

DICHOTOMY BETWEEN VISION AND REALITY:
A STUDY OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL CURRICULUM IN WINNIPEG,
1897-1908.

A THESIS
PRESENTED TO
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
MASTER OF EDUCATION

by
SOLOMON K. AFOLABI
OCTOBER, 1978.



DICHOTOMY BETWEEN VISION AND REALITY:
A STUDY OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL CURRICULUM IN WINNIPEG,
1897-1908

BY

SOLOMON K. AFOLABI

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

© 1978

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this dissertation, to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this dissertation and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this dissertation.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the dissertation nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

Acknowledgements

The contributions of those who have been helpful in the completion of this study are acknowledged with gratitude. These include Professor Neil McDonald, my supervisor and Professors Keith Wilson and Alexander Gregor.

My thanks also go to the members on the staff of the Department of Education Library at 1181 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg. I am also grateful for the assistance received from Wendy Merkely and Edna Hopkins of the Education Library, and Janice Yeo of the Elizabeth Dafoe Library, University of Manitoba.

Over the years, I have had the opportunity of teaching teachers, elementary and high school students, who through their warm rapport with me have been so candid in their assessment of the school system. The concerns and frustrations of these students have increased my concern over the inability of the school system to fulfil the aspirations of its clients.

My thanks also go to my wife, Adunni, for her patience with her ever-plodding husband and particularly for her warm and affectionate care of our children when my studies prevented me from carrying my full load of housework. I am grateful to my sons, Alfred-Babatunde and Solomon, Jr.; and my daughters Abiola and Abigail. I hope that one day, they

as well as my students may learn what they have taught me about childhood, society and education.

Finally, my gratitude goes to Trucia Howard for the patience she demonstrated in deciphering my writing.

S.K.A.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
The Problem	8
The Importance of 1897-1908	12
Importance of the Study	14
Delimitation	15
Definition of Terms	16
Organization	17
II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE	19
III. BACKGROUND FOR SOCIETY'S VISION AND CURRICULUM GOALS IN WINNIPEG, 1897-1908	50
The Democratic Tradition	50
Manitoba, a Frontier of Opportunities	52
The Emergence of Manitoba's Cultural Mosaic	58
The New Pedagogy	68
IV. SOCIETY'S EXPECTATIONS OF PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM 1897-1908	80
Immigration, Poverty, Public Morality and the School System	80
Concern for the Democratic Tradition	87
Education for the Welfare of the Individual	92
The School System and the Development of Basic Skills	95
V. THE PUBLIC SCHOOL CURRICULUM AS A MEANS OF REALIZING SOCIETY'S IDEALS IN WINNIPEG, 1897-1908	103
Curriculum Goals in the Public Schools of Manitoba, 1897-1908	104
The Victorian Readers	114
History	124
Geography	129

Chapter

VI. BARRIERS TO AN EFFECTIVE EXECUTION OF THE CURRICULUM GOALS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN WINNIPEG, 1897-1908	136
Educational Problems: Limitations of the New Pedagogy	136
Bureaucracy and Education	143
Education and the Cultural Milieu	152
Education and the Problem of Means	156
VII. CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY FOR FUTURE POLICIES	163
Implications of the Study for Future Policies.	167
A. Role of Education	167
B. Humanize Bureaucracy	170
C. Finance	171
D. More Professional Autonomy for Teachers.	172
E. Education and Morality	173
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	176
APPENDIX :	188

CHAPTER I

Introduction

This study examines the myth and realities of popular education in Winnipeg between 1897 and 1908. Its main goal is to present and account for the gulf which existed between the declared goals of the public school system in Winnipeg and its tangible achievements. In this regard, the study examines the social, economic and political forces which shaped the vision of society as revealed in the public schools' curriculum goals in Winnipeg.

The orientation of the study has been influenced by certain basic facts. First, public school systems have identifiable goals which are revealed in the purposes they are asked to serve, and the duties which they are expected to perform. Societies depend on their public school system to serve fundamental social,¹ economic,² and political³ interests. The public school system is crucial to the

¹Charles H. Judd, Education and Social Progress (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1934) pp. 27-50, pp. 51-82 and pp. 83-103. See also Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly (ed), Education and Social Change Themes from Ontario's Past (New York: New York University Press, 1975).

²0. J. Firestone, Industry and Education A Century of Canadian Development (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1969) pp. 89-248. See also Alonzo F. Meyers and Clarence O. Williams,

continuation and operation of the social order and the economic structure.

