in classics—a splendid prize, and one which the Hon. Edward Blake, Chancellor of the University of Toronto, used to say was, in his opinion, the prize *par excellence* of the graduating year.¹

The Berkeley gold medal was founded by the

¹The regulation at Trinity was subsequently changed, and the gold medals for classics and science were superseded by the substitution of Moderatorships, with gold and silver medals, in classics, mathematics, and some other departments.

Rev. George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, an eminent divine whose benevolent benefactions were circumscribed only by his slender fortune. The poet Pope ascribes to Berkeley "every virtue under Heaven." The good Bishop presented to the College the sum of one hundred and twenty guineas and an engrossed medal die, for the purpose of establishing annual gold medal prizes to encourage Bachelors of Arts to continue the study of the Greek language. Agreeably to the Bishop's intentions, the Provost and Senior Fellows, in 1752, agreed to give annually forever two gold medals to the worthy graduates who had earned these awards. In McCaul's time, these medals were given to the Middle Bachelors, as they were called, who had attended the lectures of the Regius Professor of Greek with exceptional diligence and acquirements for two academic years, commencing with the term in which they had taken their Bachelor's degree.

University Tutor, Examiner, Chaplain

Upon obtaining his degree McCaul gave much of his time to "coaching" pupils for the University examinations, and he achieved so many signal successes in this capacity that, upon receiving the degree of Master of Arts in 1828, he was appointed University Examiner in Classics, an office which he held until shortly before he left Ireland for Can-

ada. In 1835, the degrees of LL.B. and LL.D. were conferred upon him by the University, upon his undergoing the prescribed tests, which were real tests of merit, while the special and very rare compliment was paid him of remitting the fees exacted for those degrees. Previous to this time, he had been admitted to holy orders—to the diaconate in 1831 and to the priesthood in 1833,—and was frequently called upon to officiate in chapel and elsewhere.

From all that is known of McCaul during his long residence in Toronto, we may well believe that his services in a clerical capacity were very acceptable to the members of the University and to those of his own communion in the diocese of Dublin. His elocutionary powers as a speaker and a reader were of a high order, and these, apart from his attainments otherwise, were calculated to make him *persona grata* in these duties of his sacred office. In later years, after he came to Canada and was appointed Vice-President of King's College, Toronto, he frequently conducted the services in the College chapel. He was sometimes also called upon to take part in the public services of the Church of the Holy Trinity, which he and his family usually attended, and, on special occasions, in some of the other Anglican churches of the city. Whenever this was known beforehand, he seldom failed to have a fair representation of the University stu-

dents in his congregation. He was to them, in all these and similar public efforts, an admirable exemplar of the manner in which such duties should be performed. He was ready and willing also to give the benefit of his self-discipline and experience to those who had duties of a like kind imposed upon them. One instance of this may be mentioned. In the old Convocation Hall, which was never used as such when restored after the great fire of 1890, Dr. McCaul made some of his most memorable speeches and addresses. His fine melodious voice, as he stood on the dais, was heard distinctly by those seated or standing at the farthest end of the Hall. A young graduate, who was on the programme for an address at one of the public functions of the College Literary and Scientific Society to be held in the Hall, had often noticed the Doctor's success in this particular, and he went to him to learn the secret. After giving the coming orator some sound practical hints on the management of his voice, the Doctor said: "Speak slowly and as distinctly as possible, and at the same time fix your eye on two or three persons near the door of the Convocation Hall. When you have raised your voice to a pitch at which, as far as you can tell, you have gained their attention and they apparently hear you without undue effort, keep the voice at that pitch, and I believe you will hold your audience. This, at all events, is my method." The

young orator acted on this advice and succeeded to his heart's content.

Editorship of Ancient Classics—Authorship

During his years of residence in Trinity College, where, as already noticed, he enjoyed special privileges as a University scholar, Dr. McCaul produced a number of works which have always been regarded as valuable contributions to classical learning and literature. Those years were well spent. They were years in which he "scorned delights and lived laborious days." He devoted his whole available time to those post-graduate studies some of the fruits of which are to be found in the works referred to, and which at once gave him an established reputation as a finished classical scholar. It was during this comparatively brief period that he wrote and published "Remarks on the Classical Course Taught in Trinity College, Dublin," "*Horatius Textum recognovit, notisque aliorum tum suis instruxit,*" and a series of treatises on the Metres of Horace (two editions), Terence, and the Greek Tragedians. These were, for many years, the only text books on their respective subjects used at Trinity College, Dublin, and, along with his other works, are still recognized as valuable repertoires of classical learning. He subsequently published his editions of Longinus, Thucydides, and the Satires and Epistles of Horace, the

edition last named being at once adopted as the standard text-book by the Grammar Schools of Ireland. He was also the author of a disquisition on the "Scansion of the Hecuba and the Medea of Euripides," of lectures on Homer and Virgil, and of an edition of selections from Lucian.

The young scholar's plunge into classical authorship and editorship was, as he himself admits, a somewhat venturesome undertaking. And this was particularly the case with respect to the works of the renowned Roman satirist and lyricist, whose complete artistic success in his two great tasks of the naturalization in Latin of the Greek lyric spirit, and the perfect development of the old Roman satire, has made him one of the most influential writers of the world, and has secured his fame as long as order or culture shall endure. The literature on Horace in modern Europe and in America is enormous, but it is questionable whether the accumulation of the last sixty or seventy years is of finer quality than that which was extant in the year 1833, when the young Irish scholar made his first venture as a Horatian critic and expositor. At that time the works of Horace were already before the public in such a variety of forms, the number of commentators was so great, and the mass of annotation on almost every point that might cause difficulty to the reader so fully illustrated and explained, that the announcement of another editor

might justly excite surprise. The young author was conscious that an unfavourable impression might arise from this; and he felt, in presenting new editions of the *Metres* and of the *Satires* and *Epistles*, that he exposed himself to the imputation either of unjustly depreciating the merits of others, or of presumptuously overrating his own. It was not his intention, however, to anticipate these charges by aspersions on the knowledge or industry of previous editors, nor yet by professions of what he himself had been able to effect. With respect to both the *Metres* and the *Satires* and *Epistles* he merely stated the design which he had in view and the plan which he had pursued in preparing the books for publication. His readers would "then be better qualified to pronounce how far the reproof of the poet might be applicable: *In silvam non ligna feras insanius.*"

One objection, perhaps the only one that could be offered to the plan outlined by the editor, was, that instead of removing doubts it rather tended to excite them, by perplexing the reader with a variety of conflicting opinions. This he endeavoured to obviate by giving the explanation which he regarded as correct. This was not done from any desire to set up his own judgment as a standard, far less as being superior, but because "it appeared reasonable that the same person who suggested the difficulties should also assist in the solution; and,

moreover, the student may justly require that the guide, to whose direction he submits, will not desert him in those places where his assistance is most required." In some passages, where it seemed immaterial which opinion was selected, he expressed no preference, whilst in others, where he was not satisfied with any interpretation which had been given, he either ventured to offer suggestions of his own, or did not hesitate frankly to confess ignorance. In the illustrations of history, geography, antiquities, and biography, which were interspersed through his work, he had regard to conciseness, trusting by their brevity to induce the student to consult the proper authorities.

Lecture-room Methods

A regard for conciseness, it may be remarked, was a feature of Dr. McCaul's method in the lecture room with respect to most of the authors in the classical curriculum which were assigned to himself as the professor. While not devoid of explanation or exposition, especially as to the more difficult points in the text, his lectures consisted in the main of a few pithy sentences enlivened occasionally with a dash of humour, or some amusing incident in his long experience as a teacher. The student having "read his lines," the remarks which followed from the lecturer, either voluntarily or in answer to questions, which he rather encouraged,

were full of suggestions as to the particular difficulty or topic in hand. It was less in what he actually said than in what he suggested as to sources of information and modes of investigation, that these fifty or sixty minute exercises were instructive and valuable. On many occasions it was not a lecture, in the popular sense of the term, but rather a dialogue between teacher and student, in which the latter was initiated into the method of dissecting and analysing a particular passage, so that he might be directed to the various lines of inquiry or argument by which it might be approached and fully investigated. It was a method that was thoroughly judicial.

Opinions of Editors of Horace

Dr. McCaul's opinions of other editions and other editors of Horace are interesting, especially to the University students of his *régime* who had few aids, comparatively speaking, in their studies of the Satires and Epistles and even of the Odes, fewer certainly than has the student of to-day. Dr. Charles Anthon, of Columbia College, New York, will be gratefully remembered by the student of that time. His editions of the classics were always popular and were widely used, and although his translations of the troublesome passages of an author were sometimes exceedingly free, they helped, metaphorically speaking, many a lame dog

over the stile, and gave him a confidence in the examination hall and a peace of mind afterwards for which even the lapse of years has made him not ungrateful. Dr. McCaul had a good opinion of Anthon, and spoke well of his edition of the Satires and Epistles. Through the favour of a friend he had received what he understood was the only copy which had reached Ireland. It came into his hands when his own work was considerably advanced, but he speaks of it as "a compilation fully attesting, by abundant and diversified matter, the industry and perseverance of the laborious editor."

So far as the text was concerned, Dr. McCaul adopted that of Döring's edition as the basis. He occasionally introduced other readings from a comparison of Bentley's and Gosner's, but he rejected conjectural emendations, although there were not a few passages in which he would gladly have adopted them. In this part of his work he had anticipated great assistance from the early edition by Fea, but in this he was disappointed. Döring had passed a severe judgment on Fea's edition, but, although Dr. McCaul was well aware of this, he had heard high encomiums pronounced on it by eminent scholars. Fea, he said, "possessed no other qualification for an editor than industry; and even this he has grossly misapplied, in attempting to depreciate the talents and research of Bentley. The reputation of that illustrious critic stands on

a basis too firm to be overthrown. Naturally endowed with acute penetration, the most retentive memory, and delicate discrimination, he availed himself of all the advantages of a most extensive course of reading, and, whatever censures he may have incurred by rashness or overconfidence, displayed more scholarship, even where he was wrong, than others have done where they are confessedly right."

Criticisms of the Roman Satirists

Dr. McCaul's descriptions of the Roman satirists are models of terse and graphic criticism. "The four great satirists of Rome," he says, "were Lucilius, Horace, and their imitators, Juvenal and Persius. Of the merits of the first, we have not materials to form an accurate opinion; but, if we may conjecture from the style of some fragments which time has spared, and the commendations which have been bestowed on him by the best judges of antiquity, we must regard him as a genius of the highest order, uniting boldness to acute penetration and great force of expression to accurate observation; the daring exposé of vice, and rigorous censor of individual blemishes; possessed of a remarkable flow of language, much vivacity and humour, and extraordinary vehemence and severity."¹

¹ Lucilius is said by Horace (Sat. i, l. 61) to have been the first writer of Roman satire, by which he means that Lucilius

“Juvenal,” he said, “adopting Lucilius for his model, and bringing to the work great rhetorical practice, has produced the most splendid specimens of declamatory invective. Living at a period when even the semblance of liberty was extinct, when all the original spirit and manners of the Romans had become antiquated, and vice boldly appeared without disguise, patronized by rank and fashion, he drew the picture of the time in vivid colours, with all the boldness of a master hand. Hence his Satires are characterized rather by severity than humour, by harsh invective than playful raillery. His language, copious and florid, is luxuriant even to excess, and sometimes is too highly finished to appear easy, too ornate to seem natural.”

These brief and cleverly pointed analyses could scarce avoid a comparison of Juvenal and Horace. The comparison is made with a graceful incisiveness that marks the acute critic and the accomplished student of a language which has added not a little to the beauty of style and expression of our English mother tongue. Contrasting the qualities of Juvenal's Satires, above described, with those of Horace, the critic says: “Horace, on the other hand, excels in the free conversational ease with which he ‘talks us into sense,’ without any appear-

was the first who constructed it on those principles of art which were considered in the time of Horace as essential requisites in a satiric poem.

ance of effort or design. Making folly the object of his satire, he rather banters than inveighs. Instead of presenting a striking portrait of vice, to excite our disgust and abhorrence, his sketches of character are sportive and amusing. Possessed of a keen perception of the ridiculous, he laughs at the follies of the time, as if he were not so much offended as diverted by them. His censures seem to proceed from a good-humoured adviser, not an austere moralist. His sarcasms and maxims are not calculated to render his readers discontented and misanthropic; he rather instructs them how to enjoy life and feel satisfied with their condition. Juvenal writes as if his temper had been soured by disappointment, or his indignation roused by injury, and then, disgusted with society, and dissatisfied with life, he gave vent to his natural acrimony in sweeping condemnations of men and manners. But Horace never seems discontented with the circumstances in which he is placed. An observant man of the world, he perceives the absurd and unnatural conduct of the majority; the companion of the noble and polished, he ridicules vulgarity and affectation; independent in mind and contented with the competence which he enjoyed, he condemns the mean servility which procures money, and the avarice which hoards it up; and with courtly complaisance rather ridicules vice with the freedom of one who had experienced and dreaded its seduc-

tive influence, than exposes it with the asperity of inflexible virtue."

Persius, who is in Dr. McCaul's quartette of famous satirists, is described as "modest and gentle in his manners, virtuous and pure in his whole conduct and relations. He stands out conspicuously from the mass of corrupt and profligate persons who formed the Roman society of his age; and vindicated for himself the right to be severe, by leading a blameless and exemplary life. His six Satires are remarkable for the sternness with which they censure the corruption of morals then prevalent at Rome, contrasting it with the old Roman austerity and with the Stoic ideal of virtue. The language is terse, homely, and sometimes obscure, from the nature of the allusions and the expressions used, but his dialogues are the most dramatic in the Latin tongue."

To these criticisms by the young editor and commentator, which are fair examples of his style, may be added the following passing reference to an old classical controversy: "It has been questioned whether there be any essential difference between the Satires and the Epistles of Horace as species of composition. Casaubon and others comprehend both under the general title *Sermones*, and regard the Satires as the condemnation of what is wrong, whilst the Epistles inculcate what is right; and thus, together, they form a system of moral in-

struction. But there appears no sufficient reason for considering the latter as the continuation of the former. The Epistles are not addressed to individuals that their names may be merely an inscription on them, but enter often with great minuteness into particulars connected with themselves or their and the author's friends—asking or giving information or advice, gently noticing what appeared to require amendment, and occasionally introducing moral precepts. Such, at least, are most of those contained in the first book, whilst the second is mainly occupied with the subject of criticism, suggested, however, by the circumstances of the person to whom each is addressed.”

Life of Horace

A no less interesting and ingenious part of Dr. McCaul's edition of the Horatian Satires and Epistles was the “Life of Horace,” collected from the poet's own writings:

fit ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita.

For the production of this “Life,” unique as being a piece of indirect autobiography, Dr. McCaul appears to have examined with loving scrutiny and care every line which flowed from the poet's pen. Besides the artistic creations with which his book was immediately concerned, the writer enlisted the

Odes and Epodes as aids in his delightful task. From all these masterpieces of the Latin world he deduced the life story of the man who was the friend of Virgil and Varius, of Augustus, the Emperor who has given his name to that golden age of Roman literature, and of the Emperor's friend, Mæcenas—the great Etruscan noble—who endowed the poet with his farm near Tivoli, in the Sabine country, established his independence, fostered his fame, sought his intimacy, and loved, honoured and encouraged him as much as one man could another. In the performance of this task the writer cited only those passages which appeared sufficient to establish the points which he laid down. The story might obviously have been extended to greater length, and have been illustrated by many more quotations. But, as it is, it shows in a remarkable degree the author's exhaustive research, his intimate knowledge of the poet's writings, and his perfect acquaintance with the splendid period in which he flourished.

Metres of the Greek Tragedians

With respect to his "Metres of the Greek Tragedians, Explained and Illustrated," Dr. McCaul expressed the opinion that Greek Prosody formed a branch of classical literature which had been but lately pursued with the attention which it merited. There was, however, at that time an increasing de-

sire for information on the subject, excited by the judicious introduction of the Greek Tragedies into the earlier part of the undergraduate course at Dublin University. His treatise sought to meet this desire by laying before the junior classical student a concise explanation of the metres used by the Greek tragedians. In doing so the author confined himself to the statement and illustration of their principal laws, without entering into the examination of topics, which, although connected with the subject, appeared unfit to be introduced in an elementary work.

The illustrations were selected chiefly from the four plays of Euripides, edited by Porson, as it appeared to him (the author) most probable that these would be in the hands of the class of students for whose use the treatise was intended; but some were, for local reasons, taken from the "Agamemnon" of Æschylus. Dr. McCaul was desirous that his work should excite the literary public in Ireland to pursue the examination of the subject, and be the foundation of future improvements, and this desire was gratified to a large extent by the adoption of the treatise by the University classes, and by the reception it met with in other educational institutions in Ireland. Indeed, the favour with which the treatise was received was not confined to the author's own country, but was extended in time to the schools and colleges of other lands.

Principal of Upper Canada College

While engaged in these post-graduate studies and the work of authorship and editorship, an event occurred which led to the main turning point in the young scholar's career. From far across the Atlantic a request was sent by Sir George Arthur, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, to the Colonial Secretary to procure the appointment of a Principal for the only College that could then find a seat in the chief city of the most westerly province of Canada. The minutes of the Council of the University of King's College, afterwards the University of Toronto, and with which at that time Upper Canada College was intimately connected, show that difficulties had been experienced in selecting a Principal, and that at a special meeting held in May, 1838, at which the Governor, as Chancellor of the University, presided, it was decided to take the action above referred to. In the same resolution it was recommended that, "in consideration of the great importance of having a suitable person to preside over the College," a suggestion should be made to the Colonial Secretary that "His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury be requested to afford his assistance and advice in making a selection, in order that the Province may have the advantage of His Grace's intimate acquaintance with the Universities, and his perfect knowledge

of the qualifications required for the duty." The appointment thus virtually rested with the Archbishop, although in fact made by Her Majesty's Government. It was offered to Dr. McCaul, who at once accepted and sailed for Canada late in November, 1838. He arrived in Toronto on the evening of January 25, 1839, not long after the Province had experienced a spurt of civil war, and when it was on the eve of a notable political revolution in its system of government.

Founding of Upper Canada College

The institution of which Dr. McCaul was appointed Principal was founded by Sir John Colborne (afterwards Lord Seaton), a veteran of the Peninsula and Waterloo. Besides being a distinguished soldier, Sir John was also an educational reformer, having, prior to his coming to Canada, been instrumental in effecting reforms in Elizabeth College in the island of Guernsey, a foundation of Elizabethan times. Sir John Colborne succeeded Sir Peregrine Maitland as Lieutenant-Governor of the Province in 1828. In March of the previous year a royal charter had been granted by His Majesty George IV, for the establishment at York (now Toronto) of the University of King's College, which subsequently became the University of Toronto. In the following year (1828) the institution was endowed with a share of the lands

which His Majesty George III had set apart, some twenty years previously, for educational purposes, including the foundation of a certain number of Royal Grammar Schools in different parts of the Province. One of these had been established at York, and was in existence when the new Lieutenant-Governor assumed office. Meanwhile the Corporation of King's College had been created under the authority of the charter, and plans were in progress for the erection of the University buildings. The charter, as will be seen, had been framed in the interests of the Church of England, and roused strong opposition from the other religious bodies on account of its exclusively sectarian character. The Colonial Office was aware of this, and Sir John Colborne, as the event proved, had received instructions in regard to the matter. Upon his arrival at the seat of government at Toronto, he stayed proceedings for the erection of the University buildings, and, by an Order in Council, brought into operation a Minor College which ere long became widely known as Upper Canada College. The former name was given apparently because the institution was intended to meet immediate needs, and to be preparatory to the proposed University whose charter was then a subject of dispute. The Royal Grammar School, which had been in existence for many years, was merged in the new College, which, by reason of its close rela-



THE REV. JOHN MCCAUL, LL.D.

Principal of Upper Canada College, Toronto, 1839-1842

(From an engraving in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Alan Macdougall, Toronto)

which His Majesty George III had set apart, some twenty years previously, for educational purposes, including the foundation of a certain number of Royal Grammar Schools in different parts of the Province. One of these had been established at York, and was in existence when the new Lieutenant-Governor assumed office. Meanwhile the Corporation of King's College had been created under the authority of the Crown, and plans were in progress for the purchase of the University buildings. The Corporation had also been framed in the interests of the Church of England, and roused some opposition from the other religious bodies on account of its exclusively sectarian character. The Government was aware of this, and Sir John Colborne, as the event proved, had received instructions in regard to the matter. Upon his arrival in the new government at Toronto, he stayed proceeding with the erection of the University buildings, and the Order in Council, brought into operation at King's College which ere long became widely known as Upper Canada College. The former institution apparently because the institution was considered to meet immediate needs, and to be necessary to the proposed University which would be a subject of dispute.

J. H. McCULL, LL.D.
 Principal of Upper Canada College, Toronto, 1830-1875
 (From an engraving in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Alan Macdonald, Toronto)



tions with the proposed University and the advanced character of its educational work, speedily became an important institution. Its founders took as their model the great English Public Schools, and although in later years the constitution and government and endowment of the College underwent some radical changes, it has worthily maintained the high standard of training and efficiency as a great Canadian Public School which was conceived and aimed at by its founders. Upper Canada College has a roll-call of honour and distinction that would do credit to any of the historic schools of England.

The founding of Upper Canada College led to a series of events more or less affecting Dr. McCaul's career in Canada. Some of these had happened before he came to the country, and others were subsequent. One of the most serious was the diversion to the use and benefit of the new College of a sum of over £42,000 of the proceeds of the endowment and annual income of the University. This had much to do with the long delay in bringing the University into practical operation. There was also the controversy over the charter among the religious denominations, which gathered force and volume from year to year, and in the course of which unsuccessful attempts were made at different times to give to Upper Canada College university powers and functions.

At the time of the foundation of the College and for some years afterwards, the English Church, which was the State Church, had control. This was obnoxious to the other religious bodies, but not so much so as the provisions of the University charter. The College was generally regarded as taking the place, on an enlarged scale, of the Royal Grammar School, and, so far from exciting opposition, was felt to be, in the then condition of the country, an educational boon. The accession of the Whigs to office in England, in 1828, was also a mollifying influence, so far as the Anglican control of the new College was concerned, it being generally understood that the Whigs favoured a liberal educational policy in Canada and would give effect to it. These influences were sufficient to palliate for a time the dominance of the State Church. But they were not sufficient to prevent independent educational movements by two other religious denominations. The Methodists established the Upper Canada Academy in 1836 and Victoria College in 1841, while the Presbyterians obtained a royal charter for Queen's College in 1842.

Early Years of Principalship—Marriage

The recommendations which had secured Dr. McCaul's appointment as Principal of Upper Canada College were of the highest character. It is questionable whether any scholar of the mother

country, who has been called to fill an academic position in Canada, has been the recipient of more enviable testimonials of eminent ability, scholarly accomplishments, and private worth. And they were so regarded, as the records show, by the Council of King's College.

The new Principal assumed office on January 29, 1839. He succeeded the Rev. Dr. Harris, who had organized the College ten years previously. Dr. Harris was a Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, whence, by the way, came the pattern for the gown afterwards worn by the undergraduates of King's College and the University of Toronto. He had under him a staff of college-bred masters, trained for the most part in England, who at once became enthusiastic supporters of the new Principal.

For a brief period after his settlement in Toronto, Dr. McCaul experienced a feeling of disappointment. There was no hope, as there once was, of the College of which he was the Head ever attaining the status of a university. Although superior in its curriculum and equipment to the Royal Grammar School which it had displaced, it was still in reality a Public School with a small constituency from which to draw recruits, exposed to popular prejudice, and with an uncertain future. His ambitious dreams of what he had hoped to accomplish in his new undertaking seemed far from realization, and we can scarcely wonder if he looked

back, with just a tinge of regret, to his old College, where he was one of the coming men, and where the path of promotion and distinction was still invitingly open. It was but a transient longing. Canada is indebted to one of her own daughters for reconciling the waverer to his new home, where he soon found the enlarged sphere of public usefulness for which he longed. In October, 1839, he was married to Miss Emily Jones, second daughter of the Hon. Mr. Justice Jones, of Toronto, a member of an old Canadian family, and thus, in the haven matrimonial, found an anchorage at once happy and secure. In the Toronto of her time, Mrs. McCaul was a familiar personality who lent the graces of womanly refinement to the social side of academic life amongst the boys of the College and the University men of the day.

The McCaul Régime at Upper Canada College

The McCaul *régime* at Upper Canada College has been fortunate in its chronicler. William Wedd, M.A., LL.D., the oldest living graduate of the University, is one of the old boys who was under Dr. McCaul. He was for many years the first classical master of the college, and, a few years ago, received the highest degree of his University for his services to collegiate education. In his appreciative contribution to the history of the College, Dr. Wedd has told us that, without seriously

departing from the lines laid down by his predecessor, Dr. McCaul gave a fresh start and an abiding impulse to the career of the College. He expanded and supplemented the curriculum by the introduction of new subjects; he held fortnightly examinations, for the best annual results of which he instituted and donated the Head-master's Prize; while devoting himself sedulously to details in the courses of all the Forms, he gave special attention to the Seventh Form, his own peculiar charge, making the instruction imparted in that Form as much as possible of a university character, and developing the course otherwise along university lines; he also rearranged the prize list, and the subjects of examination for prizes, placing the prize offered by His Excellency the Governor-General at the top of the list. He was also instrumental in securing the foundation by the Council of King's College, in 1841, of twelve Exhibitions open to all Canada, to be competed for by candidates of the standing of the Fourth Form, and tenable for three years. There were many other changes and improvements in the College under Dr. McCaul's administration. His style of teaching was of an advanced and original character, while in faith and morals there was the occasional word in season, but above all the silent teaching of his own life and conduct. "We were insensibly led on," says Dr. Wedd, "to revere all that is sacred, to be obedient to duly con-

stituted authority, to be ourselves actuated by manly and honourable sentiments, and always to show consideration for the feelings of others."

Personal and Intellectual Influences as Principal

Dr. McCaul's tenure of the Principalship of Upper Canada College was comparatively brief, but it left an impress which his old boys, many of whom have filled high positions in the country, have never forgotten. In one of the best told tales of English Public School life, it is said that, in the opinion of the boys at Rugby, there was no greater school-master in the world than their Head-master, Dr. Arnold. His greatness, in their minds, was not so much an attribute of his authority as the natural and just homage paid to virtues that truly deserved it. It inspired the hero of "Tom Brown at Oxford," in his darkest days of undergraduateship, with new hope and fresh endeavour. Many a year after, manly Tom Hughes, in Tennessee, planting a colony of Englishmen, instilled into his fellow countrymen those principles of truth and justice, and that spirit of self-reliance and faith in one another, which he himself had early imbibed from his old Rugby preceptor. There is, indeed, much more to be learned at college than the tasks of the class room or the lecture room; there are lessons which are indelible in life's fresh springtime, which form character, and develop the best that is to

be found in young manhood. There is the personal touch that is never effaced from an impressionable nature. The ruling spirit at Upper Canada in 1839-42 was of that healthful old Rugby type. There was good scholarship as well as good discipline at the head of the College, and discipline of the boyish heart and disposition, as well as of the mind and daily conduct. "He was," said one of his pupils, "a high-minded, devoted and impartial instructor, who made stubborn tasks a delightful pastime, and imbued us all with much of his own enthusiasm in the discharge of duty. He taught us to have noble purposes and lofty aims, manliness of feeling as well as of action, and the instincts of gentlemen. He was felt to be the personal friend of every boy in every Form."

In Upper Canada College Dr. McCaul found many things to try his mettle and prove the stuff he was made of. He had had previous experience of the student individually, but none of students in the mass, and more especially of high spirited youths in a large Public School, with the Form system of Rugby and Harrow, and assistant masters to be controlled and directed in addition to the pupils themselves. But he was in every way equal to the task. He found the College in many respects a fallow field, but the earth was kindly there, the chief husbandman was skilled, and he left it a comely vineyard, hardy, vigorous, and abounding.

Appointment to University of King's College

In 1842, Dr. McCaul left Upper Canada College for a sphere of duty which was greatly enlarged and extended in importance and influence during the next decade, and in which he achieved his most enduring successes. In that year he was appointed Vice-President of the University of King's College and Professor of Classics, Logic, Rhetoric, and Belles-lettres.

Dr. McCaul's resignation of the Principalship of Upper Canada College was made the ready occasion of showing the estimation in which he was held by all connected with the College. He was presented with a handsome service of plate by the College boys generally, and to this was added a similar token of their grateful appreciation of his kindness, by the pupils of the Seventh Form, which was more immediately under the Principal's care. From the Masters of the College he was the recipient of a valedictory address couched in terms of the highest admiration and respect. On leaving the main building he was received by the boys in a lengthened line reaching to his residence on the grounds, and opening to the right and left on either side, and, as he advanced, each head was involuntarily uncovered and many were the wishes audibly expressed for his future welfare and happiness. His words of farewell to his youthful charges were

a finished illustration of unstudied eloquence. They marked "the old man eloquent" of future years, when, whether on platform, dais, or at the festive academic board, surrounded by those who were keeping alive the memories of Convocation Day, he never failed, by the chaste elegance of his language, the apt and just sentiments which it conveyed, and the graceful and happy manner in which it was uttered, to crown the oratorical efforts of the occasion.

University Reform—Dr. McCaul's Attitude

The appointment of Dr. McCaul to the University of King's College was a very important event in his career, for it brought him face to face with an agitation for University reform which had continued almost unabated since the granting of the charter in 1827. This agitation was felt in a minor degree in the class rooms of Upper Canada College. King's College was in a different position. Its constitution was the chief point of attack; the defenders of privilege, with a militant churchman at their head, were firmly entrenched within its walls; the question of reform was there a burning question, and it so continued until the Baldwin Act of 1849 brought peace with honour to the warring sectaries. That the Vice-President of King's, the holder of one of its principal professorships, should be drawn into the controversy was inevitable. It

was a controversy at times angry and acrimonious. The movement for a reformed University was a movement for the open door in higher education—open alike to professoriate and student, to all creeds, sects, and denominations, with no bar or test of religious faith, and with no claim for honour or preferment save merit alone. It was in principle akin to the opposition to a State Church and for the equality of all churches before the law; and to the struggle against an irresponsible Executive and for a free Parliament. And like these it could have but one issue.

The merits of this educational controversy, and Dr. McCaul's attitude towards it in its later years, may be better understood by a brief retrospect of its history.¹

Early History of the University

The proposal for the establishment of a College or University, for the promotion of higher learning in Upper Canada, was part of the policy of Col. John Graves Simcoe, the first Governor of the Province. This policy was so indicated by him soon after the organization of the Provincial Government under the Constitutional Act of 1791.

¹The writer is indebted for valuable information on the subject of this and the following sections to the chapter by Dr. Burwash, ex-President of Victoria College, in the volume, *The University of Toronto and Its Colleges, 1827-1906*, published by the Librarian, 1906.

Colonel Simcoe, who left Canada long before his plans matured, favoured provision being made out of the public funds and the public lands for the erection of free Grammar Schools, and "in course of time, of a College or University." This proposal had the sympathy of the Imperial Government, who, in response to an address from the Legislature, favoured an appropriation of the waste lands of the Crown for the purpose, the Colonial Secretary at the same time asking for the appointment of a committee of the Executive Council, judges, and law officers of the Crown, to report upon the subject. This committee recommended an appropriation of five hundred thousand acres of land for educational purposes, of which one half should be reserved for a University at York (now Toronto), and that Grammar Schools should be established at certain places named in the report. Grammar Schools were thereupon founded at Kingston and Cornwall, and later on at Niagara and York. These events took place in or about 1797-98. The landed endowment being unproductive, the Grammar Schools had to be provided for from other sources, while the pressing needs of education were supplied by Elementary Schools, supported by voluntary effort. These were recognized by the Act of 1816.

The condition of Upper Canada at this time was not favourable to the project of a University, and

it was not until about 1820 that any steps were taken to further it. Sir Peregrine Maitland was then at the head of the Provincial Administration. He was a warm sympathizer with the project, and had an ardent coadjutor in the Rev. Dr. John Strachan, an Aberdonian Scotsman, formerly a member of the Church of Scotland, but who subsequently took orders in the Anglican Church. Dr. Strachan, who had come to Canada with the expectation of assisting Governor Simcoe in his educational plans, soon became a commanding personality in the Province. Commencing his career as a private tutor in Kingston, he was ere long curate at Cornwall and the successful Head-master of the Grammar School there; thereafter Rector of York and the Head-master of its Grammar School, and, later on, Archdeacon of York and first Bishop of Toronto. While he was still Archdeacon he was also a member of the Executive Council and of the Legislative Council, and President of the Council of Education. When, therefore, in 1820-26, the project of a University was again to the fore, Dr. Strachan was the man of the time. He was commissioned to England to secure the consent of the Crown to an exchange of the unproductive lands of the endowment for other lands yielding an immediate revenue, and, at the same time, to obtain a royal charter for the proposed University.

Objections to the Charter

Dr. Strachan's mission was successful, but the charter roused instant and widespread opposition for the reason that it was designed to found a University in close connection with the Church of England, which represented a considerable minority of the population. Importuned by petitions setting forth the objectionable features of the charter, a committee of the House of Assembly reported strongly against it. "The sectarian character and tendency of the institution," said the report, "will be manifest; the alarm and jealousy which this circumstance will produce throughout the Province," and which "it has in some measure produced," will "prevent parents and guardians from sending their children to it, and so limit the benefits which might otherwise be derived from the institution." "To be of real service the principles upon which it is established must be in unison with the general sentiments of the people. It should not be a school of politics, or of sectarian views. It should have about it no appearance of partiality or exclusion. Its portals should be thrown open to all, and upon none who enter should any influence be exerted to attach them to any particular creed or church. . . . Most deeply, therefore, is it to be lamented that the principles of the charter are calculated to defeat its

usefulness and to continue to a favoured few all its advantages."

This report had a far-reaching effect. It produced an address to the King praying for the cancellation of the charter and the granting of one free from these objections; it called forth numerous signed petitions to the British Parliament which were carried to England by an influential deputation; and it secured from a Select Committee of the House of Commons the following recommendations: a change in the constitution of the University; two theological professors, one of the Church of England and one of the Church of Scotland; no religious tests for the President, professors and others connected with the College, but that, with the exception of the theological professors, they should sign a declaration that, in any references to religious subjects in their lectures, they would recognize the truth of the Christian revelation, and would not inculcate any particular doctrines.

These changes were not acceptable to the opponents of the charter. Their objections were to the Anglican Bishop being constituted the Visitor with supreme judicial control of the University, requiring the President to be a clergyman in holy orders in the Church of England; and making the Arch-deacon of York *ex-officio* President; placing the executive government of the University in a Coun-

cil composed of the Chancellor, the President and seven members, who must be members of the Church of England and subscribe to her articles; and restricting degrees in Divinity to persons in holy orders in the Church of England, thereby excluding clergymen of the Church of Scotland and those of all other denominations.

Dr. Strachan and his friends defended the charter as being thoroughly liberal in its terms and tendencies, but the agitation continued until the retirement of Sir Peregrine Maitland and the appointment of his successor, Sir John Colborne, as Lieutenant-Governor in 1828. The interval saw the creation of the Corporation of King's College and the organization of the University, as far as possible. A Council was appointed, the chief members of which were the Lieutenant-Governor, who was *ex-officio* Chancellor, and the Archdeacon of York, who was *ex-officio* President. The new landed estate which was to be a source of profit was conveyed to the Corporation; steps were taken for the erection of buildings on a suitable site; a registrar and bursar were appointed, and arrangements made for securing an income from the landed endowment.

Attitude of College and Legislative Councils

When the Whigs took office in 1828 the offending University charter was suspended, and pro-

ceedings for the erection of the University buildings were stayed. But the College Council disregarded the suspension, and in 1830 the House of Assembly protested on two occasions against the objectionable features of the charter, asked for its cancellation and for the grant of a new charter free from such objections. In November, 1831, the Colonial Secretary, Lord Goderich, demanded the surrender of the charter and of the endowment lands. This was refused by the College Council, who at the same time made an offer of compromise which the House of Assembly declined to accept. This occurred in 1832, and twice during the next three years a bill for the amendment of the charter passed the Assembly and was rejected by the Legislative Council. It was one of a large number of bills of one kind or another which were adopted by the House of Assembly, but were thrown out by the Legislative Council, thereby greatly intensifying the standing conflict between the two Houses. The communications at this juncture between the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir John Colborne) and the Colonial Office show that suggestions or recommendations for the modification of the charter by the interposition of His Majesty's Ministers, and their sanction for the immediate opening of the College, were not favourably entertained. "The decision of such a question," said Lord Glenelg, "by His Majesty's advisers in England would be con-

demned with plausibility, and not indeed without justice, as a needless interference with the internal affairs of the Province." Had this wise discretion been always exercised, how different might have been the early history of Upper Canada!

Under instructions from the home authorities, Sir Francis Bond Head, who succeeded Sir John Colborne as head of the Provincial Government, tendered the mediation of the King between the contending parties in the Legislature, and the previously rejected bill for amending the charter was again passed by the Assembly and again rejected by the Legislative Council. A general election in 1836 gave the Conservatives a majority in the Assembly, and, in the following session, a bill passed both Houses and was assented to making large concessions to public opinion by important amendments to the charter. Under these amendments the Justices of the King's Bench became Visitors of King's College in place of the Lord Bishop of Quebec. In future the President of the University was to be appointed by the King and need hold no ecclesiastical office. The College Council was to be composed of twelve members, namely, the Chancellor, the President, the Speakers of the two Houses of the Legislature, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, the five senior professors of the Arts and Faculties of the College, and the Principal of the Minor or Upper Canada College.

There was a further provision that it should not be necessary that any member of the College Council, or any professor to be at any time appointed, should be a member of the Church of England, or should subscribe to any articles of religion other than a declaration that he believed in the authenticity and divine inspiration of the Old and New Testaments, and in the doctrine of the Trinity.

These modifications of the University charter, after a long period of dispute, indicated a marked change of view on the Conservative and ecclesiastical side of the question. The arguments of that side had been presented with great skill and ability, especially to the Legislative Council, whose ears were very "open to the cry." The issue of it all showed moderation and wisdom, but none the less a constrained feeling on the part of the defenders of the charter that, at that time at all events, a University controlled by an Established Church was practically impossible in Upper Canada. As it was, however, the Presidency of the College, held by an aggressive churchman, was unchanged; his Council were Anglicans; and the Divinity Chair was still their appanage. There was room enough and to spare for future controversy.

Overtures for College Union—The First Baldwin Bill

The academic work of the University was entered upon in October, 1843. For several months

prior to that time, strong efforts were made by the authorities of Queen's College, Kingston, to bring about a union on equitable terms with King's College. For this purpose Bishop Strachan, the President of King's, was asked to place certain resolutions and statements, on behalf of Queen's, before the College Council, but this request was refused. The Government, on being appealed to, approved the principles of the union scheme, but required the concurrence and co-operation of the Methodist body. This led to an exchange of views between Queen's and Victoria, in which, strange to say, there was practical agreement between the two parties in favour of the principle of University federation which prevails to-day, namely, a central authority charged with certain university duties and functions, and separate colleges with teaching faculties in Arts. This idea of a college union in one university was further elaborated by Dr. Liddell of Queen's. Finally the Government and Parliament became seized of the question, and the Hon. Robert Baldwin introduced his bill in the session of 1843 providing for further changes in the constitution of the University.

This first Baldwin bill provided for the constitution of a University which was to absorb all the powers and functions of King's College, and also the endowment, subject to cash allowances to the Colleges for a limited period. The government of

the University was to be placed in the hands of representative bodies, the executive authority in a Caput, and the legislative authority in Convocation to be composed as provided. The University was to embrace four Colleges, namely King's, Queen's, Victoria, and Regiopolis, and the university powers and offices of each of these Colleges were to be abrogated. This bill, the prominent feature of which was its liberal spirit, never went through. A difference of opinion between Sir Charles Metcalfe and his advisers on the interpretation and application of "responsible government" resulted in the resignation of the Ministry and the dissolution of Parliament.

Abortive Attempts at Legislation

In the newly elected Assembly the Conservatives had a majority. In March, 1845, Mr. W. H. Draper, the head of the new Administration, introduced the Baldwin bill with certain amendments, the principal of which were a change of name to that of the University of Upper Canada, and concessions to the Church party by the repeal of the amending Act of 1837. An insuperable difficulty, however, arose through the claim of the Church of England to the charter and the endowment of King's College. This proved to be such an apple of discord that the bill had to be dropped.

It is noticeable that, in the literature of the sub-

ject at that time, Dr. McCaul, under the pseudonym of "A Graduate," followed Bishop Strachan in a pamphlet supporting the claim of the Church party to the original charter of King's College and to the endowment.

There were two other vain attempts at legislation with respect to the constitution of the University before the Baldwin Act of 1849,¹ namely, the Draper bill and its supplements of 1846, and the bill of Mr. (afterwards Sir) John A. Macdonald in 1847, all of which were in the nature of a compromise. The passage of the former bill and its supplements was made impossible by an extreme section of Mr. Draper's own party. The Macdonald bill, which provided for large concessions to the Anglican Church, and for a division of the income of the endowment amongst the four Colleges and the Grammar Schools and for education generally, was killed in its passage by the united influence of the Liberals led by Mr. Baldwin, and of King's College, led by Dr. McCaul, who persuaded Bishop Strachan to withdraw his previous assent to the bill. In the general election, which followed soon after, the University question, linked up with that of the Clergy Reserves, was made the battle cry of the Liberals, who carried the country and were restored to office with Mr. Baldwin at their head. Then followed the Baldwin Act of 1849,

¹ 12 Vict., ch. 82.

which gave the Government complete control of the University and its endowment, and secularized these by removing them from the dominance of any ecclesiastical body.

The Baldwin Act of 1849

The principal opponents of this second Baldwin bill were Bishop Strachan, the trustees of Queen's College, a section of the Council of King's College, which was decided in its opinions, and the Church of England, which last-named body claimed control of the University and its endowment. The main objections to the bill were its provisions for the secularization of the University, which, it was said, ignored religion in the scheme of education, and its principle of centralization, which, it was urged, was not in the interests of higher education. The religious objection had tremendous influence. It compelled an amending Act, in 1850, permitting, at their own expense, religious instruction by representatives of the different denominations. But, more than that, it was one of the main factors in causing the resignation of Bishop Strachan as President of King's College, and the unhappy schism in the Anglican body which led to the establishment of Trinity College by the zealous Bishop and his band of loyal supporters—all which marks the opening of a new and remarkable epoch in University history. Under the Act, which came into operation on Jan-

uary 1, 1850, and under later legislation which took effect in April, 1853, the designation of the University was changed to that of the University of Toronto, thus following time-honoured precedents in older countries in which ancient and famous universities are named after the cities in which they have their seats. The University was at the same time organized on the model of the University of London, and the teaching in the Faculty of Arts was transferred from the University to University College. The College was thus created, and has ever since been, a separate corporation on the same foundation as the University itself.

Dr. McCaul's Position in the Controversy

In this great educational controversy, which is inseparably connected with his career, there is no mistaking Dr. McCaul's attitude. It is fully disclosed at every important stage of the argument. As Principal of Upper Canada College, he was *ex-officio* a member of the Council of King's College, and shared the views and opinions of its members on the University question. When the University was organized and a professoriate appointed in 1842-43, there was an almost immediate division amongst the members of the staff. Professors Croft, Gwynne, and Potter were in favour of an amendment of the charter, and of Mr. Baldwin's

first reform bill; President Strachan, Dr. McCaul, and Professor Beaven were decidedly *contra*. There was always a Conservative majority in the Council who were exceedingly tenacious of their vested rights and privileges, and were, for a long time, successful in resisting any change by which these might be jeopardized. In this position they had the sympathy and support of the Upper House of the Legislature, where Dr. Strachan's influence was all but supreme. When at last it became evident that the establishment of a University on any other than a liberal basis was impracticable, Dr. McCaul, in common with many friends of King's, accepted the situation with the best grace possible, and was loyal to the new order of things. He had always held to the view that the higher education of the youth of the country should not be divorced from religion, and in this he was in accord, although not exactly from the same standpoint, with the leaders of the Presbyterian and Methodist bodies. But he disagreed with them in their stand against a central University. He was strongly attached to a policy of centralization, and was, therefore, opposed, notwithstanding the great concessions then offered to the members of his own communion, to a partition of the proceeds of the endowment amongst the different Colleges, including his own, as proposed by Mr. John A. Macdonald in 1847.

Dr. McCaul was, of course, sharply criticized for his defence of the sectarian exclusiveness and system of government of King's College. But whatever he said and did in support of his position was far overborne by his admirable justification of the University establishment of later years. In those years, Dr. McCaul made full atonement, if any such were needed, for his previous stand with the forces of reaction. No more eloquent voice was then heard in defence of the complete secularization of the University, and the maintenance unimpaired of its none too ample endowment. He lost no opportunity or occasion to plead the cause of the "open door" to higher education for students and scholars of every creed and class, and of even-handed justice to every religious denomination. It was on one of such occasions, during the crisis of the dangerous movement by the outside Colleges against the State University and College, that Dr. McCaul appealed to a great audience in Convocation Hall, and to the friends of the University everywhere, to stand together with unbroken front and undismayed, and closed his brilliant address with the old Virgilian line, *Tu ne cede malis; sed contra audentior ito*. It was like a voice from the tomb of the Mantuan in Rome's Augustan age, and stirred the deeper surges of feeling that sometimes sweep over and move an audience by its eloquent revelation.

The Legislation of 1853

Although the Act of 1849 changed both the constitution and the name of King's College, it failed to secure the co-operation of the denominational Colleges, Queen's, Victoria, and Regiopolis, with the secular University in inducing them to give up their degree-conferring powers, and confine themselves to teaching the prescribed subjects of the University curriculum. The legislation for this purpose had been too long delayed. But, apart from the delay, the Colleges were unwilling to abandon their University rights and privileges, unless, as teaching institutions, they were permitted to share in the benefits of the University endowment, from which they were debarred by the Act. The University also suffered from the cry that it was a "godless" institution. This affected the attendance of students, which was meagre as to numbers and was unpromising for the future; the expectations of popular support were not realized, and were not likely to be so long as the combined forces of denominationalism were hostile. Something had to be done to meet these adverse influences, and the result was the University Act of 1853.¹

Under this Act, which repealed the Acts of 1849 and 1850, the privilege given to the denominational Colleges of becoming affiliated to the University

¹ 16 Vict., ch. 89.

was continued, but without the condition of surrendering their university powers, which had been imposed by the Act of 1849. The University, as previously mentioned, was also shorn of its teaching functions, which were transferred to a new corporation, University College. An endeavour was also made to conciliate the denominational institutions by a provision that the annual surpluses of the University income fund, instead of being applied to capital, as under the Act of 1849, should "constitute a fund to be, from time to time, appropriated by Parliament for academical education in Upper Canada."

Another "University Question"

Although inserted in the statute for a conciliatory purpose, this particular enactment unfortunately gave rise to another educational controversy. Starting out with the assumption that the clause was statutory authority for State aid in their academical work, a claim was made by the denominational Colleges for a division of the University endowment. In this new conflict of interests Dr. McCaul figured as a strong defender of the integrity of the endowment. On the same side, conspicuous by his readiness and skill in debate, was Professor (afterwards Sir) Daniel Wilson,¹ who was alert and active in

¹Dr. Wilson, as he was then familiarly called, was a man of many talents. During the controversy above referred to, he

the disputation, and rendered splendid service. The claim of the Colleges was based on the contention that the character and extent of their teaching were equal to that of the State College. Three of the Colleges, Victoria, Queen's, and Regiopolis, had, as early as 1846, put forth a claim for Provincial aid in carrying on their work of instruction. This was encouraged by the promising state of the University revenue in 1853-56. A formal petition was then

had charge of the University side of the case, and conducted it with marked ability before the Parliamentary committee of 1860 and in the press. Dr. Wilson was born in Edinburgh in 1816, a son of Archibald Wilson of that city, and a brother of George Wilson, Professor of Chemistry in the University. He was educated at the Edinburgh High School and at the University, which gave him his honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. Dr. Wilson was eminent in archæology, in ethnology, in history and literature, was a skilled engraver and designer, a philanthropist of wide sympathies, and a man of influential activities in ecclesiastical and civic affairs. He was secretary and a Fellow of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, and one of the "limited twenty" honorary members of the Society of Antiquities of Scotland, a President of the Royal Canadian Institute of Toronto, and, for several years, editor of its *Journal*, and a President also of the Royal Society of Canada. He was appointed Professor of History and English Literature in University College in 1853, and a year later was offered the Principalship of McGill College, Montreal, which he declined. He wrote *The Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time* (1847), illustrated by himself; *The Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (1851), containing two hundred of his own engravings; *Oliver Cromwell and the Protectorate* (1852); *Prehistoric Man* (1865); and *The Right Hand: Left Handedness* (1892). These and other productions of his pen, his steel engravings, e. g. the copy of Turner's famous picture, *Ancient Carthage: the*

presented by the Wesleyan Methodist Conference to the Legislature praying for assistance to all the chartered Colleges by an appropriation from the University funds. In 1859, however, there was a large deficit, with the result that, in the following year, the various petitions and memorials from the Conference, and from others similarly interested, were referred to a Parliamentary committee to inquire into the manner in which the University Act

Embarkation of Regulus, which hangs in the University Librarian's room, and his origination of institutes like the News-boys' Home, are a few of the evidences of his work in various spheres of energy and effort. Dr. Wilson had a genius for the production of striking and artistic effects in architecture, which is shown in the main building of the University. He designed many of the curious and ingenious carvings in the stone and wood work of the interior. The heavy projecting cornices at the summit of the great tower, which so much enhance its majestic proportions, the beautiful doorway at its base, and the large window above the doorway were also designed by him. He worked hand in hand with the architects in producing these and other ornate and graceful features of the structure. Dr. Wilson enjoyed the friendship of Tennyson and Carlyle and other men of letters of his time. He is remembered as the natural successor of Dr. McCaul in the Presidency, as an outstanding figure in the literary life of Canada, as a devoted friend of literature, science, and art, and for his zeal in promoting the moral and social betterment of a rapidly growing city. He is also remembered by his students for the stimulus which he gave to their tastes and reading and breadth of view in his treatment of the subjects of his department. He taught the lesson, which a distinguished occupant of the chair of History at Oxford always taught, that "over all nations is humanity." Dr. Wilson was knighted in 1888, and died in the summer of 1892, soon after revising the proofs of his last book.

of 1853 had been administered and the money expended. The Conference petition for this purpose also prayed that all the Colleges in Upper Canada should be placed on the same footing in regard to the University. A large mass of evidence was taken by the committee, but it was never published. There were, of course, petitions and memorials on both sides of the question, and a good deal of acrimonious discussion in the press and otherwise. The agitation assumed such proportions that in October, 1861, the Governor-General, Lord Monck, as Visitor of the University and University College, issued a commission for a visitation of both institutions, with power to investigate and take evidence and thereafter report to him.¹

The report of the Commissioners was a moderate expression of opinion against a defective system of control and management, rather than against those who were charged with its administration. On the much-vexed question of aid to the denominational Colleges, there were these recommendations: (1) that the land endowment of the University should be administered by the Crown Lands Department; (2) that in return for the land and in place of the annual grants hitherto made to the denominational Colleges by the Legislature, the capital of the en-

¹ The commissioners were: Hon. James Patton, of Toronto, Vice-Chancellor of the University, Chairman; John Beatty, M.D., of Cobourg; and Mr. John Paton, of Kingston.

dowment should be increased by interest-bearing debentures to the amount of \$971,000; (3) that, out of the annual revenue of \$84,000 from investments, \$28,000 should be appropriated to University College, under the old name of "King's College," and \$10,000 to each of the other four Colleges, Victoria, Queen's, Regiopolis, and Trinity; (4) that the University of Toronto, under the name of "The University of Upper Canada," should prescribe the Arts curriculum, and conduct the examinations in each of these institutions, and should also grant the degrees in Arts; and (5) that \$3,500 should be set apart for scholarships in the University and the Colleges, and the balance devoted to the expenses of the Senate in managing the affairs of the University.

This report was fruitless so far as these recommendations were concerned. Although there was a continuance of the agitation, and pressure by both parties on the Government and the Legislature, it evoked no practical response; public interest in the dispute gradually languished and finally died away. There was no surplus income from the University investments; in fact, there was less than was required for the existing needs and efficient maintenance of the State University and its College. Parliament was unwilling to add to the endowment, and indisposed to meddle further in the solution of a question in regard to which public opinion was so

much divided. The political situation was also greatly disturbed by a number of sectional issues which had arisen between the Provinces; there was a succession of weak Ministries, and a state of practical deadlock between the rival political parties. The educational controversy, or what remained of it, soon became completely overshadowed by the large and momentous question of a change in the Canadian constitution. This took effect through the agreement of the Quebec Conference of 1864, and the subsequent passage of the Act of Confederation under which the whole question of secular education was relegated to the Provincial Legislature.

The Parliament of Canada had, for many years, made annual grants to the denominational Colleges. In 1869, despite the strenuous opposition of the Colleges, the Ontario Legislature, at the instance of the Sandfield Macdonald Government, which was composed of prominent members of both political parties, discontinued these grants—a stroke of policy which, without seriously affecting the former beneficiaries, happily ended the second “University question.”

Changes in University Government

Some important changes in the constitution and government of the University, which had been favoured by Dr. McCaul, were made in 1873.¹ The

¹ By an Act of the Ontario Legislature, 36 Vict., ch. 29.

University Corporation, which prior to that time was composed of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Senate, was enlarged by the addition of Convocation, a body composed of the graduates at large. The Vice-Chancellor remained elective by the Senate, as he had been before and was for many years afterwards, but the Chancellor was made elective triennially by Convocation.¹ In the composition of the Senate the Government appointees were limited to nine, and there was a creation of certain *ex-officio* members. These comprised the Superintendent (later the Minister) of Education for the Province, the President and two members of the Council of University College, a representative of the Law Society, the Principal of Upper Canada College, a representative of each affiliated institution, a representative of the High School Masters, and all former Chancellors and Vice-Chancellors. There was also an addition of fifteen members elective by Convocation. A change was also made in regard to affiliated institutions. By the Act of 1853, four Colleges (Victoria, Queen's, Regiopolis, and Trinity) had been affiliated to the University without having applied for affiliation status. By the Act of 1873, the affiliation of all institutions which had not been granted it on "special application" was

¹ By the present University Act the office of Vice-Chancellor was abolished, and the Chancellor was made elective quadrennially by the graduate body.

revoked, and the right to grant this privilege was given to the Senate, subject to the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council and of Convocation. The Act also empowered the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council to establish additional professorships in University College on the recommendation of the Senate. The right was also conferred on the Senate, upon representations made to it in that behalf, to enquire into "the conduct or efficiency of any professor in University College, and report to the Lieutenant-Governor the result of such enquiry," and to make such recommendations in the matter as it might think proper.

These various provisions of the statute, in regard to which Dr. McCaul was consulted and of which he, in the main, approved, made the Senate far more representative than it had been of the educational interests of the country, enhanced its authority and influence as the governing body, and materially strengthened the University in public favour and confidence.

Relations to Educational Work

The relations which Dr. McCaul sustained to the educational work of the University of King's College, the University of Toronto, and University College, are indicated by the character of the curricula and of the examinations in these institutions, especially in his own departments. In King's Col-

lege, the Faculty of Arts was the strong, central Faculty, and overshadowed the others; and so it was in the University of Toronto, as reorganized in 1853. King's, moreover, was a teaching institution, which the University of Toronto was not; the work of teaching the subjects of the University curriculum being assigned to a separate institution, University College. The general plan of instruction for King's College was prepared by the President, Dr. Strachan. He adopted the arrangements and methods which were followed in the various departments of King's College, London, along with suggestions offered by those of the Scottish and American Universities. This plan was carried out in a general way when King's College was opened in 1843. Dr. McCaul was then Vice-President, and, owing to the President being also engaged with the duties of his ecclesiastical office, was practically the working head of the College. He had had four years' experience in Upper Canada College with the class of young men who might be expected to enter the University, and who, as a matter of fact, were its first students. He took a leading and influential part, not only in framing the curriculum but also the regulations for carrying it out, and in the whole work of organization in every detail. Precedents were then set, and lines of academic work and methods of administration initiated, which had a most impor-

tant influence on University education in subsequent years. A perusal of the regulations and of the curriculum of that time discloses a system of instruction of such superior merit that its general features, and, in some departments, many of the details, are recognized in the system of the reconstructed University of 1853. One of the requirements for matriculation, in the early years of King's College, was a previous examination by the Vice-President, who also prescribed the subjects in the Greek and Latin languages and in mathematics. For matriculation in 1843 there were prescribed two Greek and two Latin authors, one of the authors prose and the other verse in each language. Later on the number and variety of classical authors were increased, with the addition also of translation into Latin prose, and, for first-class honours, additional work, which included translation into Latin verse. The undergraduate was required to take four or five classical authors in each of the three years of his course, with additional work for prizes and honours. Competent judges have stated that, in King's College, "on the classical side, the examinations indicate a high standard of excellence."¹

The change in the constitution of the University,

¹ See chapter on "The Arts Faculty" (p. 79), by Professors R. Ramsay Wright and W. J. Alexander, in *The University of Toronto and Its Colleges*, 1906.

in 1853, necessitated a much larger teaching staff, and also a change of curriculum. It was from this curriculum that the curricula of later years were gradually developed. The term of the undergraduate course was extended from three to four years. This involved five examinations, the same as at present. The object of the lengthened course was to meet educational conditions which had arisen during the previous decade, and to bring the State University and its College into closer relations with the preparatory schools of the country. This purpose was largely effected, especially with respect to the teaching of classics required for matriculation. The number and selection of the authors for this examination were made more acceptable both to the masters and the pupils of the schools generally, while the previous standard of scholarship was not impaired. The effect of the change was soon made apparent by the gradual increase of candidates for matriculation, and the wider distribution of honours and scholarships offered for competition. Liberty was also given to candidates to enter the University at any of the examinations, on certain conditions as to age and as to taking work prescribed for the earlier years of the course at the later examination. This privilege was continued till three years before Dr. McCaul's retirement from the University.

Another feature in the system of instruction,

which was introduced during Dr. McCaul's Presidency of the College, was a fixed or general course of work in all the departments for all undergraduates alike, with additional work in each subject for any candidate who was ambitious for honours. This led, in a comparatively short time, to the system of options, by which a candidate, who had shown special excellence in the subject or subjects prescribed for honours, was permitted to omit certain work in the fixed course while continuing the work for honours. Dr. McCaul was largely responsible for the initiation of this system of options. Judging by the continuance and extension of the system, from time to time, its utility and advantages seem to be scarcely arguable; it has become firmly rooted and is likely to remain so. One marked result of the option system has been to bring about two distinct courses of study and instruction for undergraduates of the University, namely, a Pass or General course comprising all the ordinary work prescribed in each department, and a course for Honours, in which the prescribed work is confined to one or more departments and is highly advanced and specialized, and, of course, more difficult than the Pass course. A comparison of the later with the earlier curricula of the University shows that the Honour courses, both in number and specialization, have increased to a remarkable extent. In Classics, the Honour courses and the character of the instruction

always ranked high. The authorities already referred to, Professors R. Ramsay Wright and W. J. Alexander, in their careful investigation of the curricula at different periods, and the regulations affecting it, have declared that "in Classics a high standard of scholarship has been demanded from the beginning, and the development has been rather in the aim than in the extent of the work required."

Speaking generally, what has been said of Dr. McCaul's department may be said of other departments of University work and of the teaching of the subjects comprised in it, during his time. There were notable changes in the curriculum and in the character of the instruction, indicating marked progress and development, and there was at the same time a high standard of examination. This is particularly true of the department of Natural Philosophy under Professor J. B. Cherriman,¹

¹ J. B. Cherriman, M.A., was a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he had taken a high position as a scholar in the branches of the department similar to that of which he became the head in University College, Toronto. He was at first assistant to Professor Murray, who succeeded Professor Potter, and, on Professor Murray's death, was appointed to the chair which he filled with marked ability until his resignation in 1875. A remarkable fact in connection with his appointment was the simultaneous application of Professor John Tyndall for the same chair. Tyndall was one of the great men of science of his time—a famous physicist, a master, in fact, of many sciences, an author and lecturer of the highest reputation, and the successor of Davy and Faraday as Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Royal Institution. It is no reflection on the

and of modern languages, a department of which Professor James Forneri was the head for a period of thirteen years, and of the department of Philosophy, as it is now called, under Professor George Paxton Young,¹ who was appointed in 1871, and whose system of original and inspiring instruction changed the old order of things. It was, how-

clever graduate of Cambridge to say that the failure to secure a man of the genius of John Tyndall for a professorship in the University of Toronto was a most regrettable misfortune.