The goals of the public school systems are revealed in the general expectations of societies in general, in the views and thoughts of important individuals on what purpose the public school systems should serve, and in the goals and ideals of the subjects in the school curriculum. Moreover, a relationship exists between the way in which public school systems are organized and the purpose they are supposed to serve.⁴

The second basic fact which has influenced the orientation of this study is that curriculum goals reflect society's vision.⁵ The various functions which the public school system

Education in a Democracy (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1954) pp. 128-145 and pp. 161-174; and Merle Curti, The Social Ideas of American Education (Patterson, New Jersey: Pageant Books, 1959) pp. 203-260.

³With regards to how the school system serves political interests see David Easton & Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System Origins of Political Legitimacy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969); B. Othanel Smith & Donald E. Orlosky, Socialization and Schooling The Basics of Reform (Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, 1975).

⁴Michael B. Katz, Class, Bureaucracy and Schools. The Illusion of Educational Change in America (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970) p. xviii.

⁵On the subject see, Paul R. Hanna, Education: An Instrument of National Goals (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1962) pp. 1-10, pp. 118-132, pp. 192-210; Newton, Edwards & Herman G. Richey, The School in the American Social Order (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963) pp. 484-523 and also Alan, F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg. A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975) pp. 75-88.

is expected to perform in the social, economic and political spheres of society give an insight not only into how society is employing the school system to cope with problems in those spheres it also reveals what type of society is emerging. Curriculum goals are, therefore, generally speaking, an important reflection of society's ideals.

The third and final basic fact which influenced the orientation of this study is that a close examination of the relationship which exists between society and its public school system reveals some apparent contradiction. Consider for example, the expectation that the public school system could reform the same divisive social and economic order which it is supposed to sustain, or, the expectation that the public school system could produce self-fulfilled individuals as well as enforce social control based on a pre-defined set of ideas, behavior and standards.⁶ Could the school system be truly child-centered while it is preoccupied with socializing the same child to adult roles?

The concerns of this study have received a good deal of attention, though in different contexts. In Class, Bureaucracy and Schools for example, it has been suggested that:

The schools . . . do not liberate the individual and open up opportunities for social mobility for the disadvantaged. The social class-biases which pervade

⁶Michael B. Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform
Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts
 (Harvard University Press, 1968) pp. 131-153.

the educational system and the bureaucratic control structures that give force to those biases produce schools that "reflect and confirm the social structure", by processing children to fit "into slots roughly congruent with the status of their parents".⁷

Also, in his case-study of Industrial Education in Ontario, Morrison shows that contrary to popular stories of humanitarian and philanthropic origins

. . . industrial education programs surfaced as one facet of an urban-centered, conservative, social reform movement which encompassed as one of its vital concerns, the establishment of controls over the character, behavior and occupational future of poor and delinquent children.⁸

Another scholar has even argued that the public school system has failed to perform the most traditional duty of nourishing and developing the minds of the students. In his article, "Reconstructing the School System", David W. Brison points out that

A critical deficiency in today's society is our inability to resolve social problems which require analysis, formulation of policy and decisions within a socio-political context . . . although the entire responsibility for this inability does not rest with the educational system, schools have almost certainly failed to prepare students to cope with and resolve problems, some of which threaten our very existence or prevent us from living together in any reasonable harmony.⁹

⁷Stephan Thernstrom, Foreword to Class, Bureaucracy and Schools. The Illusion of Educational Change in America by Michael B. Katz (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971) p. x.

⁸T. R. Morrison, "Reform as Social Tracking: The Case of Industrial Education in Ontario, 1870-1900," The Journal of Educational Thought, vol. 8, no. 2 (August 1974) p. 87.

⁹David W. Brison, "Reconstructing the School System" in Neil Bryne and Jack Quarters (eds), The Growing Debate in Canadian Education (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd, 1973) p. 23. Also, Colin Greer, The Great School Legend (New York:

The above scholars and many more have reinterpreted the popular beliefs about education. They have pointed out the short-comings of the public educational system, particularly its inability to live up to popular expectations. They have confronted both the exaggerated notion about the public school system and the tangible achievements. They have identified the gulf that exists between the ideals held by many about the public school system and its reality.

The history of the school curriculum in Winnipeg between 1897 and 1908 showed that there were also some exaggerated notions of the goals the school system could achieve. There was, for example, a strong belief that the school system could alleviate society's fears about the social order. To someone like Daniel McIntyre, superintendent of Winnipeg Public Schools and member of the Advisory Board of Education, part of the curriculum goal should be to wipe out ignorance which was regarded as "a menace to society".¹⁰

With the great influx of immigrants into Manitoba, and with its attendant ethnic antagonisms, W. A. McIntyre, principal of the provincial Normal School perceived the

Basic Books, 1972); Charles Silberman, Crisis in the Classroom (New York: Random House, 1970); Martin Carnoy (ed), Schooling in a Corporate Society (New York: David McKay, 1972) and Melvin K. Kohn, Class and Conformity (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1969).