¹ George Paxton Young, LL.D., Professor of Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics in University College, was a man of remarkable abilities and scholarship, and of great educational influence. He was born in Berwick-on-Tweed in 1819, a "son of the Manse," his father being a Scottish clergyman. He was educated at the High School and the University of Edinburgh, was trained for the Presbyterian ministry, came to Canada in 1847, became Minister of Knox Church, Hamilton, in 1850, and resigned his charge on his appointment to a professorship in Knox College, Toronto, where he occupied various chairs during the period 1853-1864. He was then appointed Inspector of the Grammar Schools of the Province, which were reorganized and materially improved under his direction. He was Professor in University College from 1871 till his death on February 26, 1889. Professor Young's range of learning was well nigh phenomenal. It was often said of him that he could have filled the chair of Classics, Mathematics, or Oriental Languages, as well as he filled his own. Professor Cherriman, the head of the department of Natural Philosophy, declared that Professor Young was the most remarkable mathematician of his day. His papers, published in *The American Journal of Mathematics* on *The Theory of Equations* and especially on *Quintic Equations*, excited wide interest and discussion among the mathematical scholars of the time. Dr. Daniel Wilson used to say that Professor Young knew almost as much about poetry as about equations. In Mental and Moral Philosophy

ever, in the natural and physical sciences that the expansion was most observable and remarkable. Before Dr. McCaul's retirement, in 1880, two new chairs were established, one in Geology, under Professor Edward Chapman,¹ and the other in

Professor Young was the master of a school of his own, original in thought and research as well as in methods of exposition, and with an impressive and widely diffused influence. Dr. F. L. Patton, former President of Princeton University, said he was one of the greatest dialecticians of the century. His students have always spoken of him in terms of the highest admiration. He was an educator in the true classical sense of the word. He had a special faculty for unravelling the intricacies and clearing away the doubts and difficulties of philosophic problems, however profound or perplexing. He had a genius for imparting instruction, and was "a prince among teachers." The high standard which he set up in his department made it difficult to fill his place. He once said that if he had the choice of a successor it would be "Watson of Queen's," and this opinion was subsequently acted upon. Professor Watson's reply was the Shunammite's reply to the prophet: "I dwell among mine own people." Professor Young was a charming personality, and nowhere was this more in evidence than in the bright circle of his friends of the *Muskoka Club*, in the long summer days and at the evening camp fires of their island home in Lake Joseph.

¹ Professor Chapman had an interesting career. He was born in Kent, England, in 1821, was educated in France and Germany, and received a Ph.D. from Göttingen University in 1862, and an LL.D. from Queen's University in 1867. He served in the French army in a campaign in Algiers, became a civil engineer, and subsequently Professor of Mineralogy in University College, London; was the author of papers on scientific subjects, of several text-books, and of a volume of poems. Outside of his department, in which he was recognized as a high authority, Professor Chapman was known as a scholarly and accomplished gentleman. He was an excellent teacher, and an artistic

Natural History under Professor William Hincks.¹ There was a beginning, also, of the practical and research work required in the Honour Science courses of study which led to the building and equipment of laboratories for the proper prosecution of the work.

The University and the Province are greatly indebted to ex-President Dr. James Loudon for the revolutionary changes on the Science side of the University, which have been so widely beneficial and in which he was the protagonist of reform and illustrator of the subject matter of his lectures. He resigned his professorship in 1898, after forty-two years of able service, and returned to England, where he died in 1904.

¹ Professor William Hincks was the second son of Dr. Hincks, and a brother of Sir Francis Hincks, referred to in a footnote in the biographical sketch of Professor Croft. He was educated for the Presbyterian ministry, but subsequently joined the Unitarian church. He was distinguished as a naturalist, and was the first Professor of Natural History in Queen's College, Cork, in which city the family for a time resided. His application for the chair in University College was received at the same time as a similar application from Thomas Henry Huxley, the great English naturalist and comparative anatomist. Huxley was one of a group of original investigators and discoverers who shed lustre on the Victorian era. His papers in the *Philosophical Transactions* and in the records of learned societies, and his various treatises on scientific subjects gave him a wide reputation. He subsequently became Professor of Natural History in the Royal School of Mines and Hunterian Professor of Anatomy in the Royal College of Surgeons. A man of Huxley's gifts would have been a splendid acquisition to the University of Toronto. But he lacked the qualification of affinity to the First Minister of the day, which doubtless was the proximate cause of the accident which prevented his appointment.

development against strong opposition. It was in 1874, when Dr. Loudon was a member of the University Senate, that that body adopted a resolution in favour of practical instruction in science by making laboratory work obligatory in the undergraduate Science course. And it was upon his report to the Government in December, 1875, regarding the organization of a School of Practical Science and laboratories in connection therewith, and which was adopted on the recommendation of the then Minister of Education, that buildings for the purpose were thereafter erected and equipped. Three laboratories, namely, the Chemical, the Biological, and the Mineralogical and Geological, were at that time established in the School of Science. The Physical laboratory, which was accommodated in the main building before the erection of the present fine structure, which is its permanent home, was the first of the kind organized in Canada.

The University Buildings

An undertaking in which Dr. McCaul manifested a continuous interest, during the progress of the work, was the erection of the new University building and the College Residence. The first University building, under the name of King's College, was erected on the site of the present Legislative buildings. It was only part of the edifice as originally designed, the plans providing for increased

accommodation if needed for future requirements. In 1853 authority was given the Government to expropriate the original site for Provincial purposes and for the acquisition of another site for a new building.¹ The old building was used for a time by the University, along with the old Medical School nearby, until the completion of the present edifice, which in architectural taste and beauty is unexcelled on the continent and is the pride of the Province.²

The building was opened for academic uses in the beginning of the fall term of 1859-60. On September 11, 1860, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII), then on a visit to this country, was welcomed in the new building by the University Corporation. Having replied to the address presented by the Chancellor, he was, on the motion of the Vice-Chancellor and the President of the College, and amidst much enthusiasm, admitted to the status of an undergraduate of the second year in the Faculty of Arts. The young Prince was accompanied by the Duke of Newcastle and a distinguished party, and as he walked slowly up to the dais in Convocation Hall

¹ Under the Act 16 Vict., ch. 161.

² The new building was commenced in 1856 and completed in October, 1858, when the copestone was laid by the Governor-General, Sir Edmund Walker Head. The total cost of the structure was \$355,907, on which an allowance for the original site was made to the University income fund.

his eye caught the words in a scroll over the easterly window, *Imperii Spem Spes Provinciæ Salutat*.¹ He subsequently remarked to the Duke, who was authority for the story, that "he hoped he might be able to deserve a compliment so happily expressed."

There are other evidences than this apt and graceful apothegm of Dr. McCaul's skill in devising appropriate and tasteful inscriptions. The mottoes on the honour certificates at graduation and on the labels of the University prize books, the inscriptions sculptured in the stone pedestals of the Russian siege guns in front of the Legislative buildings, the ornate mural tablet at the head of the broad stairway of the main building of the University, and other devices of a similar character, are all the products of his learned ingenuity.

On a later occasion, during Dr. McCaul's time, the University welcomed another Royal Visitor in the person of Prince Arthur, better known, perhaps, as the Duke of Connaught, the present Governor-General of Canada. The name of His Royal Highness has, since his assumption of office, been added to the roll of honorary graduates of the University. So long as Dr. McCaul was connected with the University, the arrangements for all such academic functions were left in his hands. The

¹The Hope of the Province welcomes the Hope of the Empire.

presentation addresses in every case were revised and approved and occasionally drafted by him, the reception ceremonies being marked by a simple but none the less impressive grace and dignity worthy of the Provincial seat of learning.

His Interest in Student Life

In addition to his duties proper as President and Professor, and the business administration imposed by these offices, Dr. McCaul evinced a lively interest in everything pertaining to the student body. He was a frequent spectator of the cricket and football matches, and was seldom absent from the athletic contests on the campus; he took an active part in the arrangements and carrying out of the popular social functions held in the building; and he was also greatly interested in the meetings of the College Literary and Scientific Society. He was often called upon to preside at the public meetings of the year, where his closing address, in adjudicating the merits of the debate, was one of the most attractive features of the programme.

The College Literary Society in those days was an important institution. It was to a certain extent the University Club, or at least the only College organization affording the social intercourse of club life. The day of class associations and Greek letter fraternities had not yet come; the Literary Society embodied the spirit of all these, and

it ruled the hour. Dr. McCaul enhanced the importance of the Society by the interest which he took in its proceedings. One instance may be mentioned. During the sixties, while the great American Civil War was raging, the Society had its North and South partisans. Prominent amongst these were a number of young Southerners, who, on account of the disturbed state of their own country, were pursuing their studies at the University. At a certain meeting of the Society a student of negro blood was proposed as a member, and straightway the Southern contingent were up in arms against his admission. Quite a bitter feeling was worked up on the question, but fortunately the taking of the vote, which was to be by ballot, was postponed. In the interval Dr. McCaul, to whom the matter was reported, sent for the President of the Society, who usually presided at the meetings, and impressed on him the imperative necessity of there being a vote in favour of the election of the candidate. He said it would be an infinite disgrace and injury to the College and the University, if any respectable student were denied the privileges of such a representative body on account of the colour of his skin or the blood which flowed in his veins. That sort of ostracism should not be tolerated in any British institution, and least of all in an educational institution. He added that his opinions on the matter, as President of the College and one

of the Patrons of the Society, might be freely used at the meeting as endorsing the nomination and election of the candidate. The result of the ballot, after an exciting debate, was that the President's wishes were respected and the candidate was elected.

Archæologist and Epigraphist

The fruits of Dr. McCaul's ripe scholarship and rare culture were not wholly lavished within the College walls. His life there was a busy one, but, like some of his colleagues, particularly Professor (afterwards Sir) Daniel Wilson, he made time, amidst its engrossing engagements, to devote to other congenial pursuits. In archæology and archæological studies he found a scholar's delight. His researches into these recondite subjects resulted in contributions to the general stock of knowledge which have been invaluable, and have given him a high reputation in the old world as well as in the new. His work on "Britanno-Roman Inscriptions," published in 1862, received flattering encomiums in Britain and on the Continent, where he was generally recognized as an ingenious and learned epigraphist. This work was followed, in 1868, by a kindred volume on "Christian Epitaphs of the First Century," which was warmly welcomed by Biblical scholars everywhere, and enhanced, in no small degree, the author's fame. The matter of

these two volumes first appeared in a series of articles in the *Journal* of the Royal Canadian Institute in Toronto, of which Dr. McCaul was for some years President, and always an active and valued member, and which, unpretentiously but none the less effectively, has rendered a distinct public service in encouraging and stimulating original thought and scientific research in Canada.

The prosecution of these antiquarian inquiries was attended with peculiar difficulties. The Canadian archæologist had at his command none of the rich storehouses of material which were so accessible to European investigators, and had often to grope in the dark through many devious ways. But although he laboured under the disadvantage of being obliged to work from photographs and engravings, where others had the originals before them, Dr. McCaul has given, in many instances, satisfactory explanations of inscriptions which had baffled the most celebrated epigraphists of the age. In the course of these studies the author made a collection of books and documents and other material of exceptional interest and value, which was assigned a special section in the University library. The collection, which was said to be unequalled on this continent, was unfortunately destroyed, with many other rare works, in the great fire of 1890. Of the many losses occasioned by that event, it was one of the most irreparable.

Litterateur—Editor—Composer of Musical Works

In the field of general literature, Dr. McCaul's pen was seldom idle. He was editor of *The Maple Leaf*, one of the pioneer Canadian monthlies, to which the late Chief Justice Hagarty and other clever men of that time in Toronto were occasional contributors. The editor himself was a versatile writer in the periodical literature of the day, and it is to be regretted that his able and graceful contributions in the form of pamphlets, reviews, and magazine articles, which he seemingly regarded as fugitive productions, have never been permanently preserved.

Dr. McCaul added to his other accomplishments a thorough knowledge of music, in which his well known trained experience was found of eminent service on many occasions. In his college days, and for years after, he was possessed of a fine tenor voice, and was a skilful performer on various musical instruments. On the old rolls of membership of the Anacreontic and Ancient Concerts Societies, in Dublin—if these are in existence—his name will still be found. He was a popular member also of the Bruderschaft, a celebrated musical club in the gay Irish capital, the test for membership of which was the ability to sing and play a song of the performer's own composition. In or about the year 1845 he organized the first Philhar-

monic Society in Toronto. He was elected its President, and so continued till its dissolution some years after. When the Society was reorganized, in 1871-2, Dr. McCaul was again chosen President, but, in 1873, failing health unfortunately compelled his retirement from active participation in its management. His musical works comprise several anthems of well known repute, and a pathetic sacred song of rich melody, entitled "By the Waters of Babylon." He was also the author of a number of lighter compositions, of which the ballads "Merrie England" and "In the Springtime of the Year" were special favourites with Toronto audiences in years gone by. Those who were present on the occasion of the unveiling of his portrait in Convocation Hall,¹ which was Dr. McCaul's last public appearance at the University, can scarcely have forgotten his pathetic reference to the singing of

¹ The original portrait by Dickson Patterson, A.R.C.A., which hung in the old Convocation Hall, was destroyed in the fire of 1890. It was replaced by a replica, painted and presented to the University by the same artist. This second painting hangs in the new Convocation Hall. There is also a smaller portrait of Dr. McCaul in the Senate Chamber, formerly Professor Croft's laboratory, where, as also in the library, and in Convocation Hall, there are a number of portraits of prominent University men. The latest addition to the paintings in the Hall is a portrait of the present Chancellor of the University, the Hon. Sir William R. Meredith. This was unveiled at the Commencement in June, 1913, by the Hon. Sir John A. Boyd, the last Chancellor of the Provincial courts, who made the presentation in a felicitous address on behalf of the donors.

one of his ballads by Mrs. John Beverley Robinson, then prominent in the musical circles of Toronto.

*Retirement from the University—His Family
—Last Years*

Dr. McCaul's growing infirmities compelled his retirement in 1880, at the close of the academic year. It was a rest well earned after more than an ordinary lifetime spent in arduous and faithful devotion to the public service. During all those years of "learned toil" he was a familiar figure to the many generations of gownsmen who had streamed through the cloistered College halls. His presence seemed to permeate the place, which could never afterwards be the same. Dr. McCaul had been so long identified with the College and the University that it was hard to realize that his active connection with both had ceased. His severance of the tie could scarce have been made without a pang of genuine regret. To those, wherever they might be, who had passed under his hand in the course of over forty years of collegiate work, the announcement of his permanent retirement came as a painful surprise. It seemed like the reluctant, tender closing up of more than one chapter in the record of old College days, and suggested many a bright thought and pleasant memory of his genial, manly influence, of acts of kindness done when most needed, and of courteous and thoughtful consid-



THE REV. JOHN MCCAUL, LL.D.

Professor of Classics, 1842-1880; Vice-President of the University
of King's College, Toronto, 1842-1849; President, 1849-1853;
First President of University College, Toronto, 1853-1880

*(From an oil painting by A. Dickson Patterson, A.R.C.A., in Uni-
versity Convocation Hall)*



eration for the hard-wrought, struggling student. To University men everywhere and to the Province at large it marked the close of a memorable epoch in University history. The trust which Dr. McCaul surrendered, when he passed from the University into private life, was handed on to a line of eminent successors, scholars of widely recognized abilities, who have preserved and perpetuated the best traditions of university life in Canada.

At the time of his release from active work, Dr. McCaul was three years past the allotted span of life. But, in spite of his infirmities, he seems to have had, like many men of his sanguine temperament, a prospective hope of more lengthened days than were given him. He was often seen walking with short, quick footsteps, and the stick which he usually carried in the down-town streets of the city, saluting his friends and stopping occasionally to converse with them with the bright geniality which age never withered. He once said to one of his old students who met him, that he "hoped to live many years yet." His forecast was not irrational, but, as in many instances, it was full of that irony which mocks the vain cares of men. He died on April 16, 1886, in his eightieth year. He was survived by Mrs. McCaul, who died July 1, 1896, and by three sons and four daughters, namely: Lefroy, a barrister, who died in Toronto in the summer of 1912; John, who settled in Muskoka; Charles C.

M.A., K.C., of Winnipeg; Mrs. Benson, since deceased, wife of Judge Benson of Port Hope; Mrs. Alan Macdougall, of Toronto; Mrs. Hutton, wife of Maurice Hutton, LL.D., Principal of University College; and Miss Helen McCaul of New York.

Dr. McCaul's Many-Sidedness

The restrictions of a biographical sketch will not permit an extended estimate of Dr. McCaul's many-sided character and versatile abilities. Toronto in his time was the political, educational, and social capital of the Province; it was, although in a minor degree, as it is to-day, a city of colleges as well as a city of churches. It was in this environment that he, a young man trained in an old country of settled government and institutions and manners, commenced his career as an educationalist. He was quick to apprehend and grasp the exigencies of the new situation, and to fit himself into the new order of things. He assumed his official duties during a period of transition, political and educational, in the affairs of the Province. In politics he was a moderate Conservative, broad and tolerant in his political opinions, and, what is essential to success in a public man of either party, appreciative of the force and strength and influence of the other point of view. Although an Anglican and an Anglican clergyman, and warmly attached to the institutions and traditions of his church, he was familiar with

the argument which prevailed in the fierce controversy arising out of the Clergy Reserves. He had been bred in the belief that a State Church was an indispensable adjunct to the policy of any Government controlled by either of the great political parties. But he was not slow to perceive, as some able men of his time were, that a State Church would be a standing menace to the peace and contentment of the Canadian people. Although a firm believer in the principle that the education imparted by the schools and colleges should be founded and should rest on a religious basis, and although fettered in his action by his declared fealty to King's College, he recognized the limitations of the authority, and the dangers of the dominance, or attempted dominance, of any church in educational policy and administration.

These were the articles of Dr. McCaul's creed, political, religious, and educational, and he acted upon them, as far as it was possible to do so, throughout his public career. He never meddled in party politics. He used to say that he was a servant of the Government, whatever its political or party complexion, and of the people irrespective of race, creed, or nationality. When the name and policy of King's College were changed, and an influential section of the members of his own communion, led by Bishop Strachan, broke away from the institution in its new organization and founded

Trinity College, he accepted the situation with philosophic equanimity. Without questioning the sincerity of motive which prompted the new movement, he regretted such action as calculated to defeat and delay, for many years, the establishment of one strong, well-equipped University, which, in his opinion, should be the main aim and purpose of a young and undeveloped country. He did not believe, however, that the separation would be permanent; he thought the schism was only temporary, that it would last for an indefinite period, but would end, as fortunately it did, in a fusion of university powers. He held the same view with respect to Victoria University, believing, as the event proved, that the laity both of the Anglican and Methodist bodies would in time be persuaded that their financial support of institutions in which they were interested could be used more thriftily, and that a great part of the educational needs of students belonging to both denominations could be supplied by the State College. Dr. McCaul did not live to see the federation which, as time went on, he came to hope for and believe in, but he was shrewd enough to foresee it, and, had it come in his day, no one would have rejoiced more than he in its happy consummation.

It must also be said for Dr. McCaul that, although brought up in an academic atmosphere and amidst academic influences very different from

those which permeated the early years of the University of Toronto, and although having strong convictions on some points of educational policy, he used his authority in carrying out what may be called the reform policy of the Baldwin Act with judicial fairness and success. A prominent feature of that policy was the non-sectarian character of the University and University College. They were both intended to be on the same foundation in that respect as they were with respect to their endowment and as State-aided institutions. And such they have ever since remained. The University has long since become a temple of conciliation and reconciliation for all sects and denominations, so far as higher learning is concerned, and such, we may hope, it will always continue to be.

President of University College

Although he had been President and Vice-Chancellor of King's College since the resignation of Bishop Strachan in 1848, it was in the year 1853, when the University was launched forth on her new career of progress, that Dr. McCaul first assumed the familiar and best known title of President of University College. His advancement had been rapid. In a little over ten years, solely through his own merits, he had become the Head of the first educational institution in the Province. It was in this position and during all the years of its occu-

pancy that Dr. McCaul established his place in the galaxy of worthies who have an honoured name in University annals, and whose services to *Alma Mater* have given them a lasting claim upon the gratitude of her sons. The record of University College under Dr. McCaul's Presidency, and of the University of Toronto, with which he was similarly associated in the popular mind, is the highest tribute to his educational leadership. It will not dim the lustre which his career as one of our foremost national teachers has shed over the scenes of his early training, while the scores of graduates who sat under him, many of whom have won their way to positions of the highest honour and influence in his adopted country, will cherish his labours and his memory with true affection.

Personal Characteristics

The first President of the College was a striking and attractive personality. He was the ideal, many would say, of what a College President and Professor should be. Of more than medium height, erect and well proportioned, with a dignified presence and bearing, but with a kind and most courteous manner, the respect and regard in which he was held in the College and in the city seemed to be the natural homage to be paid to such a man. His intercourse with his students, and especially with the Honour men and scholars of his own depart-

ment, was of a winsome nature. As recently as the present year reference was made to these personal characteristics by an old graduate.¹ In a charming reply to the toast of "The Graduates," Dr. Kennedy, in recalling memories of his undergraduate days, and the closer intimacy of professor and student at that time as compared with the present, paid a feeling tribute to his old Classical professor, whose personal magnetism and admirable traits of character and disposition inspired the affection and won the heart of every student who came under his spell.

Besides these personal qualities, which often made the rough places smooth and conciliated acute differences of opinion, Dr. McCaul possessed a habit of mind which is always helpful to any one in a responsible public position. To the discharge of official duties, oftentimes of a difficult and delicate nature, he brought administrative abilities of the highest order. He was an excellent man of business, and his great experience in University law and practice, and the intricacies of college custom, was invaluable. He had an intuitive knowledge of human nature, and displayed consummate tact in the control and management of students.

¹ George Kennedy, M.A., LL.D., the law adviser of the Provincial Crown Lands Department, and one of the oldest members of the Ontario Civil Service, at a banquet of the College Literary Society,

The fact of his talents for leadership and government having been successfully exercised during a period in our history fraught with exceptional difficulties and embarrassments proves that he could be "all things to all men" in the best sense of the maxim. He was destined to be a collegian, but he might have achieved just as high distinction in the sphere of diplomacy, or the stirring arena of Parliamentary life.

The occult, magnetic force of his personal influence, which he infused into all he did, was visible in the lecture room as much as anywhere else. His students, and especially those in the advanced course of his department, could appreciate his academical antecedents; they felt that he combined the highly refined culture of other days with the special wisdom of our own, and they responded with alacrity to the calls which he made upon them for intellectual exertion, for enthusiasm in their work, for the desire of knowledge for its own sake and its inherent preciousness.

Dr. McCaul's winning qualities in all the relations of academic and private life were widely known. The ovations which he repeatedly received from the assemblages that crowded Convocation Hall, and especially on the occasion when he met his friends and admirers for the last time, and bade a touching farewell to the University which had so warm a place in his heart, were a triumph

for the man as well as for the scholar and honoured public servant. The portrait which was then unveiled has long since been assigned a fitting place on the walls of the University, where, in the closing words of the graduates' presentation address, it serves "as a slight tribute to eminent services, as a testimony of affectionate regard, as a memorial which, in the coming years, shall portray for our descendants, who kneel at this shrine of learning and truth, the priest who first kindled its sacred fire."

HENRY HOLMES CROFT, D.C.L., F.C.S.

FIRST PROFESSOR OF CHEMISTRY AND EXPERIMENTAL
PHILOSOPHY IN KING'S COLLEGE, AND IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

HENRY HOLMES CROFT

THE "Memorials of Cambridge" is the title of three beautiful volumes, perfect in all the embellishments of the printer's art and enriched with the finest etchings, that narrate the history and depict the architectural graces of the cluster of ancient Colleges on the banks of the Cam. The main incidents in the lives and labours of the long line of scholars who there made their home are portrayed in those pages with sympathetic appreciation. No Canadian University can boast of such a splendid souvenir of its history, and, for many a decade, never will. But we have a record of literature and science that is closely identified with our schools of learning; we can trace a line of scholars who have made it a very honourable record, who have given us literary prestige abroad, have kept the once flickering lamp of science burning brightly and beneficently at home, and who have passed it on to their successors in that true priesthood which is the hope and stay of our young nation.

When the memorials of some of these men who, forty or fifty years ago, bravely held the outposts of science in Canada come to be written, the name

of the distinguished scholar and professor whose career is outlined in these pages will be justly assigned therein a high place. Professor Croft was one of the first professional teachers, if not the first, of experimental philosophy in the chief Province of the Dominion. He was one of the professors appointed to King's College when, on June 8, 1843, it opened its doors to the ambitious youth of Canada. Within its walls he sounded the advance, and the first encouraging note of praise, in favour of those mysterious agencies of nature, and that practical knowledge of life, then somewhat despised and decried, but which now rule the world. More, perhaps, than any other man in Canada, he deserves the credit of eradicating the old-time prejudice against "hard and dry science," of investing it with a garb of many attractions, and of permanently popularizing it in the everyday life of the common people. Over not a little opposition and amidst not a few discouragements, his wide range of knowledge and his professional abilities could scarcely fail to triumph. He speedily enlisted under his banner recruits of promise from every quarter, and sent them forth, imbued with much of his own enthusiasm, to win honours in science both at home and abroad. He at first led what seemed a forlorn hope, but, on the very day he assumed the toga as a University professor, he prophesied a signal victory, and promised his best

efforts to achieve it. He lived to win the battle, spent the best years of a long and eminently useful life in winning it, and retired from the field with a consciousness of duty well done, and with the gratitude which is certain to follow one who, after a long term of public service, has finished a work which has been carried on with conscientious fidelity and far-reaching success.

Professor Croft should be gratefully remembered by every true Canadian. A pioneer of science in his adopted country, an early, independent, and fearless advocate of equal rights in educational matters, a valued coadjutor in at least two of the learned professions, a leading spirit in the great volunteer movement of 1861-62, an old officer of the University Senate, a College professor of nearly forty years' standing, a generous friend of many a student who needed a helping hand in his college course,—is not such a man well worthy a foremost place amongst the University men of his day and generation, and is he not entitled to a high tribute of regard from those of our own time?

The Croft Family—Early Associations

Henry Holmes Croft was born March 6, 1820, on Gower Street, in the city of London, England. The family residence in which he first saw the light stood hard by the very spot where may be seen

the celebrated University of the English metropolis, on whose constitution our own University was finally modelled. In his home as a boy he could hear the chimes of Bow Bells, and in after life, wherever he was, they were a sweet memory; for he was a thorough Englishman in feeling and sentiment, and had a passionate love for his native land. He was in fact a member of an old English family whose present head, Geoffrey Croft, resides in Herefordshire. The Professor's paternal grandfather occupied a position of trust under the Government, and was employed in confidential missions. The Crofts, for many generations, appear to have been in the public service in one capacity or another, and, during the Professor's lifetime, several members of the family held important offices in the English Civil Service.

The future Canadian professor was the youngest son of William Croft, a gentleman of acknowledged abilities and scholarly tastes, who, for twenty years, filled the post of Deputy Paymaster-General of the Ordnance under the Duke of Wellington, William Holmes—the Professor's godfather—Sir Henry Hardinge, Sir Henry Parnell and others, who stand high in the military annals of the Empire. If there be anything in the influence of early associations in moulding future character, the reader may here find a clue to the military zeal which animated Professor Croft in after years,

and which was turned to good account during the rise and progress of the volunteer movement in Canada. As a boy he was a frequent witness of the fascinating evolutions on the parade ground; some of his companions were the sons of old army officers, and he was early familiar with the *entourage* of a soldier's life. He was familiar also with the personality of the hero of Waterloo, who, while he left no honour unachieved, left no duty incomplete, as he rode into Ordnance headquarters on his well-known cob in the course of his daily round of inspection.

Schools and Schoolmasters

Croft received his early education in the city of his birth. The reminiscences of his school days would afford some striking instances of the ups and downs of fortune at a time when Europe, tempest-tossed with the wars of the first Napoleon, was allowed a season of restful calm after the storm. The fierce revolutionary spirit, however, was still abroad, and the large English cities and towns were, as in the days of the expulsion of the Huguenots, so many arks of refuge, whither foreigners from across the Channel and throughout the Spanish peninsula, whose presence was found dangerous at home, swiftly took their flight. Young Croft's first schoolmasters were men of this stamp—men who had seen better days, who had staked all on the

fickle turns of fortune, and who were then earning a livelihood in the strange world of London.

Monsieur Debac, under whom Croft first passed, was an old Napoleonic cavalry officer. He had been a cuirassier of the guard, a man of wealth, and one of the most dashing *sabreurs* of his regiment. On June 18, 1815, a day of doom for Napoleon, he had charged at the head of his squadron against the solid squares of the "gallant Picton," had followed his vanquished chief from the field, and had fallen and lost everything with him in the crashing ruin of his dynasty. Here he was, in the year '32, at the dominie's desk, in the capital city of his conquerors, swaying, with the hand which had once drawn as brave a blade as any in France, a vigorous ferrule over the sons of a number of English gentlemen! It is to be feared the belligerent spirit of the master permeated his school. The "manly art of self-defence" was cultivated quite as sedulously as the groundwork of Latin and French and the English branches. Fisticuffs, as a pastime, was encouraged by the old trooper, and there is no reason to doubt that young Croft held his own in the encounters of the playground quite as well as in the schoolroom. But M. Debac was also an original mechanic, and his class in mechanics was always a popular one with his pupils. There he was at his best, and was wont to unfold the arcana of his workshop, amongst other things an

ingenious model for feathering the floats in paddle-wheel steamers.

Croft left Debac's school, where he acquired a fair share of practical knowledge, for a school kept by a Spanish refugee named Mandeville. The Spaniard's system of instruction and discipline was no very great improvement on the Frenchman's. He was a schoolmaster who had mistaken his new vocation, who, although well educated, was ill-fitted, by his faults of temper and want of self-control, to impart knowledge and manage with success a lot of high-spirited English boys. Two or three years sufficed at Mandeville's, when he left for an academy on Gower Street that was at first connected with London University, and afterwards disassociated to seek an independent foundation in Tavistock House.

A word in passing for Tavistock House. Who that has read Forster's life of the brilliant novelist who lies in the great Abbey—the mausoleum of England's honoured dead—can forget the cherished associations of Tavistock House? It was there that Charles Dickens lived and wrought for many a year with his fertile brain and bewitching pen; there he delighted to gather around him, in free and genial intercourse, the men of genius of his day whose names are familiar as his own "Household Words"; there the gifted Stanfield and other worthies in art romped with his children,

and hallowed the magic circle of their happy home life; and from there Dickens himself sent forth to the world some of the brightest creations of his inimitable fancy.

The Head-master of the academy in Tavistock House was John Walker, a son of the John Walker who was for some years Professor of Natural Philosophy at Trinity College, Dublin. The first President of University College could tell more than one sparkling anecdote of John Walker, the elder, who, besides being a sound scholar and zealous teacher, was a sort of "character" in his day at the famous Irish University. The staff under John Walker, the younger, was a very complete one. It comprised men of ability and culture, and the academy was in the front rank of the schools that were at that time open to the youth of London. The several departments of instruction were under capital control, and the training received there was well calculated to lay the foundation of a sound and liberal education. Maturin, an accomplished scholar, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, who was afterwards admitted to holy orders, was the Classical Master. He came of a clever family, and was a relative of Robert Charles Maturin, an Irish dramatist and miscellaneous writer, who wrote a weird and uncanny, although popular, novel entitled "Melmoth the Wanderer." Every one knows that

Eugene Sue has the sole credit for the originality of the "Wandering Jew," but the discerning reader of "Melmoth" will detect, in Sue's story of his hero, not a little internal evidence of the handiwork of one of the brilliant family of Maturin. In this, the last Public School which he attended, young Croft applied himself diligently to his studies. He was an eager and ardent student, and left the academy with the highest testimonials of ability and proficiency in a systematic course of training that was very serviceable to him in after life.

A Clerk "Under Government"

His Public School life closed, it naturally became a question with his father what course for the future should be marked out for the youngest son. Without any definite plan in this respect, the young man was taken into his father's office, where his elder brother, William, was already employed as a clerk. The Ordnance Office, which was in those days of large standing armies an important military bureau, was then situated in the Tower of London, whose ancient historic associations, and once terrible mysteries, one may well believe were subjects of intense interest to the newcomer within its precincts. He remained there learning the routine of the office and working very hard for a year, at the end of which the Ordnance Office was amal-

gamated with the Army and Navy Pay Office, under the miserly *régime* of Sir Henry Parnell.

The family were at that time living at North Hyde, a pleasant suburban retreat eighteen miles from the Tower, where they spent the long summer months. Those were the days of old-fashioned road travel in London and its environs. There were no hansoms, and the lumbering four wheelers had not yet given place to the ubiquitous omnibus. Mr. William Croft's third son was also in a London office, and the father and his three boys, whose companionship he loved, and who were strongly attached to him, were every Saturday accustomed to walk the whole distance to North Hyde, making the return journey in the same way on the Monday following. The good eight miles distance between their Gower Street home and the Tower was of course traversed every business day in the week. They were all good pedestrians. The Professor used to tell a story of his elder brother, William, who, for a wager, without training, walked round Regent's Park, twenty miles, in three hours and forty-five minutes. The Professor himself was well-known as a capital pedestrian, good for a long distance, and with unusual staying power; witness the toilsome tramps to and from target practice in the old University Rifles' days, when the gallant captain was one of the freshest men in the party at the end of the march. Where and when he

learned his pedestrianism goes without saying. The exhilarating exercise of those long walks—which were often extended—to and from North Hyde and the Tower, provided a store of vigorous health and strengthened his naturally robust and wiry constitution. It was an experience which stood him in good stead a few years later, when, along with some college chums in Germany, he made a somewhat remarkable tour afoot, in quest of scientific information hidden away amidst the wild, romantic scenery of “the storied land of the Rhine.”

The Chemist of Gower Street

The early beginnings of a life work in which men have gained distinction, and rendered special service to their fellow men, are often of significant interest. It was when a pupil at Walker's school, and when of course a mere lad, that Croft first acquired a taste for chemistry and chemical science. He there gathered a fair experimental knowledge of the subject, mainly by his own unaided efforts, and sometimes at the expense of other subjects in the school curriculum in which he was less interested. The *ardeur chimique*, which then seized him, was greatly stimulated by the lectures in chemistry which he attended, as an occasional student, at University College, London. The prosecution of these boyish studies, especially those of an experimental kind of which he was passionately

fond, was carried on under some difficulties. He was living under his good father's roof, and chemical experiments in a private house are always obnoxious. His improvised laboratory, for months and months, consisted of a few shelves, furnished with all the apparatus he could collect, in a diminutive china closet, three feet square, under the stone kitchen stairway in the family residence on Gower Street. Time and again in the still watches of the night, which he disturbed with his empiric detonations and sulphuretted odours, was he ordered to purify the house of the noxious fumes from his juvenile workshop, and thereafter, in short order, to bed. These studies, so delectable to himself, but which were the object of undisguised hostility at home, were carried on unremittingly during the spare hours of his term of service in the Ordnance Office. He read eagerly whatever books he could find on his favourite subject; his home during the day was in the grim battlemented Tower, but his heart was with his retorts and test tubes beneath the old kitchen stairway. Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that his busy but monotonous life as a Civil Service clerk became almost intolerable; he chafed under its restraints, and longed for the golden opportunity, which soon offered, when he could give his undivided attention to those scientific pursuits which, the keen observa-

tion of his father saw, were the settled purpose of his life.

Michael Faraday and His Influence

Although desirous of promoting his son's wishes, as far as possible, William Croft resolved to seek advice before making a final decision. The man to whom he gave his confidence was Michael Faraday, one of the famous men of the time. A better adviser could not have been found, and his advice, as will be seen, had an important influence on the future career of William Croft's youngest son.

Professor Tyndall and Dr. Bence Jones have told all about Faraday in their several biographies of that remarkable man. He was one of the most distinguished chemists and natural philosophers of the last century; a splendid instance of success achieved by patience, perseverance, and genius, over obstacles of birth, education, and fortune. Commencing life in a humble way, he devoted his leisure hours to science, and, amongst other things, made experiments with an electrical machine of his own construction. Having chanced to get admission to the chemical lectures of Sir Humphry Davy, then in the zenith of his fame, he ventured to send Davy the notes he had taken, with a modest expression of his desire to be employed in some intellectual pursuit. Davy at first discouraged him, but, finding that he was in earnest, engaged him as

his assistant at the Royal Institution. Faraday went abroad with Davy and, on his return to London, Davy entrusted him with certain experiments which led, in his hands, to the condensation of gases into liquids by pressure. It was at this time that he first displayed some of that marvellous power and fertility which made his name familiar to every one, even to those very slightly acquainted with physics. Not long afterwards he was appointed Professor of Chemistry in the Royal Institution, in succession to Davy. Faraday's discoveries and published works, especially his great life work, "Experimental Researches in Electricity," were a magnificent contribution to science and scientific knowledge. His discoveries and publications in chemistry and chemical science, in physical science, and concerning the practical applications of science were equally great. He was no less distinguished as a lecturer; his manner, his unvarying success in illustration, and his felicitous choice of expression, though the subjects were often of the most abstruse nature, were such as to attract and charm all classes of the people.

At the time Mr. Croft went to consult Faraday, the latter was the lecturer on chemistry at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. Faraday drew his salary through William Croft, the elder, at the Ordnance Office, and the business acquaintance thus formed ripened into a long and lasting

friendship, which, on Faraday's part in after years, was shared with his friend's youngest son. Mr. Croft told the Academy lecturer about the wayward youth who was determined to throw up a good salary "under Government" in order to carry out "some peculiar notions of his own." The infatuation for the home-made laboratory, the noisome experiments, the ingenious apparatus of the lad's own invention, the poring over books on chemical science—all this and much more was fully recounted. The great lecturer listened with all the delight of an enthusiastic teacher to the father's story, and one can easily fancy the serious interview closing with the well-remembered words of Faraday: "Mr. Croft, your son has certainly a wonderful aptitude for chemistry. Send him to Germany by all means, and send him there at once."

Student Years in Germany

This was joyful news for the "persistent potterer in acids and stinks." The lessons in German at Tavistock House, especially those of a conversational kind, were at once resumed with avidity and success. The youthful chemist proved himself a proficient linguist. He had previously gained a smattering of French under old Debac, and had greatly improved on it under the Modern Languages Master at Walker's school. His acquirements in the Teutonic tongue were just as note-

worthy. By the month of April, 1838, when he sailed from England for the continent, he had so far mastered the language of his future *Alma Mater* as to be able to "talk his way" fairly well to the welcome doors of the famous University of Berlin.

Croft carried with him from Faraday letters of introduction to the celebrated Eilard Mitscherlich and other professors of the highest reputation in the Prussian capital. By them he was very kindly received, and he speedily ingratiated himself into their notice and favour by the industry and enthusiasm with which he applied himself to his scientific studies.

Germany was then, as it is now, far-famed for its gymnasia of learning; in the cultivation of the natural and physical sciences, it was, if it is not still, the foremost country in the world. The University of Berlin was highly distinguished. It had been founded in 1810, and was munificently endowed; the liberality of its endowment attracted the most illustrious scholars of the time; it was probably the most complete University in existence. When the young English student entered it, in 1838, its professorial chairs were filled by men whose splendid reputation drew students from the British Isles and from all parts of the Continent. Its laboratories were thoroughly furnished; in scientific apparatus and appliances its equipment was perfect; as a training school it was unsurpassed.

Mitscherlich and His Influence

Mitscherlich held one of the professorships of chemistry, to which he had been appointed in 1822. Educated at the old Universities of Heidelberg, Paris, and Göttingen, a student for a time under Berzelius at Stockholm, a prominent member of the Royal Society of London and of the French Institute, he was then in the zenith of his usefulness and the height of his fame. He was celebrated no less as an author than as a scholar and professor, but will be best remembered as the discoverer of the beautiful chemical law of isomorphism.¹ By the advice of Mitscherlich, who was his "guide, philosopher and friend" in those halcyon years of student life at Berlin, Croft altered materially the plans of study which he had formed on leaving England. It was then his intention to devote himself exclusively to chemistry. Mitscherlich dissuaded him from this, and the prescient wisdom of the advice was more than justified by the fortunate results

¹ Isomorphism (from the Greek *isos* like and *morphē* form), relates to a similarity of crystalline forms, as (a) between substances of like composition or atomic proportions, as between arsenic acid and phosphorous acid, each containing five equivalents of oxygen; or (b) between compounds of unlike composition or atomic proportions, as between the metal arsenic and oxide of iron, the rhombohedral angle of the former being $85^{\circ} 41'$, of the latter $86^{\circ} 4'$. The first of these is sometimes distinguished as isomerous or isonomic isomorphism; the second as heteromerous or heteronomic isomorphism.

which followed. Under the shrewd German's directions, he entered upon a curriculum which embraced all the cognate sciences. He studied mineralogy and geology under Professors Weisse and G. Rose; botany under Link and Meyen; zoology under Lichtenstein; physics under Magnus and Dove; anatomy and physiology under Müller; and entomology, which was in after years a favourite subject, under Erichson. A dose of "German metaphysics" was, of course, part of the mental regimen, and a professor with an unpronounceable name administered it unsparingly. In chemistry he was under Mitscherlich, Rammelsbizz, H. Rose, Marchand and others, the staff being a very able and complete one. These various branches of knowledge, mental philosophy alone excepted, were pursued with all the admirable and elaborate aids which the almost unlimited resources of the University could supply, and, it need scarcely be said, with remarkable success. Most of the subjects seemed at the time to be useless; they did not prove to be so in thirty-eight years' experience in the laboratory and lecture-room. The conditions of excellence and of continuous and enduring results, in collegiate service, are the same everywhere; whoever would be a national teacher must lay wide and deep the foundations of his high vocation. The Science course at Berlin was a very comprehensive one; in Croft's case it might have given King's College, in

1843, a professor of Natural History as well as of Chemistry. As it was, it fitted Croft in an eminent degree for that future sphere of useful activity in a new and young country, where he was destined in turn to have many disciples, and to found a school of his own, which, after all, is one of the best tests of the value of professional worth.

Vacation Rambles in Germany

During the long academic vacations of his three and a half years' residence in Berlin, Croft utilized his time in a very pleasant and profitable manner. He was a close student in term time, and carried his zest for knowledge into all his summer holiday seeking. Furnished with the best of credentials from their kindly professors, and with knapsacks on their backs, he and a few college friends made pedestrian excursions into different parts of Germany, visiting on their route places of scientific interest, carefully investigating and noting whatever came within the scope of their collegiate work, and garnering up for future use a rare store of practical information which could be acquired in no other way, and which must have been of immense service and incalculable value. One of the most enjoyable of these excursions was across the Harz Mountains. A number of other excursions were made in company with Dr. Edward Schunck, *ein deutscher Kamerad*, who was his great chum and

intimate friend at Berlin, and who was afterwards the distinguished President of the Manchester Philosophical Society. Croft and Herr Schunck rambled in this primitive way over a large portion of Germany. They traversed the valley of Bohemia, passed over the Saxon Switzerland, and penetrated the principal mining and manufacturing districts of the Lower Rhine and the country extending between the Harz and Erz Mountains. No place of scientific interest was left unvisited. Prague, Karlsbad, the mines and smelting works at Zinnwald, Klausthal, Freiburg, Ruchenberg and Andriasburg, and the salt works at Schöneback were all in turn explored. At Freiburg in Saxony they descended the Himmelfahrt, 1500 feet below the earth's surface, while at Klausthal and the silver mines of Goslar in the Harz, they lived below ground with the brawny miners, studying all the processes of metallurgic mining. Altogether it was a wildly free and joyous life; every attention was shown the young tourists and great kindness extended wherever they went.

Close of University Career—Contemporaries

Croft closed his university career with every distinction that any student could desire. Some of his contemporaries in the classrooms were the most promising alumni of their time. Hermann Kopp, Valentine Rose, and Redtenbacher were all men

of mark in their day. Varrentrop and Will are famous as the inventors of the method of organic analysis. There were others who afterwards gained celebrity in the domain of science—Dr. Lyon Playfair, subsequently a prominent member of the British Parliament; Stenhouse, of Edinburgh; Dr. Bence Jones, one of the biographers of Faraday; and George Henry Lewes, whose relations with the gifted “George Eliot” were so kindly arraigned in the many notices of her lamented death and the tender tributes to her memory. Amongst collegians like these, who would have taken a high place at any University, Croft more than held his own, and lived to enjoy the lasting respect and regard which all students feel for foemen worthy of them in the keen rivalries and contests of scholastic competitions.

There was one distinction which, with his inherent hatred of shams in any form, Croft could never be induced to seek, and that was the degree of Ph.D. as obtainable at that time. He was not at all singular in this respect. The examinations for the degree in the ordinary course at Berlin were unusually searching and severe; he passed them all with the highest honours, but, like several of the best men of his time, he would never accept a distinction which could be had for sixty shillings and a written thesis at any other German University. The trumpety difference in academic stand-

ing between those whose scholarship really merited the honour and those whose money purchased it without any, made it, in his opinion, of very dubious value. The honorary degree of D.C.L., however, was in 1853 conferred on him by the University of Toronto. There was a notion at that time that such degrees could not be granted to non-graduates, and the recipient bowed to the necessity which enabled the University to honour itself by such a worthy bestowal of the distinction.

Appointed Professor in King's College

Croft returned to England in the early autumn of 1841. His reputation as a student had preceded him, and he was soon singled out for professional preferment by reason of certain events which were then taking place in the distant Province of Upper Canada. On September 19, 1841, the life of Lord Sydenham, who was then administering the government of Canada, was brought to a sudden and untimely close. He was succeeded by Sir Charles Bagot, a graduate of Christ Church, Oxford, and a man of highly cultured literary tastes, who at once took a warm interest in the fortunes of the projected University of King's College. On April 2, 1842, he paid his first visit to Toronto, the seat of government being then at Kingston, and on the 23rd of the month, St. George's

Day, the cornerstone of King's was laid in the present Queen's Park by His Excellency in person, under a cloudless sky and amidst imposing ceremonies. Professors for the new institution were at once in requisition, and the Governor-General, under an Order in Council, was empowered to select the "coming men." He wrote, making inquiries, to Croft's godfather, William Holmes, between whom and himself a friendship had sprung up during the years in which Mr. Holmes had been Government whip in the House of Commons, under the Wellington administration. Mr. Holmes consulted a number of eminent scientific men in England, including Faraday, and they one and all, in most complimentary terms, recommended Croft, who was thereupon appointed to the chair of Chemistry and Experimental Philosophy. Several other appointments to the staff were made at the same time, namely, the Rev. Dr. Beaven, of Oxford, to the chair of Divinity and Metaphysics and Ethics; Richard Potter, M.A., of Cambridge, to the chair of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; William Charles Gwynne, M.D., to the chair of Anatomy and Physiology; John King, M.D., Professor of Medicine; William Hume Blake,¹ Professor of Law; and William R. Beaumont, F.R.C.S., Profes-

¹ An able lawyer and parliamentarian, father of the Hon. Edward Blake and the Hon. S. H. Blake, and the first Chancellor of the Court of Chancery of Upper Canada.

sor of Surgery.¹ These appointments were gazetted in November, 1842, and, on December 4 following, the youthful Professor of Chemistry—he was then in his twenty-third year—set sail in the old *Britannia* for the distant scene of his future labours.

University Commencement—Inaugural Lecture

On his arrival in Canada, Croft remained for a time with his friend, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Francis

¹ Professor Croft's other colleagues, above named, who were on the staff of King's College when it was opened in 1843, were all men of high qualifications. Dr. McCaul's career has been already described. Dr. Beaven, born in 1801, took his B.A. at Oxford in 1824, and his D.D. in 1842. Apart from his attainments in the subjects of his professorship, he was a fine classical scholar. He sometimes dictated his lectures, giving analyses of some of the text-books (*e. g.*, Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding*), which were models of conciseness. In his methods and manner he was a representative of the idiosyncrasies as well as the scholarship of an Oxford man of the old school. He continued as Professor after the abolition of the Divinity chair, but resigned in 1872, when he removed to Whitby, where he had charge of the Episcopal church and where he died in 1875.

Professor Potter had been sixth wrangler at Cambridge in 1838, and Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in University College, London, 1841-43. He resigned his chair in King's College at the end of the first session, and resumed his professorship in London, which he held until 1865. He wrote treatises on Mechanics, Optics, and other scientific subjects, and died in 1886.

Dr. King, Dr. Gwynne, and Dr. Beaumont, above mentioned, were all in the front rank of the medical profession of Canada.

Hincks,¹ at Kingston, until the roads were passable by stage to Toronto. The adventurous journey to the present capital of the Province, in that memorable Canadian winter, was often humorously described by the Professor. He reached his destination in January, 1843, and at once entered upon his duties in the old Parliament Buildings on Front

¹ Francis Hincks was the fifth or youngest son of Dr. Hincks, a Presbyterian minister and a descendant of the Hincks family in Breckenbrough, Yorkshire, who settled in Cork in 1791. Dr. Hincks was a man of broad scholarship and the head of a clever family. He founded the Cork Institution, and was afterwards Classical Master and Professor of Hebrew in the Royal Institution at Belfast, where his son Francis was educated. Francis Hincks was first engaged in business in Belfast, but in 1832 came to Toronto, where he soon gained a high reputation for his business ability and capacity. He was employed to investigate the accounts of the Welland canal, which were a subject of Parliamentary inquiry, became editor of the *Examiner* (Liberal) newspaper in Toronto, a member for Oxford in the first Parliament of Canada after the Union of 1840, Inspector-General in the Government, and, after a defeat in the general elections of 1844, Inspector-General again in the Baldwin Ministry. On Mr. Baldwin's retirement, Mr. Hincks became Premier, and so continued till 1854. He was returned for Oxford five times, and was instrumental in securing the passage of municipal, railway, and other valuable legislation. He was a warm friend of the University and supported the measures for its reform. In 1855 he was appointed Governor of the Windward Islands, and later of British Guiana. Upon retiring from this office he settled in Canada and resided in Montreal, where he died many years ago. He had a distinguished career, and was knighted by Queen Victoria for his public services. His brother, the Rev. William Hincks, was Professor of Natural History in University College (1853-1871).

Street, which were made the temporary abode of the College.

On June 8—"University Commencement"—the University was publicly opened. On the following day inaugural lectures were delivered by four of the professors—Dr. McCaul being one of the staff. The ability displayed by the lecturers is said to have been of a "very high order in every respect"; Professor Croft was paid the compliment, in more than one quarter, of having "added fresh lustre to the scientific character of his German *Alma Mater*." In the course of his lecture an incident occurred which, in the light of later events, might be taken as ominous. Dr. Strachan, Bishop of Toronto and President of the College, was sitting immediately in front of the lecturer, who was demonstrating the ignition of potassium with water, when suddenly a fragment of the burning metal was discharged into the astonished prelate's lawn sleeve and set it afire. It was not long after this that the President and the Professor were strenuous antagonists in the acrimonious controversy over the constitution of King's College.

The Struggle for Equal Rights—Croft's Position

The period intervening between the opening of King's College and the year 1849, when it was placed upon a strictly non-sectarian foundation, was a critical one for higher education in the Prov-

ince. Although the system inaugurated was, as the plate enclosed in the foundation stone of the new building finely expressed it, *præstantissimum ad exemplar Britannicarum Universitatum*, the *exemplar* was not found to be adapted to the genius of the Canadian people. The original charter had imposed a thoroughly Episcopal character upon the institution. This provoked hostility, and some of its most objectionable features were afterwards eliminated by the Legislature; but, although the College was opened under the amended charter, which was intended to divest the Church of England of a predominant influence within its walls, that influence was still supreme. The Divinity chair, which had been established, was retained, in violation of the spirit of the amended Act; and this and other marked characteristics strongly impressed the public mind with the idea that the new institution was being moulded to suit the predilections of a favoured Church, and that the liberal intentions of the Legislature were being in effect defeated.

In the long and arduous struggle which ensued for equal rights and privileges in the University, and which is fully detailed in the biographical sketch of Dr. McCaul, Professor Croft was no mere idle spectator. Churchman as he was, he warmly espoused the cause of the anti-church party, and, by his voice and his pen, did yeoman service for those who, battling for just and equal participation in the

benefits of the University as a provincial seminary of learning, were opposed to the undue pretensions and ascendancy of the church to which he belonged. The College Council, of which he was a member, was divided on the question; he was one of a small minority, and his position, which was for a long time very embarrassing, was more than once seriously jeopardized. In the course of the controversy Professor Potter resigned his chair, and was succeeded by the Rev. Robert Murray, M.A., formerly a minister of the Church of Scotland, who had been acting as Superintendent of Education. The council chamber of the Ministers and the lobbies of the House of Assembly were, for a time, continuously besieged by deputations; the table of the House was littered with petitions and counter petitions on the great issue of the day. It was at this juncture that Professors Croft and Gwynne,¹ both of whom had all along been active in the movement, addressed to the Legislature a strong and able remonstrance, bristling with facts and figures in support of a cogent argument against the amended charter, and in support of further amendments. The step was a bold one: it was taken by the remonstrants at imminent risk of forfeiting their places on the College staff; but it contributed materially to the beneficent result which is now uni-

¹ A brother of the late Hon. Mr. Justice Gwynne of the Supreme Court of Canada.

versally accepted as the happiest and best solution of the whole question.

Vice-Chancellor and Member of Senate

Almost simultaneously with the passage of the Act of 1849, secularizing the University and abolishing the Divinity chair, Professor Croft was elected Vice-Chancellor. He exercised the functions of that important office during the succeeding four years, under the Chancellorship of the Hon. P. B. DeBlaquière. As an ex-Vice-Chancellor, Professor Croft was afterwards an *ex-officio* member of the University Senate, in the deliberations of which he constantly manifested an active and zealous interest. Regular in his attendance at its meetings, his thorough knowledge of all matters which came within its jurisdiction, and his long and varied experience as a professor, member of the College Council, and examiner, deservedly gave him an authoritative voice in the governing body of the University.

Broad Practical Sympathies

Of Professor Croft's eminent qualifications and widely diffused influence as a teacher of chemistry mention will be made hereafter. Extended as these were over a period which witnessed some notable revolutions, and many silent progressive changes, in the domain of science, they were sustained and

strengthened by attributes of character and conduct which greatly popularized, during a long term of years, both the College and the University. Although an omnivorous reader of the current scientific literature of the day, he was no mere book-worm. His laboratory always had fascinations for him, and he laboured for many successive classes of students with a devotion and single-minded purpose worthy of the highest praise. But withal he was far from being a scientific recluse. Throughout his whole career he manifested the public spirit, the active usefulness, and the broad and keenly intelligent sympathies of a practical man of the world. He was a leading member of the early agricultural and horticultural societies in the metropolitan district of York, and was always prominently identified with associations like these, whether of a local or provincial character. He was also in the front rank, and an energetic co-worker in his own particular field, with those who had striven, with some degree of success, to develop scientific husbandry in Canada. He proved how intimate, in many respects, was the relation which subsisted between agriculture and horticulture and his own special department of knowledge, and how more or less dependent upon it these are for their artistic advancement. He also directed public attention repeatedly to the great importance and value which an acquaintance with chemical science may



HENRY HOLMES CROFT, D. C. L., F. C. S.

First Professor of Chemistry and Experimental Philosophy in
the University of King's College and University
College, Toronto, 1842-1880

*(From an oil painting by A. Dickson Patterson, A.R.C.A., in
the Senate Chamber of the University)*

strengthened by attributes of character and conduct which greatly popularized, during a long term of years, both the College and the University. Although an omnivorous reader of the current scientific literature of the day, he was no mere book-worm. His laboratory always had fascinations for him, and he laboured for many successive classes of students with a devotion and single-minded purpose worthy of the highest praise. His intellect was far from being a narrow channel. Throughout his whole career he manifested the public spirit, the active usefulness, and the broad and keenly intelligent sympathies of a practical man of the world. He was a leading member of the early agricultural and horticultural societies in the metropolitan district of New York, and was always prominent in promoting such associations like these, which have a practical and social character. He was an energetic co-worker with those who had succeeded in the past, and he succeeded, to develop the relation which subsists between agriculture and horticulture and his own knowledge of chemistry and experimental philosophy in their more or less artistic advancement. He proved how intimate is the relation which subsists between the two, and he showed that these are essentially artistic and practical branches of science, which an accurate knowledge of chemistry and experimental philosophy in their more or less artistic advancement. He proved how intimate is the relation which subsists between the two, and he showed that these are essentially artistic and practical branches of science, which an accurate knowledge of chemistry and experimental philosophy in their more or less artistic advancement.



possess to the large class of our population engaged in those pursuits. Agricultural chemistry in Canada owes much to Professor Croft; he, more than any other man of eminence in the Province, impressed its great practical utility upon our people. He was no less forward in his advocacy of a Provincial School of Agriculture, and considerable credit must be given him for the establishment of the excellent institution which was endowed, and has ever since been sustained, by the Government for the training of farmers and farmers' sons.

A Founder of the Entomological Society

Professor Croft was also very honourably identified with a Society which was brought into existence chiefly through his instrumentality, and whose laudable objects are closely associated with the progress of skilled husbandry everywhere, namely, the Entomological Society of Ontario. He was the founder, or at least one of the founders, of this Society; the first meeting of its originators was held at his residence, and its present standing and widely acknowledged usefulness are largely due to his fostering care, warm advocacy, and powerful support. In disseminating information in regard to the insect pests of the agriculturist and horticulturist, as well as to insects friendly to their products, the Society has performed a work of vital service. Its admirable collections at the Centen-

nial Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876, comprising eighty-six cases filled with thousands of specimens carefully classified and named, attracted universal attention, and were far in advance of any other exhibit of the kind in the whole Exhibition. The economic worth of such collections can be estimated only by those who have given some attention to the subject; they form a groundwork upon which may be built up observations of great value, and must have the effect of stimulating intelligent research in this important department of natural science.

Within comparatively recent years the bounty of the Government has greatly assisted the operations of this Society. Its periodical publications, ranging over many years, contain a vast amount of original matter, recording valuable observations of a most instructive character on insects in all parts of Canada. These publications have been much sought after, both in Europe and America; some of the early numbers have been reprinted in order to meet the demand, and complete sets of the Society's works are now found in many prominent scientific libraries on both continents.

A Founder of the Canadian Institute

The Royal Canadian Institute,¹ in Toronto, has, ever since its establishment, been a rallying point

¹ The consent of His Majesty the King to the addition of the title *Royal* to the name of the Institute was announced by His

for men of literature and science in western Ontario. The *Journal*, published under its auspices, has been one of the few in this country which aims, with any success, at being a record of philosophical transactions. Professor Croft was one of the founders of the Institute; from its inception he was one of its staunchest friends and supporters, and was twice elected its President; scattered through the pages of its *Journal* will be found a number of contributions from his pen of permanent interest and worth.

One of these, on the double salts of cadmium, was a continuation of a thesis which he had read before the Chemical Society in London (of which he was a Fellow), before coming to Canada. The writer's study of the subject was resumed with his usual earnestness after he entered upon his professorial duties, and with results very satisfactory to himself and to the votaries of chemical science here and elsewhere. He also published a work on Analytical Chemistry, adapted primarily to the requirements of his students in Arts and Medicine. The University and the Canadian public would have welcomed a supplemental volume, elaborated and completed from the rich resources of his knowledge and experience as an analytical chemist, but

Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John M. Gibson, at a public meeting of the Institute held in the University Convocation Hall on the evening of April 2, 1914.

the desire expressed for such a publication was never gratified.

Having regard to the acknowledged merits and value of his educational and research work in the treatises referred to, and in the papers which appeared in the *Journal* of the Royal Canadian Institute, it is a matter for regret that Professor Croft, with his wide knowledge of the natural and physical sciences, did not devote himself in a larger measure to authorship. In the subject of toxicology especially he could have been a lamp to the feet and a guide to the path in after years. In the ingenuity of his analyses, the original methods of his investigation, and his powers of terse exposition, he stood alone in his day in Canada, and it is to be feared that much which should have been known and might have been tried, in toxicological experiment, died with him.

Musical Accomplishments

The circle of the sciences which the Professor traversed would be incomplete without that of vocal and instrumental music, for which he acquired a taste as a college student, and which, like Dr. McCaul, he cultivated in his leisure hours as a college don. He claimed no kinship with the composer of the same name, whose works are familiar to the lovers of old musical compositions. He was, however, one of the originators, and always a wel-

come member, of a Quintette Club of some celebrity, which lived and flourished for a decade or two in Toronto, while in later years he joined the ranks of the Philharmonic Society, with which, during its existence, he retained an active connection. Like that of most skilful musicians, Professor Croft's musical education appears to have commenced at an early age. His accomplishments on the piano were no secret amongst his student friends in Germany, and it is a fact not generally known that he was offered the position of court pianist by the blind King of Hanover.

The Trent Affair—Rise of the Volunteer Movement

The history of the volunteer movement in Canada has yet to be fully written, and it is referred to here only in order to indicate the public-spirited and highly meritorious share which was taken in the movement by the subject of this sketch. There had been a Canadian volunteer militia before the great Civil War in the United States, but it was a militia on paper, pigeon-holed away among the dusty archives of a governmental department. The cruel conflict between the North and the South, and the strained international relations of Great Britain and the United States to which it gave rise, revived the question of national defence. It was not, however, till the memorable winter of 1861-62 that anything like *vis viva* was given to the move-

ment. The stirring events of that Christmas-tide will be long remembered by our citizen soldiery in Canada. They add a bright and honourable page to the military annals of the country: for they proved by deeds the loyalty and patriotism of our people, the universal brotherhood of the British name, and the real significance and strength of the tie which knits the over-seas Dominions of the Empire to the Motherland.

The "Trent Affair" is historic. When it became known in December, 1861, that a British steamer, the *Trent*, while on a peaceful passage to the West Indies, had been forcibly stopped on the high seas under the guns of an American warship, and that four of her passengers, Messrs. Mason, Slidell, McFarland, and Eustis, commissioners of the Southern Confederacy, who were on an accredited mission for their Government, had been taken from the steamer's deck and conveyed as prisoners into Boston harbour, the popular feeling of indignation and resentment in Canada was universal. The commissioners, at the time of their capture, were legally on British territory and under the protection of the British flag, and their seizure, under the circumstances, was a plain violation of international law. An immediate demand was made by the Imperial Government for their release, and, until the demand was acceded to, the two great English speaking nations of the world were brought

very close to the verge of war. For a time, at least, it was uncertain whether the Canadian people should have to face, along the whole line of their defenceless frontier, an enemy overwhelming in numbers and flushed with military successes. The response to the sudden call by the Government for volunteers was worthy of the nation, and, in large centres of population like Toronto, the greatest enthusiasm was aroused.