¹⁰Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report, 1903, p. 20.

public school system as a unifying factor.¹¹ T. M. Maguire, Inspector of Schools, for the North Central Inspectoral Division also supported the notion that the public school system should serve as the major means of moulding the incongruous elements (the immigrants) into one harmonious whole.¹²

The Humane Society supported the notion that the school system should cure social ills. Alarmed by "the great increase in the amount of juvenile crime in the community" the Society sent a deputation to the Government of Manitoba on the subject of "Reclaiming Neglected and Vicious Children", urging the government "to take steps which could stamp out the evils before it reaches too great dimensions".¹³

As far as the Association of "The Free Kindergarten" was concerned, however, education should prevent rather than cure social evils. According to the Association, "education must not only equip the student with sufficient knowledge of English and Mathematics to make his way among his fellows", it must also train his mind "to absorb food as will fit him to become a benefit to the community".¹⁴

¹¹Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report, 1903, p. 25.

¹²Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report, 1903, p. 31.

¹³The Winnipeg Free Press, 12 March 1897, p. 4.

¹⁴The Winnipeg Free Press, 17 April 1897, p. 3.

Part of the expectations of the school system during the period, therefore, was that it should mould the character of the students and uphold the social order. It was expected that education would cure all the social ills and assimilate the ethnic groups to Anglo-Canadian ideal!

The school system was also expected to produce men and women with practical skills needed to keep the economy going, because as the economy became more and more industrialized, there arose a growing concern over lack of "practical instructions in the public schools".¹⁵ As the old apprenticeship system became obsolete, it became part of the responsibility of popular education to prepare people for occupations more appropriate for the economy.¹⁶

Industrialism had further implications for the role of popular education because, coupled with urbanization, the two destroyed many of the aspects of family and community life which were so vital to the full development of the child.¹⁷ Consequently, it was expected of the public school system to undertake those roles played by the family and the community. With regards to the increasing depopulation of the rural community, the public school system was expected to build an environment that would "reaffirm the values of country life and stop such depopulation by adding certain new subjects to its program of studies."¹⁸

¹⁵Douglas A. Lawr and Robert Gidney, op. cit., pp. 159-167.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 159. ¹⁷Ibid., p. 159. ¹⁸Ibid., p. 168.

Apart from catering to the needs of the society, the school system was also expected to cater to the needs of the individual child. Because of the changing needs of society which warranted new goals for education the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries further witnessed a reform movement in the educational enterprise. This was the New Pedagogy. According to Lawr & Gidney

Like the economic and social aspects of the New Education, the pedagogical dimensions began as a reaction against the constrictions and limitations of the nineteenth century public school: perceptive teachers had long been disturbed by the formalism of content and method that thrived under the dual regime of mental discipline theory and administrative centralization. They wanted to replace an abstract, bookish and impersonal concept of education with a new kind of learning based more on the student's interests and ability, and more closely related to his personal experience and social environment.¹⁹

In Manitoba, Child Study received more attention in the Normal Schools, the school program was expanded beyond the three R's; and there was a trend to show some regard for the child's physical, mental and moral development.²⁰

The Problem

From the foregoing, it is apparent that, traditionally, popular expectations of the public school system have been high. In fact, up until recent times it has been customary to mistake such high expectations for the tangible achievements of the school system. The realization that a dichotomy exists

¹⁹Ibid., p. 163. ²⁰Ibid., p. 179.

between the goals and the tangible achievements of the public school system is not new. Increasingly, current historical works dispute the myth which was perpetuated earlier about the school system as a benevolent, humanitarian institution. The contributions of Katz have been central to this debate. In both The Irony of Early School Reform, and Class, Bureaucracy and Schools, Katz has made fundamental contributions to the idea used in the present study. His contributions are significant from three standpoints. First, he shows that the public school system in the United States had identifiable goals and specific functions to perform.²¹ Second, he has shown that forces which were political, social and economic in nature influenced the goals pursued by the public school system. Third, he has not only shown that a gulf existed between the ideals of the public school system in the United States and its tangible achievements, he has also attempted to explain that dichotomy.²²

The present study is therefore an application of Katz's hypothesis to the public school system in Winnipeg. It is a case-study of the relationships which existed between the myths and the realities of popular education in Winnipeg between 1897 and 1908. The study focuses on the following topics:

²¹Michael B. Katz, Class, Bureaucracy and Schools. The Illusion of Educational Change in America (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971) pp. xvii-xix.

²²Ibid., p. 1.

- a) the social origins of educational goals in Winnipeg,
- b) the hidden and publicly stated objectives of the public school curriculum in Winnipeg between 1897 and 1908,
- c) the program of studies in the public schools in Winnipeg, and
- d) the relationship which existed between the expressed objectives of the school curriculum on the one hand, and the structure and the practice within the system.

With regards to the social origins of educational goals in Winnipeg during the period, the study seeks answers to the following questions:

- a) How did the public educational system in Winnipeg define its role during the period?
- b) What forces determined the direction of education during the period?
- c) In the final analysis, who decided the role the public school should play? Was there a consensus or was the role imposed?

In connection with the objectives of the school curriculum during the period these questions are addressed:

- a) What were the curriculum objectives during the period?
- b) Was there a noticeable change in the objectives? Why? Were the objectives individual or social?

Was there a balance? Were the objectives realistic?

With regards to the program of the school curriculum, this study seeks answers to these questions:

- a) What subject-matter, what categories of knowledge were included in the school program? Was there any change in the school program? Did the school program expand or contract? What was the rationale for expansion or contraction?

An analysis of the relationship which existed between the expressed objectives of the school curriculum and the prevailing school practice is crucial to this study. In this regard, the study seeks answers to these questions:

- a) What were the social origins of educational goals during the period?
- b) What relationship existed between popular beliefs about the school system and the system's curriculum objectives?
- c) What forces determined the kind of relationship which existed between what was expected of the public school system and its tangible achievements?

Finally, it is felt that this study might have some relevance to those who design or execute the school curriculum. In this regard, the study includes findings which are still relevant. Specifically, it analyses certain trends during the period which have implications for future policies.

The Importance of 1897-1908

Like most periods in the study of history, the choice of the period covered by this study is arbitrary. In fact, the study spans part of the era of the bilingual schools in Manitoba, 1897-1916,²³ and also a part of the period described by McWilliams as a period of expansion.²⁴ However, Morton's periodization shows that 1897-1907 deserves a separate study when he refers to it as "the first Decade of the Great Boom".²⁵ The question which this study has to answer with regards to the period is the rationale for its choice.

First, 1897 is an important date in the history of education in Manitoba because the Educational Act put the Laurier-Greenway Compromise into effect by establishing bilingual schools.²⁶ Second, 1897-1908 was a period of economic expansion, it was a period of optimism. This economic expansion was due in part to the increased industrialism in the province. Industrialism coupled with the growth of Winnipeg as an urban center²⁷ were accompanied by certain social changes, which had

²³Keith Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba" (Ph.D. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1967) p. 247.

²⁴Margaret McWilliams, Manitoba Milestones (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1928) pp. 171-188.

²⁵W. L. Morton, Manitoba. A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967) pp. 273-295.

²⁶Keith Wilson, op. cit., p. 247.

²⁷W. L. Morton, op. cit., pp. 320-321; Margaret McWilliams, op. cit., pp. 179-180.

far-reaching effects on education. A few of such changes included the emergence of urban life and its concomitant effects on the family, law and order and the existing social facilities. To cope with the needs of an expanding society, the public school system saw need to adjust its orientation and to direct its efforts toward broader objectives. Moreover, the influx of immigrants into the province during the period led to increased enrolment and a need for more school accommodation.²⁸ The diversity of the student population warranted a diversified school curriculum.

Perhaps the most significant movement which gathered momentum during the period was the New Pedagogy. Though several people contributed to the development of the New Education, Francis Wayland Parker

. . . stands out, not only because of the high quality of his achievements but also because they foreshadowed principles and practices in education which we still accept. Regarded by many as the "father of American Progressive Education", Parker sought, in the first place, to change the dark spirit of American schools to one which would encourage the child's nature to soar to full expression. In a day when schoolmasters commonly believed in the necessity of hammering their desultory and unwanted facts into the human cerebrum, Parker cast his vote for the child's creativity. What counted in the school above all else, as he saw it, was not the learning of subject matter, neatly and logically arranged, but the child himself.²⁹

²⁸Margaret McWilliams, op. cit., p. 176.

²⁹Adolph E. Meyer, The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc, 1949) pp. 32-33.

The important point to note is that the period 1897-1908 witnessed some important economic, cultural and social developments which have far-reaching implications for education. In 1908, the Education Department was given an antonomous status, Hon. G. R. Caldwell became the first Minister of Education and Robert Fletcher, the first Deputy Minister,³⁰ a fitting culmination to the educational developments between 1897 and 1908.

Importance of the Study

The importance of this study lies in the fact that it offers new insight into the problems and possibilities of the educational system in Manitoba. Its focus is different from the studies of Wilson,³¹ Lucow,³² Wall,³³ Ready,³⁴ Cook,³⁵ and Sissons³⁶. These earlier writers traced the development

³⁰W. L. Morton, op. cit., p. 181.