The University Rifle Corps

In concerting measures adapted to meet the general emergency, Professor Croft was very active; amongst prominent civilians he was one of the first to inspire public confidence by undertaking to raise forthwith for active service an efficient company of riflemen. This self-imposed patriotic duty was promptly discharged. During the Michaelmas vacation of 1861 he called a public meeting of students and ex-students of the University in Convocation Hall; the meeting was largely attended; the Professor animated all present by a characteristic speech which was cheered to the echo; he himself was elected Captain, Professor Cherriman, Lieutenant, and Adam Crooks, Q.C., subsequently Minister of Education in the Mowat Government, Ensign of the new company. Before the meeting closed the ranks were well nigh fully recruited, and the University Rifle Corps was practically in exist-

ence. An officers' drill was at once organized amongst the different volunteer corps of the city, and, along with his brother officers, the Professor, who, if his father had accepted a kind offer of the Duke of Wellington, might have had a commission in the British service, very soon perfected himself in military tactics. Captain Goodwin, the gymnastic teacher at Upper Canada College and a deft swordsman who had fought at Waterloo, was Captain Croft's drill instructor. His first lessons, strange to say, had been learned years before in England from another Waterloo veteran—a life guardsman who had ridden over the French troops in a series of charges across the valley facing the walled gardens of Château Hougoumont.

The reminiscences of the University Rifle Corps, of which Captain Croft was for many years the popular commanding officer, would fill an interesting chapter in College history. With the exception of the College Literary and Scientific Society, it was the most potent element in the University for promoting sociability and *esprit de corps* amongst all classes of University men. Academic distinctions found no place in its ranks; in its earlier years the messenger elbowed the graduate, the freshman the sophomore, and the professor freely reproved both for treading too heavily on his heels; its pleasant comradeship was a bond between the faculties and the student body.



HENRY HOLMES CROFT

Captain of No. 9 (University) Company, Queen's Own Rifles,
Toronto

*(From a photograph, taken in 1867, now in the possession of
R. E. Kingsford, M.A., LL.B., Toronto)*

His officers' drill was at once organized amongst the different volunteer corps of the city, and, along with his brother officers, the Professor, who, if his father had accepted a kind offer of the Duke of Wellington, might have had a commission in the British service, very soon perfected himself in military tactics. Captain Goodwin, the gymnastic teacher at Upper Canada College and a left swordsman who had fought at Waterloo, was Captain Croft's drill instructor. His first command, strange to say, had been learned years before in England from another Waterloo veteran—a life guardsman who had ridden over the French troops in a series of charges across the valley facing the great gardens of Chateau Hougomont.

The organization of the University Rifle Corps, at a time when the British Army for many years the popular admiration of the world, would fill an interesting chapter in the history of the country. With the exception of the Chemical, Physical and Scientific Society, it was the only organization in the University for promoting the spirit of camaraderie and *esprit de corps* amongst all classes of students and young men. Academic distinctions found no place in its ranks; in its earlier years the messenger followed the graduate, the freshman the professor, and the professor himself reproved both the student and the graduate as heavily on his heels; its pleasant comradeship was a bond between the faculties and the students.

(From a photograph taken in 1897, now in the possession of R. E. Kingford, M.A. (I.B.), Toronto)



Under Captain Croft the company attained a high state of efficiency. Colonel Mountain, of the Royal Artillery, an accomplished and experienced British officer, who was appointed to inspect the different volunteer corps of the Province and adjudge prizes for military proficiency in a general competition at the time, pronounced the company "the most perfectly drilled and disciplined volunteer company he had ever seen." At the time referred to he had passed in review every volunteer corps of any standing in the country, and it was on his impartial judgment that the University Rifle Corps carried off the first prize from all comers. The company was in fact a sort of military school; its graduates were the graduates of their common *Alma Mater* who went forth, from year to year, into every quarter of the Dominion, imbued with a love of its stern lessons of duty, animated by martial zeal, and ready to instruct and command as well as to obey in the ranks of the volunteer force of the country. The Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, the Hon. Sir John M. Gibson, was a member of the corps, and was subsequently Lieutenant-Colonel of the 13th Battalion of Hamilton. He repeatedly distinguished himself at Wimbledon, winning, on one occasion, the next highest honour of the meeting in what was admittedly a keen competition. There were other privates in the corps who were afterwards commissioned officers in vol-

unteer corps in different parts of the Dominion. Sir Hugh John Macdonald, K.C., the present police magistrate of Winnipeg,¹ Colonel J. E. Farewell, K.C., of the 34th Regiment of Ontario, at present County Attorney of Ontario, Colonel Andrew T. Thompson, ex-M.P., of the Haldimand Regiment, and Colonel George S. Goodwillie of the Holton Regiment, were all privates in the University company. But it is unnecessary to extend the list. The company was a nursery of commissioned officers of various grades in the service, and particularly of staff officers.

Between the University company and that of Trinity College (Nos. 9 and 10, respectively, of the Queen's Own Rifles) there was a natural fraternity, and when Captain Croft was not permitted to go to the front in June, 1866, as he desired to do, and was assigned duties at headquarters in Toronto, it was Ensign Whitney of the Trinity company who, at their request, commanded the University men and led them in the engagement on the Niagara frontier.

¹ Sir Hugh John Macdonald joined the University company as a private, was afterwards sergeant of the "Residence Squad," and later an ensign in another company of the Queen's Own Rifles. In 1870 he was with the first Red River Expedition under Colonel (afterwards Field Marshal) Wolseley, as Ensign of No. 6 company of the First Ontario Rifles. When the Rebellion broke out in the North-West in 1885 he joined the 90th Battalion as Captain of No. 1 company, and was in action with his men at Fish Creek and at Batoche.

An Episode of 1866

In the years which elapsed after the company's formation memories very sad and tender, as well as some very pleasing that we love to recall, were interwoven with its history. The events of the early summer of 1866, in which the company figured, are memorable. They bred one of the great sorrows of Croft's life. In the engagement on June 2 with the Fenian invaders at Ridgeway, the company, which was far from its full strength, suffered somewhat severely.¹ Three of its members, J. H. Mewburn, Malcolm Mackenzie, and W. F. Tempest, promising undergraduates, were killed, and several others were wounded.² The remains of young Mewburn were taken to his home at St. Catharines. Those of Mackenzie of Zorra in Oxford, and of Tempest of Toronto, were

¹The diminished strength of the company, when called out for active service, was due to the fact that those of its members who were not residents of the city, had, with very few exceptions, finished their examinations and returned to their homes in different parts of the Province. There is reason to believe that the emergency call to the front was answered by every member in the city. Within a few days afterwards the company was up to its normal strength.

²The wounded men were W. H. VanderSmissen, afterwards Professor of German in University College; R. E. Kingsford, afterwards a commissioned officer in the University company, Toronto, and now one of the Police Magistrates of Toronto; E. G. Patterson, K.C., now of Winnipeg, a prominent member of the Manitoba Bar; and E. T. Paul, at present a resident of Chicago.

brought over on the steamer to the city, and were borne to the University building, where they were reverently laid in the Residence reading-room, the students' usual meeting place.

No one who witnessed it can ever forget the spectacle which Toronto presented on the evening of that day—the dense crowds awaiting the vessel as with flags at half-mast she approached the city, the thousands of sympathetic spectators lining the streets through which the solemn procession moved, the saddened faces of the military escorts, the hush that fell upon the multitude standing with uncovered heads as each hearse with its nodding plumes passed by. The scene in the temporary mortuary chamber of the College was even more touching. The bodies of our fallen comrades, still in their soiled uniforms as they were taken from the field, were exposed in the rough pine coffins in which for the time they were laid. The room was crowded to the doors with University men, young and old, who made no concealment of the emotion which welled up in the breast of every one present. Captain Croft was a pathetic figure as he stood beside the open coffins, the tears coursing down his cheeks as he looked upon the placid faces of the brave young fellows who had given their lives for their country. Who would have wished it otherwise? "There are occasions," said Disraeli in the British House of Commons, "which exalt the family above

the nation and appeal to the domestic sentiment of mankind, when grief may well be open and undisguised, and when the deaths of those we love and honour move, with a manifestation more eloquent than any words, the deepest and tenderest feelings of the human heart." And this truly was such an occasion. The beautiful memorial windows,¹ past and present, have told the story, and so has the historic monument across the ravine on the hill hard by.

Amidst its varying fortunes there will always rest in the minds of the old members of the company a vivid remembrance of the unfailing, generous kindness of its commanding officer. Whether at home, in the College, or in camp, the wants and comforts of his men were his first consideration. Throughout the harrowing scenes above described when the death angel hovered over many a sick-bed, and cast its dark shadow within many a home circle, no heart was more deeply touched or more tenderly sympathetic.

¹ The first memorial window, in the old Convocation Hall, was destroyed in the fire of 1890; a new memorial window was unveiled in the large eastern hall a few years ago. The following inscription, which appeared on the first window, appears also on the second window:

Qui, pro patria pugnantis, occubuerunt.

Malcolm Mackenzie,

J. H. Mewburn,

William F. Tempest.

Apud Limeridge, IV. non. Jun. MDCCCLXVI.

Captain Croft's connection with the University Rifles terminated some years before he resigned his professorship. While still a member of the corps he was promoted to the rank of Major in the Volunteer Militia, and retired retaining his rank.¹

Marriage—Members of Family—Death

In 1844 Professor Croft was married to Miss Mary Shaw, a daughter of Captain Alexander Shaw,² of the 69th and 35th Regiments. It was on this gentleman's farm beyond the north-westerly limits of the city that the University company was accustomed to meet for target practice, before the establishment of the Rosedale rifle range.

Of Professor Croft's family of seven children, four, namely, Emily Rose, Harrietta Christina,

¹ Mr. J. B. Cherriman, Professor of Natural Philosophy, succeeded Professor Croft as Captain of the University company. Subsequently the corps became so large that it was divided into two companies, composed of students and ex-students, each officered by University men. Professor W. Hodgson Ellis, mentioned elsewhere, Professor Alfred Baker, the present head of the Department of Mathematics and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and the late T. D. Delamere, K.C., were, respectively, in command of one or other of the companies. These in course of time lost their distinctive collegiate character, and ceased to have connection with the University on account of the students being unable to give the necessary time to the battalion drills which, during the busy college terms, were held in the evenings.

² Captain Shaw was a son of Major-General the Honourable Æneas Shaw, Adjutant-General of Canadian Militia during the War of 1812, whose portrait by Forster hangs in the gallery of paintings in the Legislative Buildings.

Henry Langton and Stephen, predeceased him; the survivors are Annie L., of Montreal, and William Baldwin and Mary A. C., of San Diego in Texas.

The Professor loved his home and his family ardently, and was never happier than at his own fireside. He took infinite pleasure in the cultivation of his garden and in storing it with such shrubs and flowers as caught his fancy or tastes as a naturalist. A distinguished graduate of the University who knew him well, and who is now the able head of the Chemistry department of the University, has given us a pleasant glimpse of his old teacher at home in his garden on a warm Sunday afternoon, smoking his great meerschaum, and entertaining his friends with quaint fancy and genial anecdote. "He was," says Professor Ellis, "a most delightful companion, steeped with the love of nature, full of dry humour, thinking strongly and speaking fearlessly, but brimming over with kindness. * * * He inspired in those students who were privileged to work with him, not only respect for the master and enthusiasm for the work, but also and chiefly love for the man."¹

But, although he lived a healthy outdoor life and was fond of rambles in the woods specimen-hunting with his children or other congenial companions, the

¹ See appreciative article by W. Hodgson Ellis, M.A., M.B., Professor of Applied Chemistry, in *University Monthly*, Vol. 2, p. 29.

domestic bereavements which he sustained at brief intervals were more than he could bear with the strain of his professional work. His health gave way completely, and in 1879 he felt obliged to resign. He and his family removed soon afterwards to Texas, where at Las Hermanitas, near San Diego, he died on March 1, 1883. Seven years later a Protestant Episcopal Church was erected in San Diego by his children to his memory and that of their mother.

"Croft's Laboratory"—"The Croft Chapter House"

To a person approaching the University from the south, there appears, at the extreme westerly end of the building a circular annex with a high conical roof, and flanked on the easterly side by a lower structure connected with the main edifice. The lower structure, fronted by a pillared corridor of stone, was Professor Croft's private room, which adjoined his lecture room. For many years the inside of the annex was one great room, showing a lofty vaulted ceiling with oaken beams. These are no longer seen from the ground floor on account of a division of the interior to form a second story.

The circular annex has some traditions. It was long known as "Croft's Laboratory," as in fact it was from the time of its erection until its first

tenant finished his life work and passed out for the last time. The building then became the Physical laboratory for a term of years. It was within the ample area of this "round room," lighted by the narrow windows high up in the walls, that the apostle of Chemistry in the University did most of his best work. It was there that his brightest disciples wrought diligently beside him. And it was there also that his comrades in the Rifle Company were entertained now and then by the Captain, as they stacked their arms and smoked their pipes and talked of the day's shooting at the targets.

Time has brought changes, but the *art chimique*, as Croft sometimes called it, has kept pace with the strides of advancing science. There is now a great Chemistry Building and also a great Chemistry and Mining Building, separate and distinct from each other, and fully equipped with the latest apparatus and appliances; they have each their chemical laboratories for students of all the Science departments; there are able and experienced staffs of professors and lecturers; and there is an admirable division and distribution of the work and service,—all which has made this department and its allies, on the science side of the University, a powerful factor in the educational strength of the Province.

"Croft's Laboratory" has passed into history. Its old habitat is now hung with portraits of their

Majesties, King George V and Queen Mary (presented by the King), of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught (presented by His Royal Highness), and with paintings in oil of University worthies, past and present; the transformation is complete. It has become the University Senate Chamber, where important legislation affecting the institution is from time to time enacted, where the curricula of six faculties and six departments are prescribed, examiners appointed, honours, scholarships and degrees awarded, and where annually judgment is passed on the acquirements and standing of over four thousand students who constitute the microcosm of University life and activity.

It is a fact, not generally known, that Professor Croft was consulted by the architects and made suggestions as to the plans of his future laboratory. Nor is it generally known that the laboratory was built after the style of the Abbots' Kitchen of the famous Glastonbury Abbey in Somersetshire, England. The Abbey, which with its appurtenances and grounds originally covered sixty acres, is said to have been the earliest seat of Christianity in Britain. It has long since crumbled into ruins, save the chapels of St. Joseph and St. Mary and the Abbots' Kitchen. These were built in the reigns of Henry II and Richard I, and are fine specimens, especially the chapels, of the transition from Norman into Early English

architecture.¹ Professor Croft was no stranger to the remains of the Abbey, and as an Englishman who loved his country and these memorials of her past history, there is good reason to believe that he suggested the style of the building in which he was destined to spend so many of the busy hours of his life.

With the approval of the governing bodies of the University, this building, in which the Senate now meets, will henceforth be called and known as "The Croft Chapter House," "in recognition of Professor Croft's services to the University and the Province." This fitting association of his name with the building, and with the work which he did and inspired within its walls, gives significance to what was said of those like him in the old Latin line, *Qui sui memores alios fecere merendo*, that they are men who by their merits have caused others to cherish their memory.

Influence as Professor, Worker, and Teacher

It would be difficult to estimate, as they deserve, Professor Croft's distinguished public services

¹ One of the legends connected with this ancient sanctuary relates that the "miraculous thorn," which grew in the Abbey garden and flowered on Christmas Day, was the veritable staff with which Joseph of Arimathæa, the traditional founder of the place, aided his steps from the Holy Land, and that it was the progenitor of the thorn trees which still bloom in the neighbourhood.

throughout his long and active career. He was not, as already mentioned, ambitious to excel in the purely literary work of his profession, and was no aspirant for literary fame. If, however, he was not a famous author, he was a brilliant experimenter and an eminently successful teacher, giving his time and energies unsparingly to his professorial duties, and technical and toxicological studies, which, in this country, seemed to him infinitely more important than pure scientific treatises. In this devotion to his professorship Professor Croft was a good example of a class of men, specialists in scientific work, who are in the work for the love of it, and are loyal to its service, despite strong temptations for more lucrative employment. Twice at least during his term of office he had offers made to him which, if accepted, would have enabled him to amass a fortune. Both offers came from personal friends and were attractive and alluring, but they were gratefully declined.

In the lecture room he was an admirable expositor, and a happy and dexterous demonstrator. Like all good teachers of a rapidly-advancing science, he unavoidably made his pupils eager for more than he gave them. In a far wider sphere than his lecture room he, more than any other teacher of his time in Canada, simplified and legitimately popularized chemistry without vulgarizing it; and he may be said to have laid the foundation of our educa-

tional system of practical chemistry, and the admirable methods of illustration in chemical research and analysis.

Professor Croft also held intimate and important relations with two of the learned professions, and these were long and honourably sustained. In the administration of justice, he, for many years, supplied an essential link in what was then a comparatively new branch of science, and one which has united the sister professions of law and medicine as its alternative titles, forensic medicine and medical jurisprudence, imply. In a special manner he brought his extensive knowledge of chemistry, and his experienced skill in chemical analysis, to bear upon the vitally important subject of toxicology, and simplified and improved the methods for detecting poisons by clever devices of his own, as well as by the judicious adoption of tests employed by the ablest toxicologists of the age. There was a time in Canada when the most astute lawyers and the most experienced physicians equally shrank from poisoning cases as exceedingly perplexing and unsatisfactory cases to deal with in a court of justice. Professor Croft made toxicology, in so far at least as the administration and effects of poisons are concerned, the most certain and unerring in their results of any department of medical jurisprudence. His skill and accomplishments as a toxicologist were widely known, and he was in-

variably appealed to from the farthest ends of the Dominion in doubtful cases of death from poison. He, in his time, saved some innocent men from the gallows, and it is just as certain that he was instrumental in bringing to justice others of whom society was well rid.

The acknowledged eminence attained by Professor Croft was due to something more than his being, as he often was, a solitary worker. In nothing was his career more marked than in the power which he possessed of interesting others in his own field of labour. He felt and showed an appreciative interest in the progress of every department of physical and natural science; his philosophic spirit enabled him to set a just estimate on their researches, and in turn he drew the sympathy of their teachers and students with him into his own domain and enlisted their active co-operation in the common cause. And this he did, not more by the weight of his authority than by the influence of his manly, true-hearted nature. His ability and his learning, in those branches of science which he made his own special study, were unquestioned, but it was a kindly heart that knew no selfishness, and was wide and generous in its sympathies, that gained for him the affection and respect of students and fellow-workers in all branches of science. The small vanities and heart-burnings, which are sometimes the besetting sins of men of science and letters, had no hold upon

him; a thorough spirit of charity, a toleration for everything but empiricism and pettiness, seemed to hide from him all but the good and worthy points in his fellow men. His time and his knowledge were always at the disposal of needy comers, while his integrity and thoroughness in all subjects of investigation, the least as well as the most important, gave him the authority and weight of a court of last resort in his own department. He saved many a man's money oftentimes at the expense of his own, and performed many a similar service for the public, so easily imposed upon, in some things, by vagabond quacks and charlatans. The motto on the crest of the Croft family, *Esse quam videri* (to be rather than to seem), was tersely expressive of his sterling honesty and uprightness and transparent love of truth, and his abhorrence of shams and impostures either intellectual or material.

As a teacher of chemistry, Professor Croft's influence was as the grain of mustard seed in the parable—expansive and fruitful in the highest degree. When he quit the scene where for nearly thirty-eight years he was seldom absent from the post of duty, there were hundreds of students who gratefully recalled, as they do still, the hours spent in his classroom or laboratory. For it was there that they were initiated by him into the mysteries of his favourite science, and learned those lessons of patient enquiry and minute observation which are

invaluable in the lifework of every man. Those who, in times past, were his pupils, and found delight in his scientific investigations, will not soon forget his enthusiastic zeal, his enlarged acquaintance with the literature of his department, his kindly interest in all amongst his friends and followers who manifested a regard for his favourite studies. As, in after years, their fates led them far and wide in the world, some settling down to active practice in rural communities, some ambitiously striving for fresh honours in the Universities of other countries, some plunging into the midst of metropolitan activities, no one who remained constant to the fascinating studies of his pupilhood was ever forgotten by the kind-hearted professor, whose quick and cheering perception of early merit had perpetuated tastes that might have speedily perished if unobserved and unencouraged.

O strong soul, by what shore
Tarriest thou now? For that force,
Surely, has not been left vain!
Somewhere, surely, afar,
In the sounding labour-house vast
Of being, is practiced that strength,
Zealous, beneficent, firm!

JAMES FORNERI, LL.D.

FIRST PROFESSOR OF MODERN LANGUAGES IN UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE, TORONTO

JAMES FORNERI

UNDERGRADUATES of the University, who attended lectures prior to the year 1867, will recall pleasantly to mind a small, erect, and fresh-complexioned old gentleman, who, as the bell in the great Norman tower tolled the close of the College working day, emerged from the main entrance of the building and pursued his way with short, nervous steps towards the Yonge Street avenue, and thence to the easterly precincts of the city. The old gentleman on his homeward route was a familiar figure to the then residents of Toronto. He wore gold spectacles and carried a walking stick with the easy confidence sometimes noticeable in military men. Every student greeted him with a kindly salutation; his courtesy to all whom he recognized was that of a well-bred foreigner. As he politely raised his hat to some passing lady acquaintance, he disclosed a high, intellectual-looking forehead sparsely mantled with hair of snowy whiteness. There was something in the appearance and bearing of the venerable "professor of languages," as he was popularly called, which arrested attention and challenged remark. With the infirmities of age

plainly upon him, his features still wore the ruddy health of youth; his keen, deeply set eyes had in them an almost piercing brightness; force and decision of character marked every lineament of his face. Those who knew him well felt these to be distinguishing qualities of the man at once discernible in the snatches which he gave them of his strange life history. There was a tinge of the romantic running through it all; he had been a right gallant gentleman in his time, and his career altogether was a remarkable one.

Ancestry—The Forneri Family

James Forneri was of noble or, at least, of semi-noble birth. The founders of his family were Frenchmen who took part in the Crusades.¹ The family name was originally Desfourniery, and one of his ancestors was, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a lawyer of not a little repute at the Paris Bar. The principal ancestral records were confiscated by the Italian Government in the year 1821, in consequence of the late Professor being compromised in the political events of that year; but those which were preserved enable us to glean the main facts of an exceedingly interesting family history. They show a long line of scholarly and clever men, litterateurs and members

¹ See vignette of Forneri armorial bearings and comments thereon at the end of this volume.



JAMES FORNERI, LL.D.

First Professor of Modern Languages in University College,
Toronto. 1853-1865

(From a photograph taken in Belleville, Ont.. after his retirement)

plainly upon him, his features still wore the ruddy health of youth; his keen, deeply set eyes had in them an almost piercing brightness; force and decision of character marked every lineament of his face. Those who knew him well felt these to be distinguishing qualities of the man at once discernible in the snatches which he gave them of his strange life history. There was a tinge of the romantic running through his life; he had been a dashing gallant gentleman in his youth, and his entire appearance was a remarkable one.

Ancestry—The Forneri Family

James Forneri was of noble or, at least, of semi-noble birth. The founders of his family were Frenchmen who took part in the Crusades.¹ The family name was originally Desfourniery, and one of his ancestors was, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, a lawyer of not a little repute at the Paris Bar. The principal ancestral records were confiscated by the Italian Government in the year 1821, in consequence of the late Professor being compromised in the political events of that year; but those which were preserved enable us to glean the main facts of an exceedingly interesting family history. There was a long line of scholarly and clerical men, literateurs and

¹ See vignette of the Forneri family bearing thereon at the end of the volume.



of the learned professions, divided in both their political and religious opinions—Roman Catholics before the Reformation, Huguenots afterwards, and Catholics again when, passing from France to Italy, they settled in the once imperial city of Rome a few years before the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Their change of creed, as well as of citizenship, does not seem to have been due altogether to conviction, the transfer of allegiance having been made to enable the then head of the house to take possession of a large Italian estate which a cousin of his, one of the twelve *Prelôts* or Judges of the *sacra rota Romana*, had bequeathed to him. From this time forward the name of the family underwent a series of changes, becoming in turn DeFornery and DeForneri until the year 1821, when the subject of this sketch, who was then, like most Italian young men, strongly imbued with democratic ideas, dropped the ancient aristocratic “De” and adopted the simpler name which he bore with pride ever afterwards.

Childhood and Early Education

Although his ancestry were all Roman *ab antiquo*, and although his immediate progenitors settled in the seven-hilled city, the Professor was, by the accident of birth, a Piedmontese. His father, David Emmanuel DeForneri, who was a lawyer, and what was known as a collegiate school pleader, married

Margaret Gorresio, the daughter and heiress of a wealthy physician living in the city of Ceva in Piedmont. This marriage brought him a large property, including a valuable estate at Racconigi, a city a few miles distant from Turin, the capital of Piedmont. The estate was called Il Macagno, and as it was, everything considered, a delightful summer retreat, his parents were accustomed to spend there a great portion of the year. At Il Macagno James Forneri was born, as nearly as can be ascertained, in the latter part of the month of June, or early in July, in the year 1789, when the great French Revolution was fairly in the ascendant. The terrible influences and effects of the Revolution were by no means confined to France. They extended, with a lesser degree of virulence, to Italy, where they inflicted great and irreparable losses and severe privations upon many of the ruling families of the country. The DeForneris did not escape, either in person or estate, from this whirlwind of passion and violence which swept Italian soil. David Emmanuel DeForneri and his father held influential positions in the service of the Government. The family was naturally identified with the noblesse royalists, and it paid the penalty which was mercilessly exacted from all others similarly situated. The Jacobin revolutionists had no sooner crossed the Alps than they swooped down, like rapacious vultures, upon the peaceful fields and smiling vine-

yards of Italy, carrying devastation and ruin wheresoever they went. James Forneri's father and grandfather were driven from their homes, and hunted like wild beasts through the country. His mother, who remained the sole protectress of her young family, was repeatedly compelled to pay heavy contributions to save her house from the spoiling hand of the plunderer or the torch of the incendiary, and occasionally even her children and herself from murder. Her husband and his father succumbed ere long to the hardships which they were forced to endure; both died of fatigue and exhaustion, and James Forneri was thus left fatherless in helpless infancy, and his mother a widow, while still in her youth, with the care of five children, two sons and three daughters, James being the younger of the brothers.

Under these trying circumstances Signora De Forneri, whose near relatives belonged to the north of Italy, determined to give up her establishment in Rome. She settled for life in Piedmont, making her residence alternately at Turin and Racconigi, where she devoted herself with affectionate solicitude to the educational training of her children. We may well believe that their tender years of infancy were full of many anxieties for the young mother, and that she had a fair share of the trials and misfortunes of the widowed head of a household. Not long before her departure from Rome, James, who

was then a mere child, met with an accident which almost cost him his life. One day as an infantry regiment was marching past beneath the upper windows of the house, his nurse, attracted by the music of the regimental band, hurried to the front balcony and rested the child upon the balustrade. While in this position the little fellow slipped from her grasp and fell into the street below, a distance of over thirty feet. The regiment was instantly halted, and everybody supposed that he was killed. Fortunately he had fallen upon the shoulders of one of the officers of the regiment, who was walking alongside his company, and the force of the fall being thus broken, the child providentially escaped with a few bruises. Some four years afterwards he sustained a serious accident whilst being driven by the coachman in the narrow streets of Ceva; in trying to avoid a passing vehicle, the driver ran the wheel of his own upon a doorstep and overturned the carriage. James Forneri, who was one of the occupants, had his arm dislocated and several bones broken, and it was only by the skilful attention of the surgeon of a French regiment, who happened to be billeted at his mother's house, that the young lad was preserved from a permanent physical deformity. But, as will be seen in the course of this narrative, these were not the only occasions upon which the "protecting fairy" of credulous childhood charmed away imminent danger and saved his life.

He was destined to pass unharmed through many perils, and to close a long and eventful career with the serene tranquillity of a peaceful end.

Signora DeForneri's desire to educate her children was very happily promoted by her father's affluent circumstances. Dr. Gorresio, who had left no male issue surviving him and only two daughters, had at his death bequeathed to them a large property under certain conditions which were now to take effect in favour of his youngest grandson. By his will he had directed that his estate should go to his elder daughter, and afterwards in succession to her sister, in case either had a son who should study for the church, take holy orders, and perform testamentary obligations of celebrating every morning a mass in the private family chapel, and affording hospitality for three nights to all pilgrims who might claim it on their way to visit the Holy Places. His will further provided that his property, which had an annual value of several hundred pounds, should ultimately pass to the convent of the Orfanelli at Mondovi in the event of his two daughters, or their offspring in a direct line, having no male children who would assume the sacred office of the priesthood. Testamentary bequests like these were not uncommon at the time. In the last century in England, as well as in Italy and other continental countries, it was, if not an article of faith, at least a hallowed and time-honoured cus-

tom in families of respectability, and especially in those of noble descent in which there was more than one son, to bring up the second son either to the church or the army. Signora DeForneri was a devout Catholic, and there is no reason to doubt that it was from no desire of retaining the family inheritance or from any other interested motive, but solely from a pious conscientiousness, quickened and directed by her spiritual advisers, that she had, from his earliest infancy, dedicated her youngest son to the priestly service of the Roman Church.

So soon, therefore, as they were old enough to receive such instruction, Jesuit teachers were provided to prepare the elder son for the University of Turin, he being destined for the Bar, and the younger for the Seminario Romano, a college in Rome in which young men were trained for the church. In that seminary James Forneri remained until he had completed his third year in divinity, when his brother having died, he, with the consent of his mother and after a grave family consultation, gave up the study of theology for that of jurisprudence and canon law. The young student devoted himself with great diligence and success to his newly adopted profession, and in the course of time took his degree of LL.D. at the University Della Sapienza in Rome. He had no thought, however, of remaining there. Whatever was the reason—he was wont to say jocularly that it was be-

cause he had "cheated St. Peter"—he was not regarded in Rome with a favouring eye by those whose influence and good-will were indispensable to a young man commencing the practice of the legal profession. His mother, however, lived in the north of Italy; she stood in need of his filial comfort and protection, if not of his assistance, and her friends and relatives there were highly connected and influential. Under these circumstances he left Rome forever; and having completed his three years' term of preparatory service as a law student in Turin, and passed with distinction the examinations prescribed by the *Lex*, he was in the year 1809 admitted to the Bar of that city. For two or three years thereafter his life seems to have been that of the majority of advocates entering the legal profession. It was the watching and waiting period of professional existence when young barristers are popularly supposed to be briefless.

This monotony was, however, broken by one noteworthy adventure in which his life was again placed in jeopardy. In company with a small party of friends, all of whom were travelling in carriages, he was returning home one beautiful moonlight night in September, 1810, from the festival of the Madonna at Viso, a small Piedmontese village upon the mountain near Mondovi, when the party were attacked by a band of disguised brigands. The first carriage, in which James Forneri was seated fast

asleep, was fired into by the ruffians, and as he jumped from the vehicle into the road he found the bridle of the horse in the grasp of the leader of the band. He at once raised the alarm, and, his friends coming up, a determined resistance was made with such missiles as could be laid hold of, there being not a single firearm or weapon among the party. The robbers used their pistols freely, but no shot took effect, and they were finally put to flight and pursued as far as a forest about a quarter of a mile distant from the main road. The young advocate had outstripped his companions in the chase, and, in seeking to rejoin them by a shorter route, he was mistaken for one of the assailants bent upon another attack, and barely escaped with his life.