³¹Keith Wilson, op. cit.

³²W. H. Lucow, "The Origin and Growth of the Public School System in Winnipeg" (M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba 1950).

³³W. M. Wall, "The Advisory Board in the Development of Public Education in Manitoba", (M.Ed. Thesis University of Manitoba, 1939).

³⁴William B. Ready, "The Political Implications of the Manitoba School Question 1896-1916", (M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1948).

³⁵G. R. Cook, "Church Schools and Politics in Manitoba, 1903-1912," Canadian Historical Review, vol. XXXIX, no. 1 (March 1958) pp. 1-23.

³⁶C. B. Sissons, Bilingual Schools in Canada (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1917).

of the educational system in Manitoba. Generally speaking, most of the writers focused on the external indices of progress, such as increasing enrolment, enlarged staff and personnel, expansion of the school boards and the institution of new school districts. Wall has presented the benevolent activities of the educational authorities³⁷ while Lucow has described the enlightening mission undertaken by the public school system.³⁸ Almost all the earlier historical accounts of the educational development in Manitoba, particularly those of Wilson,³⁹ Sissons,⁴⁰ Cook,⁴¹ and Ready⁴² described the social, economic and political factors which influenced the development of education. The present study focuses on the paradox of the progress in the educational development in Winnipeg which the earlier historians have described. The study, therefore, is an analysis of the role and functions of the public school system in Winnipeg.

Delimitation

This thesis studies the relationship which existed between public expectations and the tangible achievements of the public school system in Winnipeg between 1897 and 1908. In this regard, the study limits itself to the social, economic and political background which underlined the goals

³⁷W. W. Wall, op. cit. ³⁸W. H. Lucow, op. cit.

³⁹Keith Wilson, op. cit. ⁴⁰C. B. Sissons, op. cit.

⁴¹G. R. Cook, op. cit. ⁴²William B. Ready, op. cit.

and the school programs which were employed in achieving the goals. The focus of the study is the dichotomy which existed between what was expected of popular education and its tangible achievements. Once the dichotomy between the goals and the actual achievements has been identified, the study further examines some of the circumstances which accounted for such dichotomy. Its primary focus is to examine why a gulf existed between goals and realities. In the final chapter, a number of the educational practices during the period which have implications for future policies are discussed.

Definition of Terms

1) Dichotomy

This word is used in the context of the study to describe the cleavage which existed between public expectations of the school system and its actual achievements. It describes a state of contradiction between curriculum ideals and school practice.

2) Vision

Vision is the aggregate of goals or ideals which society in Manitoba envisaged the public school curriculum could achieve between 1897 and 1908.

3) Reality

This word describes the aggregate of the actual achievements of the public schools in Manitoba as opposed to the vision which they were called upon to inculcate or uphold. It describes what actually exists or takes place beyond imagination, idealism or vision.

4) Public School

Public School refers to the first six, as well as the seventh and eighth grades. Thus, public school in this context is synonymous with elementary school as defined between 1871 and 1919.

5) Curriculum

In the context of this study, curriculum describes the sum total of the schools' efforts to influence learning. Both the hidden and the overt curricula are embraced in this definition. The following categories are included:

- a) The social origins of educational goals.
- b) The curriculum objectives of the school system.
- c) The subject matter in the school curriculum.
- d) The relationship which exists between curriculum goals and actual achievements.

Organization

Chapter II reviews the literature pertinent to the study, while Chapter III examines the origins of educational goals in Winnipeg during the period. Chapter IV is an analysis of what was expected of the public school system, the task which it was expected to undertake. Chapter V focuses on the curriculum - its goals and practices. Chapter VI calls attention to the fact that a gulf existed between what was expected of the public school system in Winnipeg and its actual achievements. It also offers some explanations for the existence of a dichotomy between curriculum goals and

the reality of the school system. In Chapter VII, the concluding paragraphs and the implications of the study for future educational policy development are presented.

CHAPTER II

Review of Literature

The review which is undertaken in this chapter is selective. It is not practical to present an exhaustive review of existing literature on the goals and means of the public school system. Only those works considered relevant to this study are examined.

One major task of a researcher is to define the discipline. Carr's¹ observations on the nature and process of history writing have been found very useful. Carr reminds historians that historical evidence, the raw materials of history writing, must be treated with due respect. In his opinion,

The historian is neither the humble slave nor the tyrannical master of his facts. The relation between the historian and his facts is one of equality, of give and take. As any working historian knows, if he stops to reflect what he is doing as he thinks and writes, the historian is engaged in a continuous process of moulding his facts to his interpretations and his interpretations to his facts. It is impossible to assign primacy to one over the other.²

¹E. H. Carr, What is History (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1970).