Military Experiences—Cavalry Officer under Napoleon

However fortune may have favoured James Forneri at the dawn of his active professional career, there can be no doubt that he entered upon it earnestly, and with a determination to win his way to eminence. He was clever, ambitious, possessed great capacity for hard work, and he had many incentives to spur him forward. But the future had a very different career in store for him, and his manly young heart, brave as it was, might well have beaten with a strange tremor could he have foreseen, however dimly, the exciting vicissitudes and

thrilling adventures which were to be crowded into those coming years.

The year 1812 will be remembered as that in which Europe was the arena of the maddest of all the sanguinary schemes of the first Napoleon. The French Emperor, flushed with a series of victories, had resolved upon the invasion of Russia, and was then moving his vast army of nearly half a million men towards the Russian frontier. As a guarantee for the tranquillity of his empire—at least this was the plea offered at that time—he determined to raise, amongst others, four choice cavalry regiments called a Guard of Honour (*Gardes d'honneur*), consisting of the young men of the most distinguished families in all the states of his dominion. Being essentially a stroke of statecraft, it was not deemed advisable, in carrying it into effect, to permit those who were “drawn” for the Guards to provide substitutes. The military “policy” of the conqueror required that every conscript guardsman—who was to be uniformed *à la Hussarde*—should enter the service armed and equipped at his own expense. Young Forneri was one of those enlisted in this general conscription. He was enrolled in the 4th Regiment of the Guards as a sub-lieutenant—the highest rank which a foreigner could hold in it.

Albeit a widow's only son, which would have excused him in any other case, he was sent forth with his regiment on active service with the uncertain

pay of an English cornet, and the prospect of being entitled to the rank of full-lieutenant in any corps he might select should he escape the fatalities of a campaign. The 4th Regiment of the Guards, whose depot was at Lyons, was under orders to join the expeditionary force against Russia. It had proceeded as far as Mayence when the order was countermanded, and it was sent to Cassel to assist in reinstating Jerome Buonaparte, the eldest brother of the Emperor, in the kingdom of Westphalia, from which he had been expelled a short time before by the Russian General, Czerintzky, at the head of a flying column of Cossacks. The young subaltern was thus spared any share in the horrible miseries of the disastrous Russian campaign. His regiment executed its Westphalia commission, but was unable to maintain its position for more than two months. The Grand Army of France had then commenced that fatal retreat, in which the Guards were forced to join. They retired as far as Hagenau, where they halted to await further orders. Meanwhile, the battle of Leipsic had been fought and lost by Napoleon, who, being anxious to cross the Rhine, retired upon Hanau with seventy or eighty thousand men, the wreck of the splendid veteran army of nearly half a million which had proudly followed him to Moscow. The Guards were ordered to join him at Hanau, where he arrived to find the Russian General, Wridi, with a force inferior in numbers,

determined to oppose his passage. For three whole days in the month of October, 1813, a bloody combat, in which the Guards were repeatedly engaged, was carried on between the hostile forces before and within the town of Hanau. Wridi's object was to detain his adversary until the army of the Allies could reach the scene of conflict. Napoleon knew this, and that the success of Wridi's plan meant his own certain destruction. As a last resource he ordered General Curial to lead the Guards in a desperate attempt to force a passage onward. The attempt was successful. The Guards cut their way through the enemy with great loss, Lieutenant Forneri being fortunate enough to escape with a slight wound in his right hand caused by the grazing of a pistol ball.

Captured by Cossack Irregulars

It was on November 2 that the banks of the Rhine were thus gained, Napoleon crossing the river on the bridge of Mentz, followed in hot haste by his wearied columns. These were disposed in various positions along the river banks, whilst the allied forces took up their cantonments at no great distance, Frankfort being their headquarters. The 4th Regiment of the Guards was now detached from the *corps d'armée*, and stationed in Rhenish Prussia, between Borin and Coblentz, to watch the movements of the enemy on the other side of the

Rhine, but with orders to retire upon Strasbourg in case he should cross over. Nothing particular occurred until January, 1814, when the allied forces crossed the Rhine at several points, and invaded France. The Guards were then at Coblenz, at the confluence of the Rhine and the Moselle.

On the night of January 3, 1814, Lieutenant Forneri was ordered off on a reconnaissance with twenty troopers under his command. The night was very dark and foggy, and all were obliged to trust rather to their horses' sagacity than to their own. They had proceeded about ten miles, and had arrived at a turn in a thickly wooded part of the road, when the horses showed signs of restiveness and alarm; the riders had no time to grasp their pistols before they were surprised and surrounded by a large body of Cossacks and instantly made prisoners. The captors, as it afterwards appeared, were not Cossacks of the Don or the Volga, who were regular troops, but formed part of an irregular force of Cossack military adventurers, who received no pay and subsisted on plunder. They were the advance guard of the Russian army under Prince Wittgenstein, the Russian Commander-in-Chief, and had, an hour or two before, favoured by the obscurity of the night, crossed the river on rafted bridges at a place entirely concealed from the road.

The officer in command was a mere youth of me-

dium height, slight in figure, with piercing black eyes, and bold and determined features, but with rather an effeminate voice. In the course of a conversation in French, in which Lieutenant Forneri was interrogated on various points, and was assured that he and his men would be well treated, saving the rights of war (*hors les droits de la guerre*), he at once suspected that the young officer before him was a woman. His suspicions were afterwards fully confirmed. During his stay at the Cossack outpost he learned that, in the regular force to which they were attached, there were many Italian and French deserters, who had joined them solely for the sake of plunder, and that the Cossack officer was really a French woman named Madame Renard. She had been the wife of a major in the French army, who was killed at the battle of Borodino, and having fallen into the hands of a Cossack colonel, who was then with the Russian advance guard, the latter had fallen in love with her and made her his wife. Being a woman of masculine spirit and great personal courage, she had asked and obtained the command of a company, and was known as Captain Renard, a splendid officer who feared nothing, and whom her men would follow anywhere, so perfect was the control she possessed over them, and the confidence they reposed in her.

Captain Renard was as good as her word in so

far as the rough creature comforts of their rude bivouac were concerned. The cold was very severe, but her prisoners had always reserved for them the best places at their firesides, and received a generous share of their daily rations. But "the rights of war," as Lieutenant Forneri and his men soon discovered, were very liberally interpreted in favour of the captain and her banditti followers. The maxim of "to the victors belong the spoils" was acted on with the most exacting unscrupulousness, but with an urbanity and politeness that would have been amusingly droll if it had not left every guardsman with scarce a stitch to his back. They stripped their victims almost to the skin, with no end of smiling bows and flattering gesticulations, the troopers first, and in due time their commanding officer, who was reserved as the special prize of the gallant captain, or, rather, of her husband, who was her superior in command. The result of this general looting of the party was not unsatisfactory to these accomplished Cossack thieves; in the lieutenant's case the perquisites of war comprised 120 *louis d'or*, which he carried in the pocket of his waist belt, the balance of a draft from his indulgent mother upon a banker at Lyons.

The little camp broke up on the morning of the fourth day, and, as the sun was sinking in the evening, they arrived at Coblenz, the old headquarters of the Guards, who, two days previous, had retired

upon Strasbourg. Marshal Blücher was then at Coblenz, lodged in one of the principal hotels of the town, and the lieutenant and his fellow prisoners were assigned rooms at the same hotel, where they were treated with every consideration. In return perhaps for the rich booty obtained with such suavity from his principal prisoner, the Cossack colonel now furnished Lieutenant Forneri with a pass in the Russian language, which directed that the bearer should be allowed to proceed unmolested. He was, of course, still a prisoner of war, and so remained for some time afterwards, but the pass was intended to prevent his undergoing a second process of thievish overhauling, and was found to be invaluable in this respect in passing through the Russian lines.

On the following morning they resumed their march, which was continued for several days, the same uniform kindness being shown them through the day and at the nightly bivouacs, until at last they were handed over to the regular Russian troops with orders to proceed to Rastadt in the Duchy of Baden, the headquarters of Prince Wittgenstein, General-in-Chief of the Russian army. So long as they were with the Cossacks they travelled along as merry-hearted as could be on horseback, but they were now forced to journey on foot as silent and lugubrious as a procession of friars leading a lot of heretics to the stake. They were

much less kindly treated, and their unfortunate position was constantly aggravated by the coarse selfishness of the Russian soldiery.

Escapes Exile to Siberia

After a toilsome march of four days they arrived at Rastadt, and were at once taken to the Governor's house. They were shown into a large room where they found the Governor and his secretary seated at a table. The officer in charge of the prisoners handed the Governor a paper, probably the prisoners' muster roll, which he glanced at and passed to his secretary. At this moment a young staff officer entered the room, and, approaching Lieutenant Forneri, addressed to him a number of questions in Italian as to his family and place of birth; he then spoke a few words in Russian to the Governor and retired. In less than an hour the same officer, who was an aide-de-camp of the Russian Commander-in-chief, returned, gave a paper to the Governor, who read it, and, turning to the lieutenant, told him that he was set at liberty by order of Prince Wittgenstein. This seemingly unimportant occurrence was one of vital moment to the young guardsman, for it saved him from being sent into dismal captivity in Siberia, where, even at that time, all French prisoners were summarily transported.

Lieutenant Forneri was at once liberated; he left

the room in company with the staff officer, who conducted him to his own lodgings, where he was provided with a comfortable room and an attendant, and where he was entertained, during his brief stay, with the greatest possible kindness. In the course of a conversation at breakfast next morning the lieutenant learned that his generous host was a Savoyard nobleman named Count De Medster, who had formerly lived at Chambery, the capital of Savoy, which was then attached to the crown of Sardinia. Upon the invasion of Piedmont by Buonaparte in 1796 the Count's family had retired to St. Petersburg, where he had joined the Russian army, in which he now held the rank of colonel. During his residence in Italy he had made the acquaintance of Lieutenant Forneri's grandfather, who was a Senator of Turin, and the *relatore* or registrar of the Senate, which was, it seems, clothed with judicial functions, and before which the Count's father had once appeared as a successful suitor.

It was to this trifling circumstance that Lieutenant Forneri owed his recent happy turn of good fortune. The Russian General-in-Chief had expressed a desire to meet Count De Medster's guest, and accordingly on the following morning Lieutenant Forneri accompanied his host, the general's aide-de-camp, to the spacious building which was then the Prince's headquarters. The general was

at breakfast, but the young officers were at once ushered into the breakfast room, where the lieutenant was presented to the Prince, a venerable, placid-looking old gentleman of medium height, pleasing manners, and charming address, who received him in a very kindly manner. Without rising the Prince bowed slightly, and at once put the young lieutenant at his ease by complacently pointing to two seats at the breakfast table. This invitation was politely declined by the lieutenant, who said he had already breakfasted. But his host would accept no excuses, and replied with the witty repartee: "*N'importe, on se vient toujours plus sevère sur deux pieds, que sur un seul!*"

Forneri's interview with the Prince was a lengthy and very agreeable one, in the course of which military topics were naturally uppermost. The old gentleman, who spoke excellent French, was intensely amused with the French officer's description of the polite thieveries of the Cossacks; but on being told that these thoroughbred freebooters were led by a French woman, he turned smilingly to his aide-de-camp, and said: "Colonel, as we are now entering France, you must take care of the lady's ambassador, or you are lost!" Before the interview closed, the Prince pressed him to enter the Russian service with the rank of captain, an offer which the French officer firmly but politely declined. He then offered to supply him with anything he

might require should he feel disposed to accompany the Russian forces into French territory. Lieutenant Forneri, however, begged to be permitted to return to his home in Piedmont, where he was sure his widowed mother, with whom he had had no communication for a long time, was anxiously awaiting tidings of his safety. The Prince said that he sympathised with him in this very natural feeling, and that he would see that his wishes were carried out; he then kindly dismissed him.

Count De Medster subsequently informed his friend that the Russian Commander-in-Chief had signed an order, which he was to take with him, giving directions to the Governor of the place for his immediate conveyance through the lines of the allied forces, with all the rights and privileges as to travelling indemnity, etc., of a captain in the Russian service—his sub-lieutenancy in the French Guards being considered equivalent to a captaincy in the Russian army. He was also provided with a complete and very comfortable outfit, which Cossack cupidity had rendered indispensable. Three days afterwards he bade adieu to his generous benefactor, who crowned all his kindness by thrusting into his hands at the last moment a purse of gold; and when Lieutenant Forneri begged him to say into what bank in Europe his mother, who was rich, might gratefully deposit the timely loan, his host merely replied: "We shall see each other in Turin,"

wished him a safe and speedy return home, and disappeared. The lieutenant never saw his friends again; but long years after, when he was narrating these tales of military life, his eye would fill and his lip quiver as he recounted the story of Russian hospitality in the old fortress town of Rastadt on the Murg.

It was on the morning of February 6, 1814, that Lieutenant Forneri left Rastadt on his journey homewards to Piedmont. The weather was delightful, although very cold; he travelled post-haste in an uncovered carriage drawn by two horses, and late at night reached Tübingen, a small university city in Würtemberg on the banks of the Neckar. Instead of presenting his passport—which would have entitled him to civic hospitality—to the Burgomaster of the place, he put up at his own expense at the first hotel he came to, one of those old-fashioned, thatch-covered inns which are still common in some parts of Germany.

Escapes Death by Fire

Changeful experiences had made Forneri a prudent traveller; he was wont to take his bearings in a strange place and, when turning in for the night, to place his worldly effects where he could readily secure them in case of an emergency. It was a fortunate thing for him that he did so in the quaint old hostelry at Tübingen, as, an hour or two after he

had retired, he was awakened from a sound slumber, half suffocated with smoke, to find that the hotel was in flames and burning fiercely. Hurrying on a few articles of clothing, he rushed to the stairway only to discover that egress in that direction was effectually cut off. His only remaining mode of escape was through his bedroom window. With great difficulty he forced it open, and pitching out his effects in a hastily made bundle, he leaped out after them through the blinding glare and smoke into the crowded street below. It was really "a leap in the dark," as it was very uncertain how or where he would land, but he fortunately made the descent without serious injury. The people of the house informed him that his escape was providential. A stranger and a late arrival, known only to the sleepy night watchman, his presence in the house was forgotten in the confusion of the affair. Moreover the flames had spread with such bewildering rapidity, owing to the utter want of means to cope with them, that a rescue from below would have been impossible. The building and nearly the whole of its contents were utterly destroyed, and several of the inmates besides himself barely escaped with their lives.

Forneri had managed to save his own goods, and was enabled the same day to continue his journey as far as Trent, a city in the southern Tyrol, and the seat of the famous Œcumenical Council to

which it has given its name. Here he met with a keen disappointment, for on presenting his passport to the Governor of the city, which he was bound to do in every case, he was informed by that functionary that his progress homewards would be greatly retarded on account of all the principal places on the line of route being in the hands of the French troops. Being determined, however, to press forward, and anxious, if he were delayed at all, that it should be on Italian soil, he got a *visa* to Treviso, a large and populous town in Austrian Italy under the government of Venice.

At Treviso was the depot of a regiment composed of the dregs of the regular army. On reporting himself to the Governor, and producing his traveling permit and other papers, Lieutenant Forneri was strongly urged to join this regiment, the Governor informing him that all Italian prisoners who had been paroled had patriotically entered its ranks without hesitation; and that, if he joined, he would be entitled to his full rank of captain. Forneri, who under any circumstances would have felt repelled by such a villainous-looking lot of renegades, was, of course, not disposed to entertain this very flattering offer. He explained that, having been originally a conscript in the French Guard, he was not a soldier by profession; that he had already declined a similar proposal to enter the Russian service; that he was the only son of a widowed mother who was

anxiously awaiting his return; but that, in any event, he must respect his parole as a French officer. The Governor's ideas of military honour were, however, very different. He straightway flew into a violent passion, insisted that his request should be complied with, and said that, if it were not, he would retain Lieutenant Forneri's passport, and send him to prison. The young officer replied that no doubt he had the power and authority to do that, but he would please notice that his passport was marked *alla posta*, and he would take good care that the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army should be duly informed how his commands had been obeyed. He then left the room, and coolly sauntered back to his hotel. The young officer's quiet reference to Prince Wittgenstein had the desired effect. About half an hour afterwards a messenger arrived from the irate governor, and wished to know where the lieutenant desired to go. He was told, and soon afterwards he returned with all the impounded papers, *visa* "good for Trieste."

Other Adventures by the Way

As speedy travelling now availed him little, Lieutenant Forneri remained over at his various stopping places—and there were several of which no mention is made here—as long as it suited him. His stay at Trieste, which was an interesting city, full of the life and movement of a busy commercial

port, was prolonged for over two months. One bright spring afternoon, as Forneri was rambling about in the suburbs of the city, he innocently wandered into the grounds of the military reserve in which were the powder magazine and other government stores. A sentry, who was on duty nearby, challenged the intruder in the usual way, but the latter, absorbed in his own thoughts, walked on unconsciously, until he was aroused by a powerful blow from the indignant sentry, which for the moment paralyzed his left arm. Turning round with an angry French exclamation, he dealt his assailant an equally heavy blow on the shoulder with his walking stick. The sentry at once charged him with his bayonet, which he parried; but, without waiting for a second thrust, the French officer put himself out of harm's way by leaping across a moat near which the encounter took place, leaving the baffled Austrian on the farther side.

Forneri hurried as quickly as possible to his lodgings, changed his clothes, and remained indoors the whole of the next day. But his French speech had betrayed him. The day following he was peremptorily summoned before the Governor of the city to answer for the offence. He appeared, as did also the insulted guardian of the reserve; but in his changed dress, which considerably altered his appearance, it was difficult for the prosecutor to identify him, and the accused was discharged from cus-

today. The Governor, who happened to be an Italian in the Austrian service, afterwards told him that he was pretty well satisfied of his guilt, particularly on account of the French expression he had used—there being no Frenchmen then in the city—but that he did not wish to press an investigation against a fellow countryman who had produced such excellent credentials. Insulting a sentry on duty was, he said, a very serious offence, and if he had pursued the enquiry and the defendant had been found guilty, the mildest punishment he could have awarded would have been that of the disgraceful *bastinado*. Lieutenant Forneri might well have felt thankful for being spared this brutal humiliation, which was not uncommon under the semi-barbarous military law of the time.

The *bastinado*, or beating with a stick, was at one time a potent governing instrument all over the East, and, under the penal code of the Ottoman Empire, was a punishment inflicted only on the lowest classes of the people. In China it took the form of the lithe bamboo, and in Russia of the dreaded knout. It was the Turkish and Persian method of beating with sticks the soles of the feet, and sometimes the back, that prevailed at the time referred to under the cruel martial law of Austrian Italy. The bare feet of the culprit were thrust through two running knots or nooses suspended from a horizontal pole that was sup-

ported by the myrmidons of the law. The sufferer was then thrown on his back, or left to rest on his neck and shoulders with his feet inverted, and these were lustily beaten with a good stout stick. The degree of punishment was in the discretion of the presiding magistrate, who alone directed when the poor maimed feet should be cast loose from the cords and pole, and the victim left to crawl away and heal his wounds as best he could. It is difficult to conceive of a refined and sensitive nature being subjected to such cruel torture. There is no doubt, however, that it was only avoided, as we have seen, by the merest accident in the case of the young French officer, who afterwards became a respected Canadian professor.

Lieutenant Forneri was fully aware of this when he quitted the presence of the lenient Governor of Trieste, and he accordingly lost no time in giving its keen-eyed Austrian sentinels a wide berth. He left Trieste the same day, and in due course arrived at Padua. But classic old Padua—which under other circumstances would have been replete with fascinating interest, which was the birthplace of Livy, the seat of a University that at one time numbered its students by thousands, a city of beautiful edifices, rich and splendid in their interior decorations and works of art, and that presented numberless attractions to a cultured mind—had then no charms for one who, weary of wandering, pined for

the simple delights of home. He pushed on through Austrian Italy to Vicenza, where he arrived in time to witness the demonstrations with which the Austrian Government were pleased to celebrate the capitulation of Paris, and the triumphant entry within its walls of the victorious army of the Allies. A few weeks later all the places on the line of route, which were in the hands of the French, surrendered, and the passes to the north were reopened. His course was now clear, and it was with a joyous heart that he continued his journey uninterruptedly to his Piedmont home, where he arrived in July, and once more embraced his disconsolate mother and sisters after an absence of more than two years, which to them had been years of the most painful anxiety and suspense.

Settled down, as he now thought, permanently amongst old friends and comrades, and surrounded by the bright and tender associations of domestic life, the future appeared to him unclouded and full of hope and promise. He resumed the active practice of his profession, and in course of time formed a lucrative partnership with the Advocate Grecchi, a distinguished lawyer and one of the best special pleaders at the Bar of Turin. Their business prospered, and was rapidly attaining large proportions, when a series of startling events occurred which gave a new and sudden turn to their affairs, and determined, once for all, that fate had in store for the

young lawyer another and very different career than that of the Bar.

Beginnings of Struggle for Italian Unity

The events referred to were more or less the result of the great French convulsion of 1789, whose malign influence seemed to overshadow James Forneri's early life, and control his destiny. The Revolution was without doubt an embodiment of all the worst passions of the time, but, great and far-reaching as were the evils, they were not unmixed with good. In Italy, especially, they stimulated patriotic feeling and inspired the minds of the Italian youth with ideas of liberty and independence. Under the Napoleonic *régime* the impatient impulsive spirits of the peninsula had been either restrained by force or beguiled by flattering promises. The restoration of the Bourbons, and the re-establishment of that dynasty in Naples, had revived the hope that, taught by the sad experience of the past, the rulers of their country would satisfy, in some measure, the longings of the nation for constitutional government. The hope proved delusive, and its disappointed votaries betook themselves to those resources which are the natural refuge of the weak against the strong, of the oppressed against oppression. The beautiful peninsula became a perfect hotbed of treason and conspiracy, fomented in all directions by the Carbonari and other secret revolutionary societies,

which, for many years thereafter, in the Italy of "Lothair" and Garibaldi, as well as of Pepe, exercised so important an influence upon its destinies. The objects of these societies were well known, and were in no respect disguised. Their ultimate aim was the unity of Italy under one constitutional sovereign, elected by the people, with Rome as the capital of the kingdom, and, to this end, they sought the expulsion of the Austrians, the abolition of the temporal power of the Pope, and the overthrow of absolutism everywhere. So perfect was their organization, and so complete their ramifications throughout the country, that, despite the repressive measures of the Government and the activity and vigilance of its myrmidons, no important discoveries were made until the year 1820, when, through the imprudence or treachery of a Neapolitan confederate, the dread secret was traced to a southern regiment. The result was that the revolution burst forth in the South six months before the North was prepared for it, thereby causing the ultimate miscarriage of the whole design.

James Forneri was a Liberal at heart, and, believing the objects of the movement to be eminently just and patriotic, he did not hesitate to cast in his lot with the Liberal or Constitutional party. He was confirmed in his resolution by the fact that the recognized leader of the Constitutionals was Charles Albert, better known as the Prince of Carignan,

the great-grandfather of the present King of Italy and in the line of succession to the crown of Sardinia, and that they comprised in their ranks the flower of the Italian youth, and a large and influential section of the nobility and gentry of the country. The inhabitants of Piedmont, whose martial spirit had been stimulated by the long service of its troops with the armies of France, were quick to share in the universal feeling, and sturdy in maintaining it. The officers of the army, the ardent and enthusiastic, the educated and cultured classes of the people, as well as the intelligence and patriotism of the little State, were all alike enlisted on the side of free, representative institutions. Piedmont was a unit in the cause. The example of Spain, whose government had been revolutionized almost without bloodshed, added fuel to the flames. It was, in fact, a period of deep and far-reaching change amidst European thrones and sceptres, a time when "Europe was slipping from beneath the monarchies," and when, as it has been eloquently said, "all the ancient institutions were being sapped in all the south of the continent by new ideas and influences; when they felt themselves penetrated in their inmost veins by that passion for a renewal of things, that pouring of youthful blood into them, that participation of the people in the government, which is the soul of modern times. Entire peoples, who had slept for centuries in their fetters, gave symptoms

of returning life, and, even on the confines of Asia, hoisted the signal of the resurrection of nations. Revolutionary Italy blushed for its timidity in presence of a nation which, like the Spanish, had achieved at the first step the realization of all the visions of the philosophy of 1789, which had established freedom of worship in the realm of the Inquisition, vindicated the land from the priesthood in a state of monastic supremacy, and dethroned kings in a nation where absolute royalty was a dogma and kings a faith." We can scarce wonder that a youth possessed of the ardent temperament, and quick, impulsive, and passionate nature of James Forneri, was completely carried away with such a movement. He was carried away with it. In an evil hour for himself he became a member of the central society of the Carbonari, who held their vendita or meetings in Turin and its environs, and, as long as he remained in the city, took an active and prominent part in all their revolutionary proceedings.

Shares in Misfortunes of Movement

We need scarce do more than indicate the causes of the complete collapse of this ill-starred movement. Its object was a worthy and a practicable one. It had filled the Italian mind, had been the dream of its poets, the aspiration of its patriots, and had sought to terminate a servitude which clung to

Italy conquering or conquered (*vincitrice o vinta sempre asserva*). But it was a premature movement, and was ruined by the faithlessness of its own friends. History has long since pronounced upon the treachery of Ferdinand IV, King of Naples, and that of his son and the Prince of Carignan, all of whom betrayed and deserted the cause which they had publicly and solemnly sworn to maintain. Its verdict has been no less severe upon the poltroonery of the Neapolitan National Guard of 200,000 men, well armed and disciplined, who permitted a few thousand Austrian soldiers to enter their capital without firing a single shot in defence of their country. It was on the morning of April 9, 1821, that news reached Turin that Prince Carignan had gone over to the enemy; that the Austrian forces had crossed the Ticino, defeated the Constitutionalists at Novara, and were rapidly marching upon the capital of Piedmont; that the fortress of Alessandria had surrendered; and that, in a word, all was lost. This intelligence came like a bolt from an unclouded sky; it struck consternation and dismay into the hearts of the patriotic Turinese; *sauve qui peut* was the predominant feeling of all who were compromised in these unfortunate events.

The young advocate heard the dread news on his return from the Senate, and took in at a glance the imminent perils of his position. He was an officer

in the *Veliti Italiani*, a students' volunteer corps under the command of Captain Ferrero, which, on March 13 previous, at the little church of San Salvano, near Turin, were the first to hoist the Italian tri-colour with cries of "*Viva la Costituzione!*" He had subsequently taken part in an insurgent attack on the citadel of that city, and had made and published a series of speeches and addresses against the ruling despotism and in favour of legislative and constitutional reforms; above all, he was a leading member of the *Carbonari*, the principal instigators of revolt, and the declared enemies of the now victorious party. The evidence of his guilt was overwhelming, and, if he were arrested, nothing was more certain than that he would be marked out for despotic vengeance, and be made to suffer the extreme penalty of the law. Immediate flight from Turin was plainly the only course open to him. Having consulted with Captain Ferrero, and some others equally compromised, it was resolved to assemble the students, frankly lay before them the dangers of the situation, and induce them to set out for the fortress town of Genoa, where, perhaps, a stand could yet be made, if they were supported by the garrison and the people, and, failing that, to embark for Spain, which was then a land of liberty. The *Veliti Italiani* at once accepted the proposals of their leaders. The young lawyer hastened home, and bade farewell—a long and last farewell as we

shall see—to his mother and sisters, who, ignorant of the part he had been taking in the revolution, were not informed of the real cause of his sudden departure. Before three o'clock in the afternoon, he and his companions in exile were marching away with heavy hearts from their Turinese homes, which many of them were destined never to see again. They followed the main road for a considerable distance, but fearing pursuit by the Austrian cavalry took to the mountain paths, and finally arrived at Genoa after a ten days' toilsome and harassing march.

Their reception by the Genoese was anything but reassuring. The Liberals, both civil and military, disheartened at the treachery of Prince Carignan and the defeat at Novara, dared not make any demonstration in their favour, while admittance into the city was refused them by the Governor, who had just received an order to that effect from Charles Felix, the new King of Sardinia, in whose favour his brother Victor Emanuel had abdicated. The Governor had, however, been instructed to give passports to all student volunteers who might wish to quit Italy for any foreign country, but their officers were expressly excepted. This piece of intelligence was sufficiently alarming to the four young officers of the *Veliti*, placed, as they were, with a price upon their heads, between their vengeful pursuers and the deep sea. In the midst of their perplexity, a

deputation from the National Guard arrived to inform them that, although the Governor could not give them passports, yet, in the absence of more stringent orders, he would not oppose their departure on shipboard. The truth was that the inhabitants of Genoa had compelled this concession. Long accustomed as they had been to civil and religious freedom, they had from the outset strongly sympathized with the Constitutional party, and, upon hearing of its recent reverses, had fitted out and provisioned several merchant ships for the purpose of assisting Liberal fugitives to leave the country. The arrival of Captain Ferrero's command had given them an opportunity of apprising the Governor of this design, and the latter had been forced to accede to it under the threat of a general rising.

Exiled from Italy—Sails for Spain

With such a lucky means of escape open to them, Forneri and his brother officers were not long in deciding upon their plans of action. Their compatriots were called together, and one and all resolved to embark for Spain. On April 21 they set sail for Barcelona; their passage over the Mediterranean was retarded by head winds and rough seas, and it was not until the 25th of the following month that they anchored in the roadstead of that ancient Spanish city. Barcelona has been felicitously described as a "city of commerce, con-

quest and courtiers, of taste, learning and luxury—the Athens of the troubadour.” At the time referred to the inhabitants were enthusiastic over their recent political enfranchisement. The cause of the exiled band, the stormy petrels of Italian revolution, was hailed as their own, and they received them with much cordiality and kindness. On the free soil of Spain the movements of the fugitives were no longer restrained. Quite a number proceeded to America, others sought refuge in England, but by far the greatest number remained where they were, anxiously awaiting developments at home, and ready to assist, if chance offered, in any favourable turn of affairs, either in Piedmont or elsewhere in the peninsula. They wearily watched in vain, for, although another rising of the Carbonari was attempted in 1831, it added nothing to Italian liberty except the lives and fortunes of its victims. Meanwhile the number of refugees in Spain was largely augmented from every quarter of Europe, and in 1822 those with whom our narrative deals found themselves grouped together in Catalonia more than 2,000 strong, the representatives of every State in Italy, and comprising in their ranks General Pepe and many other distinguished officers who had been forced to leave their native land on account of their share in her revolutionary struggles.

An Officer in the Spanish Service

But the cause of liberty is one and the same everywhere, and, if the Piedmontese students and their brothers in exile could not uphold it where it was most dear to them, there was nothing to prevent them defending it on behalf of a once gallant people who had offered them an asylum against oppression. Ferdinand VII, of execrable memory, father of the late Queen Isabella II, was then upon the throne of Spain, and, although solemnly pledged to protect and maintain the constitution of the Cortes of Cadiz of 1812, he was secretly in league with its enemies, and plotting with them to overturn and destroy it. Spain was on the verge of anarchy, and bands of guerrillas were rising up everywhere crying "*Viva el Rey!*" "*Abajo la Constitution!*" "Long live the King!" "Down with the Constitution!" The Italian exiles were naturally in sympathy with the upholders of the free constitution, and they evinced their feelings in a very practical way. They promptly offered their services to the Government, were accepted, and, forming themselves into a rifle corps called *Cacciatori Italiani*, took the field on the side of the Constitutional party.

Forneri held the rank of captain in this corps, which was composed of picked men, all of whom had at one time or another seen active service. But

the irregular service for which they had now volunteered was very different from anything they had yet experienced. It was embittered by religious passions, and had infused into it by the reactionary party all the relentless cruelties of both a civil and a religious war. One of the first acts of the Government had been to abolish the infamous Inquisition and suppress the Jesuits. This was followed up by a measure to replenish an exhausted exchequer by decreeing the confiscation and sale of the immense possessions of the monastic and religious orders. The immediate consequences of such an act of wholesale spoliation may be easily imagined. The standard of St. Peter was instantly unfurled; the private interests of the powerful priest party in the State were at once identified with the interest of the Church, and the cry of "religion in danger" was raised everywhere. Amongst the Spanish peasantry the "fiery cross" was sent round with electrical effect, and it was with these hardy mountaineers—the fanatical peasants of Catalonia and Castile, well armed, thoroughly acquainted with the country, and led by bold, intelligent, and fearless guerrilla chiefs—that the Italian volunteers were forthwith confronted. They met them daily in their mountain fastnesses; much blood was spilt and many lives were lost, and although the *Cacciatori Italiani* fought bravely, and were seldom if ever worsted, they suffered extreme hardship and priva-

tion, were never masters except of their daily battle ground, and achieved little in the way of suppressing the general rebellion. Thus the conflict went on in different parts of the country during several long dreary months, till, in the early part of 1823, Spain, from one end to the other, was distracted with a murderous civil war which the Government was utterly powerless to quell.

Under these circumstances, with the reactionary party striving to revive absolutism and the ultra Liberals to introduce a republic, a congress of sovereigns at Verona determined to reinstate the King in the position which he held before the Revolution of 1820. The execution of their design was entrusted to Louis XVIII of France, and on April 6, 1823, 100,000 French troops, under the command of the Duc d'Angoulême, who took the title of Pacificator, entered Spain, marched through the country to Cadiz, whither the Cortes had forcibly conveyed the King, overturned the existing constitution, and re-established absolutism. Meanwhile, as the name *Cacciatori Italiani* (Italian sharpshooters) was changed by the government into that of *Legione Stranière* (Foreign Legion), in which volunteers of all nations were enrolled, many Italians left the Spanish service altogether, while others attached themselves to regular Spanish regiments.

Campaign in the Peninsula

Forneri had by this time evidently acquired a taste for military life; at all events he decided to risk a soldier's fortunes, such as they were in those perilous times in the peninsula. He entered, with the rank of captain, the 8th Regiment of Light Cavalry, called De la Constitution, on account of its having been the first to raise the standard of revolt with General Riego in January, 1820, in the Isle of Leon. It was the favourite regiment of Riego, who was himself the idol of the Spanish Liberal party. The 8th Regiment was at that time divided and quartered in two different places, part being with Riego near Madrid, and the remainder at Lerida, an old fortified town in Catalonia. Captain Forneri joined it there in September, 1823.

It so happened that Lerida was at the time greatly in need of supplies, and a few days after the young officer's arrival the governor ordered 500 troopers, including the squadron of the 8th Light Cavalry to which he was attached, to go on an expedition to Fraga, a town in Saragossa near the frontier of Aragon, and seize a quantity of army stores which had been collected there by the enemy. The place was believed to be seven hours distant from Lerida in the saddle. The enterprise was a very important one, and depended for its success on secrecy, daring, and speed, in order that the garrison of Fraga

might be taken unawares, and have no time to procure assistance or relief from the army of Baron d'Erroles, which, under the name of "Soldiers of the Faith," was then hovering near the frontier line. The dragoons set out at ten o'clock at night, fully expecting to surprise the enemy at five next morning, and, after carrying off the much-coveted booty, to be met on their return by a large body of infantry, which was to follow up and reinforce them. Unfortunately, heavy rains fell during the night, and a great deal of time was lost in looking for safe fording places across streams, which had they not been swollen into torrents would have been easily passed. Instead of arriving at Fraga at the hour expected (5 a. m.), they did not reach there till the afternoon. The garrison had abandoned the town, and no resistance was offered; but, as they very soon discovered, this was only a device to entrap them. They speedily collected all the provisions and other supplies which they could carry with them, and were fairly on their return march when they perceived that their movements had been watched and effectually circumvented. All the passes by which they could re-enter Catalonia had been occupied by the troops of Baron d'Erroles and the Marquis of Mettaflorida, supported by a motley force of several hundred monks, peasants, smugglers, and others, irregularly armed and disciplined, which had been gathered un-

der his semi-crusading flag by Antonio Mara \tilde{n} on, the famous Trappist chieftain.

This horde of religious enthusiasts, which Mara \tilde{n} on was wont to lead into action waving a crucifix in his hand, hovered around the little cavalry force like a cloud of evil demons, intent on their victims' destruction. The horsemen were pretty much at their mercy; the Trappist leader seized every available point to harass them, but was wily enough not to risk a conflict in the open plain; and if the guerrillas had been as good marksmen as they were daring and agile, not a trooper would have been left to tell the tale. The dangers of the situation were increased by the fact that the city of Pampeluna, which was held by the Constitutionals, had surrendered, and the 12,000 French troops who had been investing it were left free to complete the hostile circle. The cavalrymen were in fact hemmed in on all sides. In this desperate plight they wandered about for a period of eight days, vainly endeavouring to find an opening into Catalonia, or to effect a junction with Riego, or the Liberal forces of New Castile. Tired at last of marching and countermarching, worn out with fatigue and privation, and tortured with sleepless watchfulness against ever present danger, they sullenly resolved to cut their way through the enemy or perish in the attempt. Well knowing the barbarous cruelties of the "Soldiers of the Faith," they determined to en-

gage the French, although their chances of success in the latter case were infinitely worse, owing to the much greater disparity in numbers. They selected their own ground, a great plain surrounded at a considerable distance by mountains, and intersected by ravines, which afforded a fair field for cavalry manœuvres. There, secure from the guerillas, who did not dare to advance into the open ground, the badgered squadrons drew rein, and calmly awaited the approach of the enemy.

Wounded and a Prisoner

They had not to wait long. About seven o'clock in the morning of October 8, 1823, a large body of lancers, well flanked by infantry supports, were seen advancing across the plain, their pennons flying, and their bright weapons glittering in the rays of the early sunlight. The horsemen of Lerida, with their sabres drawn, trotted forward to meet them. When a sufficient distance had been thus covered, the trumpet sounded the charge; the next minute the gallant little band were engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle for life and liberty. The impetuous onset of the Leridise had, however, been irresistible. The Frenchmen for a time fought desperately, but soon wavered, and finally fell back in confusion behind their infantry supports.

In the pursuit which followed this repulse, the infantry opened fire. Captain Forneri, who was

riding his charger in the second rank somewhat ahead of his men, was slightly wounded with a musket ball; his horse, "Moschito," which was very badly wounded, managed to clear the first ravine he came to, but, on trying to leap the second, stumbled and fell into it with his hapless rider partially under him. From that moment the young officer was a stranger to the hot engagement which followed. Wounded and pinned to the ground by the weight of a disabled charger, his position was rendered doubly perilous by a number of the rear rank horses falling over his own and plunging about in helpless agony. How long he lay there he could not tell; minutes seemed hours at such a time. He saw nothing save the dark wreaths of musketry smoke which hung like a pall over the plain where his gallant comrades were fast falling; but he heard all the thrilling sounds of a battle-field, the heavy trampling of the contending squadrons, the clashing of sabres, the pistol shots of the troopers, the curses of infuriated combatants, the roll of the musketry, the sharp cries of the wounded, the moans of the dying. All at once there was a momentary stillness which was broken by the shrill notes of a bugle, and the beating of drums at a distance. These announced that the fight was over and the combat at an end.

Not long after Captain Forneri found himself dragged out from amongst the fallen troop horses,

and a prisoner in the hands of the French advance guard. The engagement, as he soon discovered, had been a disastrous one on both sides. The French, although far outnumbering their antagonists, had suffered severely; the Spaniards had been almost cut to pieces. Out of the five hundred troopers who had left Lerida some ten days before, not one re-entered that place; three hundred brave fellows lay dead upon the field; one hundred more, nearly every man of whom was wounded, were prisoners of war, while the remainder, who had succeeded in cutting their way through the French lines, had fallen into the merciless clutches of the "Soldiers of the Faith," and were all butchered in cold blood.

Among the prisoners were nine officers, four Spaniards and five Italians, including the commanding officer of the little force, Colonel San Miguel, who was very seriously wounded, having received four sabre cuts upon his head and seven lance thrusts in his body. Strange to say, he survived them all, and was afterwards enabled to proceed to France with his brother officers. This engagement took place at a small village adjacent to Saragossa, the capital of Aragon, where the prisoners were conveyed on the following day. In that city and neighbourhood the fanaticism of the people had been roused to the highest pitch against the Liberals and their military supporters. General Reno, of the second army corps, who was in com-

mand there, was well aware of this, and, to guard against any outburst of popular vengeance, he had most of the prisoners, Captain Forneri being of the number, lodged in the castle of the city. Don Miguel and the rest of the badly wounded were taken to the French military hospital, where they were well cared for. This was on October 11, and on December 18 following, when the army quartered in that district was ordered to re-enter France, the non-commissioned officers and soldiers amongst the prisoners were paroled and set at liberty, while the officers, who had all along been kept securely in the castle of Saragossa, were conveyed into French territory along with the regular troops.

During their march the Liberal officers were extremely well treated by the Frenchmen. They dined every day with General Reno and his staff, were well lodged on their journey, and protected from insult and injury; indeed, if more than ordinary precautions had not been taken for this purpose, they would time and again have fallen victims to the fanatical rage of the peasants and the diabolical plots of the infuriated monks. On February 3, 1824, the army arrived at Bayonne, where, after a few days' rest, the prisoners were sent in charge of a French guard to Agen, the chief town in the department Lot-et-Garonne, and the place which had been assigned them for their residence as prisoners of war until further orders. At

Agen there was no need for the strict surveillance under which they had previously been kept, and their personal liberty was much less restrained. They had the freedom of the town, but were obliged every day at noon to enter their names in a prisoners' registry-book at the prefecture. They were forbidden to attend the theatres or other public places of amusement without permission, but were otherwise treated with all the consideration which could be expected under the circumstances.

Reaches England as a Political Refugee

Captain Forneri's enforced stay in the little French town on the banks of the Garonne was prolonged for over two months. But at last, about the end of April, a conditional order was issued from the French headquarters for a general dissolution of the depots of prisoners. The condition was that none of those released should take up their residence either in France or Switzerland. The prisoners at Agen, who had been recruited from time to time, were soon dispersed. Some asked and obtained passports to America; others, who were less compromised by the events in the peninsula, returned to Spain, whilst a few, Captain Forneri amongst the rest, determined to seek the protection which the British flag then, as now, afforded political refugees from every quarter of the globe. There were several reasons which induced the ex-

officer of dragoons to select England as an asylum at that particular time. His military career was at an end, and the Continent was in such a disturbed state that, except beyond the broad Atlantic, he felt that on English ground alone he could be safe. But he was still cherishing the hope that there would be a reaction in favour of the cause for which he had perilled his life and fortune; and, should such a reaction set in, he wished to be near at hand. He was, too, very anxious to hear from those who were dear to him in his old Italian home, and of whom he had received no tidings since the bright spring day in April, 1821, when he bade them a sorrowful adieu. He had in the interval written his mother and sisters repeatedly, and had studiously refrained from giving any political information, but, as he afterwards learned, his letters had been intercepted by the orders of the Government, and not the smallest scrap of intelligence had been received about him at Racconigi. If he placed the wide Atlantic between them, the difficulties of communication with his relatives would be immeasurably increased.

On April 28, 1824, therefore, Captain Forneri asked for a passport to London, intending on his way there to pass through Paris, where he hoped to find some means of corresponding with his family, and at the same time of recruiting his finances, which were all but exhausted. Instead of a passport, the Governor of Agen handed him a

permettre de route, in which were indicated all the places through which he must pass, and from which he could not depart on pain of arrest and imprisonment. Making a virtue of necessity, and subsisting, for the time being, as well as he could on the Government's allowance to him as a paroled prisoner of war, journeying partly on foot and partly by the old-fashioned French diligences of the time, he made his way safely to Calais, where he arrived on May 26, 1824.

His journey inland to the sea was not devoid of interest and pleasure. In almost every town and village on his line of route he met with sympathizers in the cause in which he had suffered, who entertained him at their hospitable homes, and showed him great kindness. The simple-minded peasants and freedom-loving burghers of France could not understand how a constitutional king like Louis XVIII had been induced to send an invading army into Spain to destroy its free institutions, and how French soldiers, who had fought the battles of the Republic and were the remains of the battalions of Austerlitz and Marengo, had volunteered to reimpose upon a heroic nation the yoke of a despotic king and a government of monkish fanaticism. They forgot that after all the constitution of Cadiz left only the shadow of royalty—that it was in reality only a Republic masked by a throne.

The revolutions, which had been restrained else-

where, and were triumphant and exasperated in Spain, had reacted with terrible effect on the press, the tribune, the youth, and the army of France. Spain was rapidly becoming republicanized, and a republic proclaimed on the other side of the Pyrenees would have been a death-blow to the Bourbons in France. Louis XVIII, with the plausible plea of pacification, was forced to "conquer or die" on Spanish soil, and, as the Liberal Lamartine has truly said: "Who can blame him for not having consented to die?"

Having reached Calais amidst so many manifestations of French sympathy and regard, Forneri vainly hoped that no further ill luck would attend him. But he was mistaken. Before leaving Agen, and afterwards in Orleans and other places through which he was obliged to pass, he had received from Liberal friends a number of valuable letters of introduction to persons of high standing and influence in England. These letters recommended him in the warmest terms as worthy of their good offices. They contained nothing political, and nothing that could cast the slightest suspicion on the character or intentions of their grateful custodian; but, notwithstanding this, he was compelled to deliver them up to the Commissioner of Peace at Calais soon after his arrival. That official informed him that he had special orders to impound all such documents and forward them to the Government, but

that they would be returned to him on his calling for them at the French Embassy in London. He never saw them again. To make matters worse, he had not been permitted by the police agent to take the names and addresses of the writers, or of the persons to whom the letters were directed, and, never having anticipated such a mishap, he had never thought of providing against it. Thus it happened that, on May 27, 1824, he arrived in London at night, with five shillings in his pocket, a stranger and refugee, driven from home and country, without a single line to ensure a favour, and without a friend.

Penniless in London—Dr. Bowring a Friend in Need

On the following morning, as he was on his way to the British Foreign Office, where every foreigner on arrival was required to register his name, he was accosted by a gentleman who, apparently struck by his appearance, politely asked him whether he was a Spaniard. The question was a very natural one, and, impressed with his interrogator's kindly tone and manner, Mr. Forneri at once replied that he had just come from Spain, although he was not a Spaniard, but an Italian, and inquired, in return, whether the gentleman could direct him where he would be likely to find any of his expatriated fellow countrymen. The gentleman

told him he could, and, after accompanying him to the Foreign Office, he brought him to a coffee house near Leicester Square, which was a rendezvous for Italians then in London, and where they were accustomed to meet every evening to discuss foreign politics, a burning question at that time, especially amongst exiles from the Continent. Here Mr. Forneri was cheered beyond measure to receive a warm welcome from many of his old military friends, including several who had held commands in Italy, and who had passed thence to England without visiting Spain. These gentlemen had acquired a fair knowledge of the English language, had formed quite a circle of English acquaintances and friends, and were therefore in a position to render their unfortunate fellow-countryman immediate and very material service. Having generously supplied all his present wants—he had literally not a farthing in the world—and having ascertained that he would accept employment as a teacher if he could get it, they introduced him to John Bowring, LL.D., afterwards Sir John Bowring, a celebrated politician, linguist, and author, who was a staunch friend of the little band of Italian exiles who were then residing in London.

As Dr. Bowring's kind influence on behalf of the destitute scholar was of timely service, both then and thereafter, a few facts regarding him may not

be out of place here. He was a descendant of old Puritans, and was born at Exeter in 1792. He devoted himself at an early age to the study of languages, and displayed an unusual degree of talent in their acquisition, rendering great service to literature by collecting and translating the more ancient and more modern popular poems of almost all the countries in Europe. He was an intimate associate of Jeremy Bentham, and edited his collected works; he was also one of the first editors of the *Westminster Review*, subsequently travelled over a great part of Europe, and visited Asia and Africa, on a commission from the British Government, to inquire into the commercial relations of certain States, and published a number of valuable reports on the subject of his mission. His letters from Holland, which were afterwards translated into the Dutch language, procured for him his degree of LL.D. from the University of Gröningen. He was a member of the House of Commons for several years, and was afterwards knighted and appointed governor of Hong Kong. In this capacity he precipitated a ministerial crisis in England by ordering, of his own accord, an attack on some Chinese forts, on account of an insult offered a Chinese vessel said to have been under the protection of the British flag. He lived to render valuable public service thereafter, and died in 1872.

Teacher of Italian in a Private School

It was this talented and influential gentleman, who was at the time conducting the old *Westminster*, that Dr. Forneri—for so he was thenceforward called—was fortunate enough to meet in his adversity, and interest in his fortunes. The kind-hearted Englishman secured him immediate employment. He gave Dr. Forneri an excellent letter of introduction to an Episcopal clergyman who was the Principal of a large private school about four miles from London. On presenting this letter, the happy bearer was at once engaged at a fair salary as a teacher of Italian. And thus he found himself, at the age of thirty-five, launched, by stress of circumstances, on a career to which he had never aspired, for which he had no special training, but which proved to be the sheet anchor of his stormy life, and the profession to which his energies and his talents were to be devoted with remarkable success for nearly half a century thereafter.

The first and great difficulty which beset the future teacher in his necessitous vocation was its very novelty, and the stern demands which this imposed. He had long since ceased to be a student except of the human nature that is to be found in the rough world of action and its strange vicissitudes. He had tried with books and varied reading to kill weary time, and drown painful memories, in the

prison houses of France and Spain; but the schools of politics, of revolutionary intrigue and struggle, of the camp, the bivouac and battlefield, are, except as schools of adversity in which all men learn something, not the training schools out of which to turn the patient, plodding teacher and the studious and laborious professor. His acquaintance, moreover, with the language of his new charges was very limited. All this he felt as he faced, not without many misgivings, the first pupils that were to pass under his hand. But he was a man of great application and wonderful perseverance, and he straightway set about his self-imposed task with cheerful confidence. Having secured comfortable lodgings in the quiet suburb of Paddington, he became a student again, applying himself with systematic energy to the mastery, as far as possible, of the language of his adopted country. He procured a copy of Cobbett's "Grammar," designed to teach Frenchmen English, Roget's "French and English Dictionary and Exercises," and Voltaire's "History of Charles XII of Sweden" for the purpose of translation; and, thus equipped for the time being, he retired to his study and never left it, except for his necessary duties, until he had acquired a passable knowledge of our English mother tongue. This self-mastery and devotion to the task that opportunity had provided developed into habits of study and work which became permanent.

Clandestine Correspondence—Property Confiscated

Meanwhile anxious thoughts of the home from which Forneri was banished were ever in his mind, and the conflicting reports of what had passed in Piedmont during his absence had only increased his anxiety. What would the unhappy exile not have given for a free, unrestrained ramble in the chestnut woods of Racconigi? He resolved to communicate with Turin at all hazards, and having been introduced by a military friend to a Mr. Obiconi, an Italian merchant in London, that gentleman kindly offered to assist him in his object. Mr. Obiconi had a confidential correspondent in Genoa, and, by the latter's intervention, a letter from Forneri was smuggled into the hands of his mother at Turin. After many months of anxious expectancy he received, with joyful emotions, the long wished for missive, a letter with the address in his mother's handwriting, which at once told him that she was still living, and, in all probability, well. Upon breaking the seal, he found enclosed a draft for £200. Gold would have gladdened his heart many a time before, but it was now felt to be of small value compared with the welcome news accompanying it of the home and country from which the courage of his political convictions had apparently ostracized him forever.

His mother's letter informed him that she had

received none of his letters except the last one from England, and this had been conveyed to her three months after its date in a mysterious manner, accompanied by an anonymous note telling her to have her answer ready within three weeks, when a stranger would call for it, but that, owing to the strict surveillance of the secret police and their agents, she must on no account communicate her receipt of it to any person about her, as her personal safety might be jeopardized. She had never written him because she had no idea where he was, and had only gleaned from the newspapers that a large body of Italian students had taken refuge in Spain, and that she supposed he must be of the number. She also told him that the day after he left Turin the police had visited and searched her residence and his office, and had seized, sealed, and carried away all his letters, papers, and account books; that, by the orders of the Government, she had been obliged to send to the office of the Minister of Justice a copy of her father's last will and testament, and of her own marriage settlement, and to furnish full particulars in regard to her surviving children; that his (F.'s) property, present and expectant, had been confiscated, that his name was on the list of those who were to be tried for high treason, but that the trials had been temporarily suspended by order of the King. His elder sister, he was informed, had died about a year after he left

Italy; his second sister had married a well-known barrister of Mondovi, while the youngest was inclined to a monastic life, but had resolved to remain with her mother as long as she lived. After giving him some further news about other relatives and old friends, and entreating him to write to her often, as she had no means of communicating with him, the letter concluded with many home blessings and a prayer that he would never forsake the holy Church in whose communion he was born and reared.

Much as he loved his mother—and circumstances had made the tie of affection between them a peculiarly tender one—this last maternal injunction had, we fear, but a temporary effect upon the mind and heart of one whose life had been spent remote from home and its encircling religious influences. What would have been his religious creed had these influences been constantly thrown around him, we shall not attempt to conjecture. At no time had he been strongly attached to the church of his fathers, and, as he grew up in manhood, its early power over his mind and feelings drooped and faded. Forneri lived many years after the receipt of the message referred to; he lived a useful, benevolent, and Christian life, but he lived a Protestant from conviction, and died, in mature old age, a member of the communion of the Anglican Church.

The clandestine, and therefore difficult, means of

communicating with Italy which he was now forced to adopt could not be expected to continue; in fact, he received only two more letters from his mother, and then their correspondence ceased forever. The storm of the Carbonari Revolution of 1820-21 had not subsided in 1826, and the system of espionage was still vigilant and in active operation in every part of Italy. Mr. Parodi, the Genoese correspondent of Messrs. Obiconi & Co., began to be suspected by the lynx-eyed minions of the law of being a medium of intelligence between Forneri and his relatives, and the members of the English house were warned by the British Government, on the complaint of the Austrian Ambassador in London, that they must cease to meddle in the affairs of the Italian refugees on pain of a criminal prosecution. In consequence of this significant threat, Forneri and several of his countrymen were deprived of the generous services of their London allies. They were thenceforward entirely cut off from all intercourse with their friends and relatives in Italy, and knew nothing of what was passing in their fatherland beyond the little they could glean from the newspapers of the day.

Death of His Mother—A Fortune Forfeited

One other letter, however, was received by Forneri from Italy during this period of uncertainty and suspense. It was written by a cousin of his,

Madame Casbetti, the wife of the Director-General of the Royal Archives of Sardinia, who, we presume, by virtue of his influential position under the Sardinian Government, must have been able to transmit the message without difficulty to its recipient. This letter, which was dated at Turin on August 23, 1829, was posted in London; it contained very melancholy intelligence: Forneri's mother, after a lingering illness, had died of a dropsical complaint on June 13 previous. Her last moments were cheered by the solacing presence of all who were dear to her except that of the long absent son, to whom her heart, as she drew near her end, seemed to go out with even a stronger yearning. She spoke of him very often with tender endearment, and the expression of his name was the last which passed from her dying lips.

Signora Forneri had met with heavy pecuniary losses in the early years of her widowhood, but a great deal of her property had afterwards turned out productive. She lived a quiet and retired life, and died possessed of considerable wealth. This is manifest from the fact that to her two daughters she bequeathed £5,000 each, to her two old domestic servants a liberal provision for life, to friends and distant relatives legacies of more or less value, and to her son, James Forneri, the residue of her estate, which amounted to a very large sum. This residue, so far as the effectuation of the intentions of the

testatrix was concerned, might as well have been weighted with a millstone and cast into the depths of the Adriatic. Had the object of her maternal bounty ever been able to possess it, he would have enjoyed a handsome competence for life, but it was confiscated by the Government, and, for reasons already indicated, became escheated to the Crown.

The executors of his mother's last will and testament were, as Forneri learned, George Graccone, an Italian barrister and Chief Justice of Moncalieri, a large town on the Po, five miles above Turin, and a Dr. Cugna, who was a cousin of Forneri and a physician then practising in Mondovi. The former was an uncle of Forneri by marriage, being the husband of his mother's only sister, and was the father, by that union, of Luigi Graccone, who was for many years private secretary to the Governor of Piedmont. Some time after Forneri came to Toronto and entered upon his duties of Professor in the College, he opened a correspondence with Luigi Graccone with the view, as far as we can learn, of obtaining from the Italian Government some compensation for the forfeiture of his fortune. Italy was then verging on a state of national transition; the long night of tyranny was passing away, and the streaks of a bright dawn were just appearing. But the ravages of time and change, throughout the Italian peninsula, were all adverse to the faintest trace of the possessory ownership

of estates that had been swallowed up in the maelstrom of revolution. The decrees of despotism had long since dethroned Justice; her voice was smothered in the dust. Italy's national Parliament of the future would have greater wrongs to redress, and a grander mission to fulfill, than the restoration of individual fortunes; this was but the fine dust of the balance. The old Professor's correspondence came to naught, except to add deeper bitterness to the conviction that what might have been a comfortable competence for himself in his declining years, and for his family after him, had been wasted on the enemies of his country.

Residence in Kingston-Upon-Hull—Personal Friendships—Poems and Essays

The letter last referred to reached Forneri at Kingston-upon-Hull in Yorkshire, whither he had removed a short time previous, and where he was then living. His residence in London and its environs had thus extended over a period of two years. During that time, short as it was, he had gained quite a reputation for his abilities and success as a teacher of Italian, French, and German, as well as for his high classical and general literary attainments. Besides filling the engagement in the private seminary already referred to, his spare lies of the nobility and gentry and the intellectual hours were devoted to private tuition in the fami-

and cultured classes who formed his professional clientage. Amongst these his amiable disposition, unassuming manners and honourable character had, along with his decided literary acquirements and cosmopolitan sympathies, enabled him to form a large circle of admiring friends who parted from him with regret, and whose good wishes accompanied him to his new home.

His removal to Kingston-upon-Hull was the result of a friendship which he had accidentally formed with Daniel Sykes, M.P., of Willaby, Hull, one of the ten members for Yorkshire in the British Parliament, and a gentleman whose constant kindness and warm interest in his welfare Forneri remembered with feelings of heartfelt gratitude as long as he lived. Mr. Sykes had conceived a strong attachment for the exiled scholar, and, not long before his death, recommended him to the favour and regard of his nephew, Major Richard Sykes, of West Ella, in Yorkshire, who equally esteemed his uncle's friend, and carried out the injunctions given him with religious fidelity. The Sykes families had a large place in Forneri's affections. Both uncle and nephew were noble-hearted, generous Englishmen, and Forneri, who never forgot a kindness and was a firm and true friend, never ceased to extol their many virtues. He preserved the name in his own family, and called his eldest son, who is now in holy orders, after the gallant officer

whose pleasant country seat in Yorkshire was always open with a hospitable welcome for one for whom the owner had a sincere admiration and regard.

Another of his most valued friends at Hull was M. Chalmers, M.D., a clever physician in large practice there, whose relations with Forneri were of the most fraternal character. The friendship and influence of the Sykes family, and of Dr. Chalmers, secured for their protégé a large number of pupils in Hull and its neighbourhood, where he resided for a period of about ten years actively engaged in his professional duties, and where he experienced much kindness and established for himself a high reputation for ability and scholarship. Indeed, in after years he was wont to speak of that as the "golden age" of his life.

During his residence in Hull Forneri wrote and published a number of poems in Italian, and also several bulky political pamphlets, entitled respectively, "Remarques sur l'Italie," "Strenna e capo d'anno al Popolo Italiano," "Dialogo Politico sur l'Italia tra Pasquino e Marfario," and "Le lente e la Calatta." These attracted considerable attention in England at the time, and were highly complimented by Mr. Charles Forest, F.S.A., President of the Hull Literary and Philosophical Society, and by other competent critics, for their historic research and intrinsic literary merits. He was also

the author of a number of educational treatises, including a grammar of the German language.

His Marriage—Academic Appointment—Life in Belfast

But, cherished as were the friendships which he formed at Hull, Forneri resolved, very much against the persuasions of Major Sykes and Dr. Chalmers, to return to London, where very liberal inducements were held out to him by a number of his old patrons and pupils. This return to the English metropolis marked a most important event in his career. Amongst his London friends was the family of Mr. William Wells, a prosperous English merchant. To Elizabeth S., one of the daughters of this gentleman, just turned sixteen, Forneri was married, after a brief courtship, on March 13, 1836, in St. Mary's Church, Islington. This union proved to be an extremely happy one, and, during its long continuance, was marked by the strongest mutual affection and by every attribute that could make married life bright and loving and joyous. Forneri has left on record a most tender and affectionate tribute to one who, in her girlish trustfulness, confided to him the future happiness of her life, with a hope and confidence which were justified in the highest degree.

It was just previous to this marriage, which was probably hastened thereby, that the expectant bridegroom was informed by a friend living in Bel-

fast, Ireland, that a mastership of modern languages was likely to become vacant there within a short time. His professional prospects in London were, as we have said, very promising, but they opened up a career only in a private capacity, whilst that to which his attention was now called embraced as well a position of prominent public usefulness that could scarcely fail to present attractions to an ambitious scholar and teacher. Having been advised that his interests in Ireland would be promoted by his presence on the spot, he determined to leave England for the sister isle without delay. Immediately upon his marriage, therefore, he and his young bride set out for Belfast, calling on their way at Birmingham to bid adieu to some of her relatives and friends resident there. In the early part of the following month of May they arrived at Belfast, where their numerous letters of introduction secured for them a kindly welcome from the hospitable inhabitants of that great seaport, the Manchester of northern Ireland. Forneri had scarcely become settled on Irish soil when the vacancy which he had been anticipating occurred, through the resignation, by its occupant, of the chair of Modern Languages in the Belfast Royal Academical Institution. The beautiful structure in the Tudor style, known to all visitors to Belfast as Queen's College, had not then been opened. The wants of higher education were sup-

plied, as in the case of Upper Canada College before the establishment of the University of King's College, Toronto, by the Royal Academical Institution, which, incorporated in 1810, comprised an elementary and collegiate department and a school of design, and was the principal educational establishment in the north of Ireland. Although founded by voluntary subscription, it received an annual grant from Parliament, and was subsequently affiliated with the University of London. The competition for the vacant chair in this academy of learning was very keen, owing to the large number of worthy candidates. On seeing Dr. Forneri's testimonials the Board of Management found no difficulty in making a selection. He was appointed to the mastership, and held it for the long period of sixteen years. Within this time a large family grew up about him, entailing increased responsibilities, and requiring the putting forth of all his available energies. In addition to his collegiate duties he again engaged in private tuition, his celebrity and success attracting pupils from Down, Carrick, Coleraine, and other places, many of whom travelled long distances to Belfast to receive instruction from him there.