²Ibid., p. 29.

Carr also calls attention to the need to bridge the gap between history and the social sciences in order to reap the rewards of co-operation.³ The present study has used Carr's advice to some extent. In particular, educational sociology has contributed in a large measure to the formulation and clarification of its conceptual framework.

Kitson-Clark,⁴ like Carr, stresses the importance of evidence. His discussion on the essential techniques of scholarship - critical reading, evaluation and judgment⁵ - have implications for historical study such as the present one.

Travers⁶ has been found useful in the processes of planning,⁷ identifying⁸ and defining⁹ the research problem. Fox's¹⁰ work on the various types of research work available in education facilitated the identification of the problem probed in the present study. His stress on the need to strive

³Ibid., p. 86.

⁴G. Kitson-Clark, The Critical Historian (London: Heinemann, 1967).

⁵Ibid., pp. 127-128.

⁶Robert M. W. Travers, An Introduction to Educational Research (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1958).

⁷Ibid., pp. 69-72. ⁸Ibid., pp. 73-76.

⁹Ibid., pp. 92-92.

¹⁰David J. Fox, The Research Process in Education (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1969).

for new evidence, to rethink and reconsider well-known facts has been well taken. This study has also found Sugden's¹¹ description and analysis of the major steps and pitfalls in research work very useful.

As already stated, this study has been facilitated in some measure by some of the techniques and perceptions of the educational sociologist. Musgrave's¹² work which focuses on how knowledge is socially determined and diffused or disseminated has been of great help in the arrangement, discussion and evaluation of the school curriculum. His thoughts on the problem, desirability, and the process of curriculum change have, in general, been valuable to the present study. The first chapter throws a tremendous insight into one of the perennial problems which face a curriculum designer - that of what to teach.¹³ Musgrave's perception that "school gives access to ways of thinking and behaving that are different from those learnt in the family",¹⁴ identifies one of the dilemmas which face students in the public schools; particularly those of minorities and of low income.

¹¹Virginia M. Sugden, The Graduate Thesis: The Complete Guide to Planning and Preparation (New York: Pitman Publishing Corp., 1973).

¹²P. W. Musgrave, Knowledge, Curriculum and Change (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1973).

¹³Ibid., pp. 1-19. ¹⁴Ibid., p. 26.

Young,¹⁵ like Musgrave, argues that knowledge is socially determined or defined. Like Musgrave, therefore, Young has been found very useful, particularly in evaluating the program of the public school system in Manitoba between 1897 and 1908. Berger and Luckman,¹⁶ among other things, give a further clarification of the nature of knowledge. The book offers a tremendous insight into the "acceptance world" in which man lives and the significance of language as a means of finding meaning and fulfilment in the reality of everyday life.¹⁷ Also, the view that "humaneness is socio-culturally variable"¹⁸ has large implications for curriculum goals. The problem becomes one of designing a curriculum which enables an individual to find meaning and self-fulfilment in society. Furthermore, the notion that society as a human product is reversible¹⁹ strengthens the argument that the public school system may reform the society in which it exists. Finally, the view that "specific reality-maintaining procedures may be established to cope with foreigners and their potential threats to official reality"²⁰ is quite relevant to the present study. In this context, the public school curriculum was one of the means employed to socialize immigrant children so that they might acquire certain values.

¹⁵Michael D. Young, Knowledge and Control. New Direction for the Sociology of Education (London: Collier, Macmillan Publishers, 1967).

¹⁶Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co. Inc., 1966).

Kuhn's²¹ paradigm which is primarily related to science has a great significance for other subjects and particularly for society at large and the school system where norms and values are emphasized. The significance of Kuhn's paradigm to this study, however, stems from the fact that immigrant children had to operate within the parents' minority culture and that of the dominant culture; the former at home and the latter in the public school. One problem of the school curriculum, therefore, is that of designing a curriculum which has meaning and relevance for students of different cultural backgrounds and social class.

Smith, Stanley and Shores²² offer an analysis of the fundamental principles of curriculum designing. The suggestions offered on the goals of a school curriculum have helped in the writing of the chapters on the goals of the school curriculum and the program which was used to achieve them. In particular, their description of the society-centered curriculum, the child-centered curriculum and the interactive curriculum has sharpened the focus of the present study.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 19-35. ¹⁸Ibid., p. 46.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 58. ²⁰Ibid., p. 143.

²¹Thomas S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

²²B. Othanel Smith, William O. Stanley, and J. Harlan Shores, Fundamentals of Curriculum Development (New York: World Book Company, 1957).

In Purple and Belanger²³ the school curriculum is examined as a means of bringing about a cultural revolution. The significance of this book is that it provides a framework for an interactive and humanistic curriculum. The greatest value of this book lies in its expositions of the falacies of a theoretically conceived curriculum - the position that theories cannot adequately prescribe what to do with an individual (real) child and how to do it.²⁴ The period between early 1897 and 1908 witnessed a number of theories about the child and, therefore, offered an opportunity for assessing how far theory and practice intermingled in the school program. In contrast to Purple and Belanger's notion of the need for the public school to develop and encourage self-identity and diversity,²⁵ it seems that the public school system in Winnipeg perceived diversity as an obstacle to be overcome between 1897 and 1908. The prevailing notion was that the functioning of an individual in society is contingent on his knowing, understanding, valuing, believing and being able to do certain things. Knowledge consisted of information, comprehension, skills and beliefs which were accepted in the society. Utility determined the validity of knowledge.

²³D. E. Purple and Maurice Belanger, eds., Curriculum and the Cultural Revolution (Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corp., 1972).

²⁴Ibid., p. 90.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 128-129.

Davidson's²⁶ preliminary report on the population of Manitoba traces how Manitoba acquired its cultural mosaic. It shows the country of origin and the number of immigrants who came to settle in Manitoba particularly during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It contains some tables and charts on the growth, composition and distribution of Manitoba's population. This report is an excellent source of information on population changes and their effects on education.

Wilson²⁷ traced the development of education in Manitoba from the era of the colonists down to 1959. His work is a good reference on some of the major aspects of education, administration, finance and curriculum. Throughout this thesis, the role of the political, economic and social factors is emphasized. The present study has benefitted from his chapter on "Education in the period of the bilingual schools", which identifies some of the innovations in education as well as some problems which confronted the educational enterprise during the period.

Wall²⁸ in his study of the growth of centralized administration of education in Manitoba presents the view that a government agency selected and controlled the knowledge which was made available in the public schools through its

²⁶C. B. Davidson et al., "The Population of Manitoba" (Winnipeg: Economic Survey Board, January 1938).

²⁷Keith Wilson, op. cit.

²⁸William Michael Wall, op. cit.

prescription of the curriculum and the text books. In his judgment

. . . the Advisory Board exercised a controlling influence on all the educational functions of the public school system. It supervised the regulations concerning the improvement of the plants, it prescribed the curriculum to be studied and the text to be used, it influenced very greatly the type of teaching by its choice of textbooks; and it controlled the teaching personnel by regulating its training and certification.²⁹

Woods'³⁰ preliminary report on educational finance in Manitoba emphasized that adequate finance is one of the prerequisites for a successful execution of educational programs. This report showed that though the provincial government aid to education showed some increase over the years, the total government expenditure on education accounted for a small proportion of total government spending. In fact, as Woods pointed out, education was starved of necessary funds.

All references would indicate that, the source of educational revenue, their distribution to points of need, and the method of their management are inadequate to present educational requirements.³¹

In another report, Woods³² traced briefly the evolution of the school system in Manitoba. He offered some generalizations on the effects which population and economic changes had

²⁹Ibid., pp. 95-96.

³⁰D. S. Woods, "Education in Manitoba" Part I, Preliminary Report (Winnipeg: Economic Survey Board, March 1938).

³¹Ibid., p. 63.

³²D. S. Woods, "Education in Manitoba" Part II, Preliminary Report (Winnipeg: Economic Survey Board, February 1938).

on educational development. He identified the late nineteenth century as a crucial period in education. Education was re-organized and its goals were re-directed. This report also contains some useful tables and charts on changes in population distribution, composition, enrolment and school attendance.

Toews'³³ study compared the views of schoolboard chairman, superintendents, principals and teachers across Manitoba, in order to uncover areas of conflict among them concerning primary decision-making responsibilities. This study covers six important aspects of the educational enterprise: (1) business and finance; (2) public relations; (3) staff personnel; (4) pupil personnel; (5) curriculum; (6) building and transportation.

Among these items, curriculum ranked highest in inter-group differences.³⁴ There was no agreement on 1) decisions regarding the requirements of a student course contract; 2) decisions on whether student 'course contracts' should be introduced in the school; 3) decisions on experimental projects and pilot courses to be introduced in a school; 4) decisions on how to evaluate the curriculum; 5) decisions on the textbooks; 6) decisions regarding the establishment of the

³³Elbert Allan Toews, "An Analysis of Expectations Concerning the Distribution of Decision-Making Responsibilities in Schools in Manitoba" (M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1975).

³⁴Staff Personnel, Buildings and Transportation, Public Relations, Business and Finance ranked second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth respectively by disagreement. Ibid., p. 73.