But we shall not dwell upon Dr. Forneri's professional career in Ireland. The strongest practical proof of his widely known abilities and qualifications as a scholar and teacher is to be found in

the well established fact that, although he had many rivals in his own special department of knowledge, and especially in French, which was taught by several natives of old France, he was universally acknowledged to be *facile princeps*. He was, for many years, a member of the Board of Examiners of the Ulster Teachers' Association, in which he had for his colleagues the late Rev. R. I. Bryce, LL.D., Principal of the Belfast Academy, the late Rev. Dr. Drew, a distinguished graduate of Cambridge and Trinity College, Dublin, the chaplain of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and many other scholarly men, all of whom have borne the highest possible testimony to his accomplishments and worth as a linguist and teacher, as well as to his great amiability of disposition and integrity of character. His literary reputation was also enhanced at this time by the publication of a poetical work, in thirteen cantos, entitled "Le Lente é la Calatta," which was full of beautiful imagery and deep poetic feeling. Indeed, his long residence in Belfast was, in his professional capacity, an uninterrupted and splendid success, heightened from year to year by the kindnesses of "troops of friends," whom he delighted to gather round him within the genial circle of his happy home. His house was a house of call to all the scholarly men in the north, and its host was a general favourite. His chequered career, so full of exciting and touching reminiscences, made him

an object of sympathetic interest in local society; his wide range of reading and extensive acquirements enabled him to shine amongst its literati; he was a bright conversationalist, and, during the long years of his sojourn there, no private party or social entertainment was complete without the cheery presence of the little Italian Signore. His Belfast experience made him conceive a warm attachment for the Irish people and their patriotic aspirations. Amongst the last words which he committed to paper was a pious request to his children—nine of whom were born in that old capital of Antrim—to love and honour always the unfortunate land of their birth.

Executes Model of City of Rome

But amidst all the engrossing duties and responsibilities of his daily life in Belfast, he found leisure for another undertaking which, at the time, excited general wonder and admiration, which affords a further insight into his varied tastes and acquirements, and exemplifies very strikingly what manner of man he really was. His active mind and natural restlessness of disposition had been, as we may well believe, stimulated not a little by his military career. Its influence, in this respect at least, followed him almost to the close of his long life. He felt it prompting him to leave Kingston-upon-Hull and its charmed circle of friendships; he felt

it, amidst the attractions of metropolitan business and excitement, urging him to newer scenes and other arenas of energetic effort. In Belfast he was buoyed more securely by family responsibilities, but even there his almost incessant round of duties, and the pleasant demands of social intercourse, were not sufficient to satisfy his constant longings for employment of some description. The leisure hours, which most men in his position would have spent in light relaxation or amusement, were there devoted by him to a work which required the nicest calculations, the greatest possible patience and perseverance, and the most unflagging industry. Rome, with its classic, historic, and religious associations, had deeply impressed his boyish mind and imagination, and he now conceived the idea of modelling, *in alto rilievo*, Rome as it then was. It was a bold conception, but, with the assistance of his wife, who suddenly revealed surprising knowledge and deftness in the plastic art of building up the Eternal City, he executed his task with marvellous completeness and success, after ten years of "holiday work." The model was indeed a magnificent monument of untiring labour and indefatigable research. It was composed of stucco, from which the ancient ruins, as well as the modern streets and buildings, in miniature, were ingeniously cut and carved by hand with astonishing accuracy and in perfect proportion. In size this miniature city was

twenty-eight feet by twenty-one, and covered a superficial area of 588 square feet, the whole design being beautifully executed, and neat and exact in every particular.

Charles Dickens long ago, in his "Household Words," entertained his readers with a sprightly narrative of a certain Mr. Booley, who, comfortably at home at Cheapside in the mornings, visited in a few successive evenings, without the inconvenience of travel and at nominal expense, the most interesting countries of the world. Within an hour he held a picnic in New Zealand, surveyed the pyramids of Egypt, and enjoyed a delightful sail "with the stream" amidst the variegated scenery of the Mississippi. The allegory was of easy explanation. He had spent a few nights and fewer shillings in viewing some popular panoramas of the day. Forneri's exhibition conveyed very different impressions from those which lighted up the mind of simple Mr. Booley. Indeed, short of an actual visit to Rome itself, it was conceded by the most competent judges that there was nothing which could convey a better idea of her modern features, or the memorial remains of her ancient glories. The Eternal City lay before the spectator, giving point and interest to all he had read and thought about it. It was not a partial or imperfect representation, a picture in perspective with the deficiencies to be supplied by the imagination; it was the very

place itself, where every existing object might be touched with the finger, "sensible to feeling as to sight," and lingered over in rapt contemplation. The miniature figures of the great public buildings, ancient and modern, were modelled with artistic precision. Nothing was omitted or forgotten; recent visitors even recognized with pleasure the very houses in which they had lodged. The spot where brave Horatius kept the bridge and, shouting defiance at his foes, "plunged headlong in the tide" of Tiber's "yellow foam"; the house at the foot of the Palatine Hill, where lived Bulwer's hero, Rienze, the last of the Tribunes; the rude sailing craft of the modern mariner floating lazily seaward on the city's ancient highway to the Adriatic,—all alike were pointed out in this singular work of art which claimed the sympathetic interest of the scholar and the student, the politician and the antiquarian.

This model of Rome was finished in 1851, too late, unfortunately, for the World's Exhibition in London, where Dr. Forneri had intended placing it amongst the art treasures of all nations. He exhibited it publicly, however, to thousands of admiring visitors in Belfast, Liverpool, and Manchester during the same year, appearing in person in the exhibition hall of each of these places with his wand in hand, and "pouring out," as we are told, "in good English, but with a strong Italian accent,

a flood of descriptive topography replete with the most interesting facts." It was Dr. Forneri's intention, had circumstances given him the opportunity, to have visited London with his model, and have placed it on exhibition there in the closing days of the great spectacle which had drawn thousands of sightseers from every quarter of Christendom. But this was not to be. Just as he was preparing to leave Manchester for the capital, he received a letter from Windsor, Nova Scotia, offering him a situation as teacher of modern languages in the Windsor Collegiate Academy. In addition to a high salary, the offer embraced a free passage across the Atlantic for himself and family and other advantageous terms.

Disposes of Model—Efforts to Secure it for Canada

Although Dr. Forneri was well satisfied with his prospects in Belfast, this unexpected and very liberal proposal from the Board of Governors of an institute of acknowledged standing and reputation, gave a new current to his thoughts, and unsettled his mind even as to his future in Ireland. He had never before entertained any idea of leaving Britain, much less of leaving the old world for the new, but he had a large family, principally of boys, and, seeing many difficulties in the way of giving them a start in life at home, he was led to believe that a colony would present more and better openings for

all of them. Family reasons, as in many another case, eventually determined him in the course which he should pursue. He consulted his friends, and, Mrs. Forneri being agreeable to the change, he accepted the appointment, and got all things in readiness for his long transatlantic voyage.

All at once the question occurred to him what was he to do with his monster model of Rome? The work was too huge and unwieldy, to say nothing of its weight and the expense of carriage, to think of transporting it beyond the Atlantic. For any ordinary journey it required forty strong boxes, each six feet long, four feet high and four feet broad, in which to pack it up, and even then it had to be handled like a delicate fabric of glass, in order to prevent a catastrophe which might ruin the patient labour of years. Such a work was manifestly intended for a permanent, not a peregrinating, exhibition. He had constructed it to amuse his leisure hours, and with the view ultimately of disposing of it at a remunerative price to some museum, university, or school of design. But however laudable might be the objects of such an exhibition, however useful an aid to the classical or historical student or to the antiquary, he had never for a moment thought of giving up his chosen profession to go and travel about the world like another Barnum, in the equivocal character of a garrulous showman. For once in his life he felt he

had a veritable white elephant on his hands. However, he advertised the little stuccoed city for sale, and was fortunate enough to procure a purchaser in the Mechanics' Institute of his old-time place of residence, Kingston-upon-Hull. This sale proved fatal to the perpetuity of the fame of this precious work of art, the only one of its kind in the world. Whatever was the reason—the want of suitable accommodation was probably the true cause—the model was never set up in the rooms of its fortunate purchasers and custodians. The Colosseum and a portion of the Forum Romanum were shown in the Crystal Palace of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1853, but beyond that it would seem that the entire work was consigned to a most infelicitous obscurity.

Some years afterwards, when Dr. Forneri was permanently settled in Toronto, the unhappy fate of his beautiful piece of handiwork caused him to make an effort to have it brought to this country. He wrote to his old friend, Major Sykes, with the view of ascertaining on what terms it could be secured. In June, 1854, he received a letter from the Secretary of the Hull Mechanics' Institute, offering, on behalf of that body, to dispose of it to Dr. Forneri for the sum of £40, which was, of course, much less than it cost them. It is clear, from the secretary's accompanying letter, that the Institute was quite willing to part with the model,

especially to the accomplished modellist himself; and that having no means of exhibiting it properly at Hull, the members were "anxious that such a perfect work of art should not remain in oblivion."

It would appear, from the correspondence which passed at that time, that a number of persons in Toronto had seen and greatly admired the model when it was exhibited in Liverpool. Amongst these was the Rev. Dr. Irvine, a Presbyterian divine, to whom reference will be made hereafter, and who kindly interested himself in Dr. Forneri's public-spirited plans. Dr. Irvine, who was an able theologian and eloquent preacher, proposed, with the consent of the large congregation over which he was placed, to purchase the model, and have it exhibited in Canada and the United States, in aid of the building fund of a new church which his people were then intending to erect for him. It so happened, however, that, before the receipt of the Hull letter, Dr. Irvine accepted a pastoral call to the city of Hamilton. His old Toronto congregation lost heart in the model movement, and, although he pressed the matter upon the attention of his new charge, they were, it seems, not enamoured with the exhibition business, and the movement was, on his part, reluctantly abandoned.

Dr. Forneri's fertile brain evolved other schemes for the same meritorious purpose, but none of them succeeded. There were then no Royal Canadian

Academies, and no vice-regal or princely patrons of rising genius in the sister arts of painting and artistic design. When we consider how easily Dr. Forneri's beautiful and instructive creation might have been permanently secured for Canada, it seems a thousand pities that the opportunity was ever allowed to pass away. A model so unique and invaluable would have adorned any exposition of art in the world. Within the walls of our University, could a place have there been found for it, it would long have served as a cynosure for every cultivated mind, and have been a surviving monument to the modest, unassuming artist, of whose undoubted genius it was an illustrious production.

Leaves Ireland for Nova Scotia

Having thus disposed of his model, and made all the necessary arrangements for his departure, Dr. Forneri and his family bade farewell to Ireland and its many fond associations, and sailed for their distant destination in Nova Scotia. They arrived about the end of November in the same year, 1851, and, at the close of the following Christmas vacation, the new master entered upon his duties in the Collegiate School of Windsor. But the evil star of his destiny had not yet gone down. It glared upon him many a time and oft in the Old World, and now, when he supposed that it had disappeared

forever, its baneful influence again crossed his path.

Dr. Forneri had scarce entered upon his new duties when a difficulty arose between himself and the Board of Governors of the School in regard to the tenure of his office. In so far as he was concerned, the difficulty was both embarrassing and mortifying. Reference has already been made to the letter on the presumed authority and good faith of which he had been induced to act in all his subsequent arrangements. It was a letter from the Principal of the institution, in which he now expected to be permanently installed, and its language left no room for doubt in the mind of the recipient that the writer was clothed with full power to tender him the post and settle the terms on which it should be held. Dr. Forneri, who was himself a man of unimpeachable honour, and trustful to a fault in all business transactions, relied implicitly upon the *bona fides* of the proposal, and, in altering his whole plans for the future, never suspected that the permanency of the proffered appointment would be open to the slightest question. But it seems he had been deceived. Soon after entering upon his work he was very much surprised and chagrined to find, upon asking the Board of Governors to confirm his appointment according to the terms of the letter, that by a resolution of the Board, passed at a subsequent meeting without his knowledge, the latter had

left the matter solely in the hands of the Principal, upon whom alone rested the responsibility of the appointment. He had never been apprized of this, and, six months later, he was further astonished at receiving a note from the Principal informing him that, owing to want of funds, his services must be dispensed with at the end of the academic year.

Dr. Forneri, naturally very much incensed at this flagrant breach of good faith, complained bitterly of the treatment which he had received, and, after discovering that he could get no redress either from the Principal or the Board, he laid his case before the public through the newspapers, and thereafter appealed for relief to the Legislature of the Province. A Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly was appointed to investigate the matter, but as is often the case when the suppliant before such a tribunal, however strong on the merits of his appeal, is himself weak in political influence, the injured teacher received no reparation for the wrong done him. He had sustained very serious loss and damage, the liability for which was probably divided between the Principal and the Board of Governors. The only compensation offered him was a letter from the Chairman of the Select Committee stating that, while the House sympathized with him in his misfortune, it deeply regretted that, his case being of a purely private and not of a public nature, it could not interfere in his behalf without creat-

ing a dangerous precedent. Thus ended the first chapter of his experience in the new and strange land, on whose shores he and his family had landed with such high hopes and encouraging prospects for the coming years.

Uncertainty as to the Future—Thinks of Australia

The position in which Dr. Forneri now found himself was one full of anxiety and perplexity. His family was large, his means limited, his term of office rapidly nearing its close; the future was painfully dark and uncertain. His thoughts turned at once to Belfast and his old and generous friends in that city. He wrote to inquire whether his place in the Royal Academical Institution had been filled, and was told in reply that it was occupied by a gentleman from Dublin; but, notwithstanding this, he was encouraged to return, and informed that no effort would be wanting to promote his interests. At first he was inclined to act on this advice, but on reflection he decided that, as his leaving Europe had not been of his own seeking, he would follow the course which, he believed, fate had marked out for him.

We use the word advisedly. Dr. Forneri was all his life a strong believer in what he called fate. He had a deeply reverential mind and firm religious convictions, and he found no difficulty in reconciling these with such a belief. His creed was a

simple one; he was no orthodox hair-splitter, and was not troubled with a fastidious conscience on points which he considered non-essential, but was a sincere believer in the great verities of religion. Upon taking up his residence in England, Dr. Forneri became a member of the Church of England, and so continued till his death. In some lines which he penned not long before his death he expressed the opinion that, "whatever our divines may say about moral or free agency, men cannot defeat the will of the Almighty, which is fate; and I firmly believe that man, though a moral agent, is not an independent agent in the principal incidents of his life." In this he departs little, if any, from the teachings of Cicero's famous essay, which regards Fate or Destiny as the decree of Providence, going hand in hand with free will as one of its conditions. The subject was one which Dr. Forneri was very fond of discussing and discoursing upon. He was a great reader of the early Fathers of the Church, and had studied the admirable explanations by Erasmus and Liebnitz of those old free will doctrines. But he was far from being a fatalist in any sense; he regarded fatalism as impious, and while he would defend the fate of his own creed as the decree of Deity, he, on the other hand, always defended the liberty of man in that qualified sense in which it is largely accepted, and in which fatalism has no part or lot whatever.

A few weeks after the receipt of the notice referred to from the Principal of the Windsor Collegiate School, Dr. Forneri was told by Dr. Montovani, Professor of Modern Languages in Windsor College, that a College or University in Upper Canada—he was not told where—had advertised for a Modern Languages' professor, and that he (Dr. M.) had offered himself as a candidate and sent in his testimonials. Dr. Forneri paid no particular attention to this at the time, because, not then having heard from Belfast, he had intended either returning to Ireland or sailing in search of employment to Australia. The idea of Australia was suggested to him by the fact that a brother-in-law of his, who was Inspector of Schools in Sydney, New South Wales, where he had been living for about twenty years, had frequently written him to Belfast urging him to emigrate to that colony, where many of his old pupils were settled and in prosperous circumstances. Some months, however, after his conversation with Dr. Montovani, the thought of acting on the maxim *tentare non nocet* occurred to him, and he determined to become an applicant for the same place for which the Windsor professor had long before offered his services.

Not knowing the name of the College, and feeling a delicacy in speaking to Dr. Montovani on the subject, Dr. Forneri wrote to the Provincial Sec-

retary of Upper Canada inquiring whether such an appointment was to be made, and whether there was yet time to forward his testimonials. By return mail he received a letter from the Rev. Dr. McCaul, who was then a stranger to him, that no report or recommendation in regard to the appointment had yet been made, and that, if he sent his testimonials immediately, they might arrive in time to be taken into consideration and dealt with by the Government. He at once forwarded his papers, as he had been instructed, to Dr. McCaul, and thought no more about the matter, for the simple reason that he considered his chances of success were the slimmest possible. He was not sure that the appointment would not be made before the receipt of the testimonials, and, although he did not undervalue the merits of these, he knew he was very late in the field, that there were many competitors, that he had no political influence whatever at his back, and was naturally inclined to think that, under such unpropitious circumstances, his application must certainly fail; in fact, he treated its failure as a foregone conclusion, and prepared to leave for Australia. A vessel was advertised to sail from New York to Sydney at the end of April, 1853, and accordingly, at the beginning of the same month, he and his wife and family left for Boston, purposing to remain there a few days and proceed thence to New York, where he would make the necessary

arrangements for their passage to the Antipodes. But the fate in which he believed had even then decreed that they should never see the Antipodes. On the passage to Boston, Mrs. Forneri and one of the children fell seriously ill, and they arrived in that city in such a weak condition that he considered their lives would be endangered by such a long sea voyage. The ship in which they were to embark left port without them.

*Comes to Toronto—Appointment as Professor
in University College*

The predicament in which Dr. Forneri was now placed, in a city in which he was an utter stranger, was not an enviable one. He had left Windsor fully intending to sail for Australia with the least possible delay, and had provided himself with no letters of introduction to any persons in the United States, which he might easily have done under different circumstances. Fortunately before leaving Windsor he had given directions that any letters which might arrive there after his departure should be sent to Boston *poste restante*. Two days after he reached Boston he received a letter from an old Belfast pupil, the Rev. Dr. Irvine, who was then settled in Toronto in charge of a large Presbyterian congregation, to which he had been called from St. John, N. B. Dr. Forneri had, some months before, written Dr. Irvine and had told him of his great

disappointment in Nova Scotia, and had at the same time acquainted him with the design which he had formed of going to Australia. In the letter received at Boston Dr. Irvine—to whom his old teacher always felt deeply grateful for the warm interest taken by him in his favour—strongly urged Dr. Forneri to abandon his Australian project, which he characterized as foolish and inconsiderate, and to come instead to Toronto, where he (Dr. I.) and his friends would do their utmost to assist him, and where there was no doubt his success as a teacher would be assured. This timely and suggestive message appeared to Dr. Forneri to open up a way out of his present difficulties. He ascertained on inquiry that any vessel for Australia would sail either too soon for the recovery of his sick wife and child, or too late to permit of his staying in Boston at his own expense. He therefore decided to act on his friend's advice and go to Toronto, where he believed he could secure temporary employment during the convalescence of the two invalids, and, when they were fully recovered, sail for Australia, in the event of his not receiving sufficient encouragement in Upper Canada.

As soon as Mrs. Forneri was able to bear the fatigue of the journey, Dr. Forneri proceeded with his family to Toronto, where they all arrived safely in the beginning of May, 1853. He was there most agreeably surprised to learn from Dr. Irvine that

he had a very fair chance of securing the professorship in University College for which he had become a candidate some time before, and about which he had never thought seriously since for the reasons already stated. He learned that his testimonials had reached Dr. McCaul in time, that they were so satisfactory that his name had been placed at the head of the list of candidates recommended to the Government, that the Premier (later Sir Francis Hincks) was a Belfast man, the son of the Rev. Thomas D. Hincks, LL.D., of that city, and that a testimonial from Dr. Hincks would greatly strengthen his application.

Dr. Forneri, who in the hurry of collecting and forwarding his credentials had left out several valuable ones, had in his possession an excellent testimonial from Dr. Hincks, who was Professor of Oriental Languages in the Belfast Royal Academical Institution. This was at once sent in. On May 7, Dr. Forneri received a very encouraging letter from the Premier, and another on the 17th of the same month informing him that His Excellency the Governor-General had approved of his appointment. Dr. Forneri's warrant of appointment to the chair of Modern Languages was dated May 28, 1853; it was signed by Lord Elgin, the then Governor-General of Canada, and countersigned by the Hon. A. W. Morin, Provincial Secretary, Mr. Hincks's principal colleague in the

Hincks-Morin Administration which was then in office. It was made, as appears by the warrant itself, under the Act which amended the former University Act, and separated the functions of the University from those of the College.

The new incumbent entered upon his duties in the Michaelmas term following. He was then in his sixty-fourth year, but still in the vigour of physical health and strength, and with a mind and faculties strong and matured, and capable of efficient and well-sustained effort. From that time until the close of Michaelmas term, 1866, a period of thirteen years, when the chair of Modern Languages in the college was supplanted by a system of instructors, he discharged the functions of his professorship with an ability, conscientiousness, and fidelity which were universally acknowledged.

Closing Years—Members of His Family

The death of his beloved wife on August 18, 1862, was the most notable event, and the first serious misfortune which befell Dr. Forneri during his professorship. It was a blow from which he never rallied, and, although he married again, the loss of one who had helped him to bear with equanimity the buffetings of adversity, who was a congenial companion and a real helpmate throughout his long professional career, all but broke his proud spirit which had never quailed be-

fore. George Macdonald, the Scottish novelist, has truly said that "no man ever sank under the burden of to-day. It is when to-morrow's burden is added to the burden of to-day that the weight is more than a man can bear." His retirement, except as Instructor in Italian, and the reaction from the sustained mental strain which his onerous duties imposed to comparative quietude and inactivity, told even more injuriously upon the aged Professor; it brought on a rapid and visible decline of both mental and bodily vigour; and, on September 5, 1869, at the age of fourscore years, when "life's fitful fever" was forever over, his "pained footsteps crossed the burning marle," and he passed quietly and peacefully away.

On the Wednesday following his death the mortal remains of the departed Professor were followed by a large concourse of sympathizing friends to their last resting place in St. James' Cemetery. Conspicuous in the funeral procession were many members of the Masonic body, of which ancient and honourable order the deceased had for many years been a respected member. We have before us his credentials, adorned with the old Italian tricolour as a member of a lodge in Turin, where he was admitted to the third degree. In September, 1829, he joined the "Humber" Lodge at Hull, and, during the same month, the Grand Lodge in London. His name is on the roll of the "St. Andrew's"

Lodge of Toronto, into which he was received soon after his arrival in the city.

In the year 1857, Prof. Forneri had lost two of his infant children by death; he left surviving him four sons and four daughters. Two of these have since died. James Ford Forneri, B.A., a graduate of Trinity University, Toronto, died in New York in the month of June, 1875. His second son, Cosford Chalmers Forneri, who will be remembered by not a few old University men for his genial manner and manly traits of character, died of pneumonia at Rat Portage [Kenora], on August 15, 1880. He was a graduate in Agriculture of the University, was also a graduate of the old Toronto Military School, and subsequently passed the Examining Board as a Provincial Land Surveyor. It was while on duty in the latter capacity, in the neighbourhood of Rat Portage, that he was stricken with his fatal illness. His abilities and sterling uprightness had won for him an honourable position in his profession, and his untimely end in the then wilds of Canada, hundreds of miles distant from home and friends, was a peculiarly sad one.

Of the two surviving sons, the elder, who is the eldest son of the family, is the Rev. Richard Sykes Forneri, M.A., B.D., a graduate, scholar and prizeman in Arts and Divinity, of the University of Trinity College, Toronto. He was admitted to holy orders—the diaconate in 1866, and the priesthood in

1867—by the Right Reverend John Strachan, first Bishop of Toronto. Mr. Forneri has been, for a number of years, Rector of St. Luke's Church, Kingston, Ontario. The other surviving son, Henry D. Forneri, is the city engineer of Eugene, in the State of Oregon.

Within the home circle, and indeed in all the domestic relations of life, Dr. Forneri was characterized by a gentle nature and a lovable disposition. Affectionate, indulgent, and self-denying, these intimate relationships were the constant and never-failing source of the strongest mutual attachment.

An Inspiring and Honourable Career

As the first Professor of Modern Languages in University College, Dr. Forneri's career is exceedingly suggestive. It presents many points admirable alike in the man himself, in the work which he did, and the part which he played in the stirring arena of his day. He had the virtues of the good stock from which he sprang, and was a worthy scion of those who, if they helped to mar, helped also to make, the hopeful destiny of his country. His long life bridged in its span the reactionary Spain of perfidious Ferdinand, and the semi-republican Spain of the eloquent Castelar. He was a connecting link between an interesting epoch in our own history and the past military glories of a people whose chivalrous descendants in Canada vie with

those of every race and nationality in the paths of progress and the arts of peace.

His life and times might be elaborated into an instructive volume. We have endeavoured to sketch the salient features, set in varying light and shadow, of the picture in which he stands out a conspicuous and interesting figure—a student, a wandering refugee, a soldier, a virtuoso in art, a teacher, and a college professor. In each and all he bore his part well. As a teacher, his record was one of notable excellence. His knowledge and attainments were embellished with the graces of scholarship, and were always modestly displayed. The Fornerian systems of French, German, and Spanish were the product of an ingenious mind and an original expositor of languages. He had a happy talent for communicating knowledge, and was beloved by his pupils and the students of his department for his patient kindness and untiring interest in the subject-matters of their reading.

“As we have looked back upon student days,” writes one of his old students, “and reviewed them in the light of more mature life, we are struck by Dr. Forneri’s great versatility and the accuracy which emphasized it. He was always equally ready in French, German, or Spanish, as in his native tongue, to give us the grammatical rule. In his set lectures in the larger classes he would write out these rules, illustrated by examples, filling one or

two large blackboards, and, in the senior years, would give them to us in his own handwriting on foolscap paper. When he concluded his remarks on any subject and closed them with his pet expression, 'That it is, you see,' we made up our minds that it was all right, and we have never yet found that we were mistaken. Laborious in our interests, scrupulously punctual, truthful and the soul of honour, kind-hearted, affable and confidingly companionable, the veteran soldier and teacher secured a warm place in the hearts of his students, and memory will fondly recall when we could have addressed him in the words of his own favourite poet, uttered when looking back to a much more distant past: *Tu duca, tu signori, e tu maestro.*"¹

Dr. Forneri's life was, in many respects, a hard battle with misfortune not altogether unredeemed. Scattered through those long eighty years were unselfish, self-sacrificing efforts that, like the distant palm trees in the desert, marked green resting places in memory's waste. He was ever the enemy of despotism, and the firm friend of constitutional liberty. In this noble cause he embarked his life and fortune, and made shipwreck of the latter. In England, he was one of the first to join the society of "The Friends of Poland," inaugurated by Count Plater, with the view of giving both moral and ma-

¹ See article by William Oldright, M.A., M.D., in the *University Monthly*, Vol. 2, p. 201.



COAT OF ARMS OF THE FORNERI FAMILY

two large blackboards, and, in the senior years, would give them to us in his own handwriting on foolscap paper. When he concluded his remarks on any subject and closed them with his pet expression, 'That it is, you see,' we made up our minds that it was all right, and we have never yet found that we were mistaken. Laborious in our interests, scrupulously punctual, upright and the soul of honour, kind-hearted, reliable and exceedingly companionable, the veteran soldier and teacher secured a warm place in the hearts of his students, and memory will fondly recall when we could have addressed him in the words of his own favourite poet, uttered when looking back to a much more distant past: *Tu duca, tu signori, e tu maestro.*"¹

Dr. Forneri's life was, in many respects, a hard battle with misfortune not altogether unredeemed. Endured through those long eighty years were unselfish, self-sacrificing efforts that, like the distant yew trees in the desert, marked green resting places in memory's waste. He was ever the enemy of despotism, and the best friend of constitutional liberty. In this noble cause he embarked his life and fortune, and made shipwreck of the latter. In England, he was the first to join in the society of "The Friends of Poland," inaugurated by Count Plater, with the view of giving both moral and ma-

¹ See article by William Croft, M.A., M.D., in the *University Monthly*, Vol. 2, p. 307.



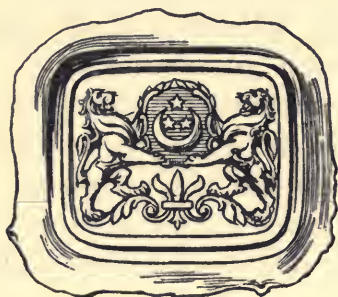
De FORNERI.

terial support to those patriots who were struggling to emancipate their unhappy country. It was there he met the poet Campbell, who presided over its deliberations, the same lyric bard whose sweet and soul-stirring offerings to the cause of Polish liberty have gone round the world. History has proved how much may be achieved by a "passion for ideas." Dr. Forneri possessed that passion in a high degree, but he was a man of action as well. He was in both ahead of his time, but he saw afar off the triumph of his cause, and felt, even far away, the onward, irresistible flow of the tide whose ebbing once bore him forth into a stormy sea. Italy, regenerated and disenthralled, had been the day dream of his youth, the hope and prayer of his riper years. He longed and he lived to see it, to join in the acclamations which welcomed his native land into the sisterhood of constitutional nations, and the unfurling of the flag of a united people above the crumbling ramparts of the castle of St. Angelo.

NOTE

The armorial bearings of the Forneri family are noteworthy on account of their historic interest. The cornelian from which the accompanying vignette was copied was slightly broken in one of the engagements in which Professor Forneri took

part in the Spanish peninsula, but the cutting in the stone is intact. Every component of the armorials is indicative of their antiquity. The shield, oval in form and undivided, bearing a single device on a



field of one colour, is characteristic of ancient heraldry. The device itself, consisting of three stars in the hollow of a crescent on an azure field, is one of those figures which originated in the Holy Land in the

days of the Crusaders. The more common emblem, that of a single star within the crescent—said to represent the star of Bethlehem—was evidently a copy of the Turkish national symbol. The crusading ancestor of Professor Forneri, with more originality, emblazoned on his shield three stars in order to proclaim his faith as a Christian in the Triune Deity, in opposition to the One Person God of the Mohammedans which the lone star seemed to represent. The supporters of this unique coat of arms are lions rampant. That Professor Forneri should be able to trace his descent from crusading ancestors will be readily believed by any one who reads the story of his life. He was a crusader in spirit and proved it in his chivalrous career.

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



A 001 264 828 3