'Continuous Progress' method in a school.³⁵

It is interesting that Toews did not include in his study, particularly on the school curriculum, the ultimate source of all the disagreements which he unravelled. It is the view of the present study that the disagreements which he exposed could be attributed to the fact that most of his subjects could not agree on what role the public school should serve. Essentially, if there is a consensus on what the public school system should do for the individual and society, the means of achieving such goals will be less controversial because such means will be secondary to the goals. It is much more difficult to agree on how to achieve an unidentified goal. Toews' findings particularly on curriculum confirm the importance of a study as the present one which at once focuses on goals, means and results.

Butterworth's³⁶ study of the history of the Manitoba Educational Association which traced the origin, nature and purposes of the Association is important indeed. The study shows that though the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a period of economic expansion and optimism, "in contrast, the state of education in Manitoba was far from buoyant, requiring, but not inspiring, optimism".³⁷ He went

³⁵Ibid., p. 73.

³⁶Ernest Butterworth, "The History of the Manitoba Educational Association" (M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1965).

³⁷Ibid., p. 31.

on to state that "Manitoba was still a pioneer community and suffered from the pioneers' predilection to neglect education and to insist that it justify itself by proving its utility."³⁸

The foregoing statement alerts the present study to one of the major problems which faced the public school system in Manitoba between 1897 and 1908. The period which witnessed a substantial addition to the duties of the public school failed to provide adequate finance to execute successfully such goals.

Butterworth's study is important to the present one in other respects. The fact that the constitution of the Association encouraged teachers and non-teachers to become members is very significant. Though it was not achieved during the period 1897-1908, the co-operation which the Association sought to encourage between the educators and the public was noticeable.³⁹

Vidal's⁴⁰ study of the Manitoba Teachers' Society has some relevance to the study. Though the Society was not formally inaugurated until July 1918, the idea to form the Society was born on November 30, 1907.⁴¹ Despite the fact

³⁸Ibid., p. 31.

³⁹Through its efforts, the Association contributed to the development of public school curriculum; catered to teacher welfare and fostered co-operation between education and the public. Ibid., pp. 40-50.

⁴⁰Heraldur Victor Vidal, "The History of the Manitoba Teachers' Society" (M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1958).

⁴¹Ibid., p. 3.

that the founding got to a shaky start, the goals of the Society were unmistakably clear in the minds of the organizers as Vidal revealed:

The organizers had in mind a society of teachers which would help to promote "the stability of the teaching profession as regards to its social intellectual, moral, financial, and general welfare". The organizers, too, must have felt more than a passing concern over lowered standards because of the permit system which was even then in effect, and because of a fairly widespread practice of "underbidding" amongst its own ranks.⁴²

While the achievement of the Society over the years is noted by the present study⁴³ it is more important to this study that one of the long-term, though unrealized, objectives of the Society was the recognition that "the right of teachers to share in determining the curricula which will shape the lives of the children entrusted to their care."⁴⁴ As already noted, the control of the Advisory Board over text-books, teacher recruitment and training prevented any noticeable teacher involvement in the curriculum decision-making processes during the period.

⁴²Ibid., p. 3.

⁴³These achievements were made in such major areas as the establishment of short-term normal training, the founding of the Manitoba's Teacher Federation, the institution of radio lessons, revision of the program of studies, the establishment of the Faculty of Education and improvement of teacher welfare. Ibid., pp. 180-184.

⁴⁴The thrust of the long-term objective was teacher participation and involvement in educational decision-making. Ibid., pp. 184-185.

Peters⁴⁵ has done a study of the philosophy of physics education in Manitoba Secondary Schools, (1900-1966). His study has been found particularly relevant to this one. First, his primary occupation with an assessment whether the objectives as stated in the Programme of Studies and other departmental reports were realized, are related, though in a narrower context to the concerns of the present study. Second, after an examination of Manitoba's science curriculum and the actual practice of the teachers in the classroom, his conclusion that "a rather serious disparity"⁴⁶ existed between goals and achievement is also very similar to the conclusion of the present study that a dichotomy existed between goals and reality in Manitoba schools between 1897 and 1908. Third, some of his findings are worthy of note. For example, it is interesting to note that the beginning of the period covered by the present study, witnessed "the fossilization of a common curriculum for public schools in the Province of Manitoba".⁴⁷ Moreover, it is worth repeating that in Peter's judgment, despite the deep-seated differences which existed among the ethnic groups in the province, it was felt that "general literacy was essential for the spread of democracy and the growth of a new industrial society."⁴⁸

⁴⁵Peter H. Peters, "The Philosophy of Physics Education in Manitoba Secondary Schools, 1900-1966" (M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1971).

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 2. ⁴⁷Ibid., p. 40.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 40.

However, in spite of the existence of a common curriculum and the general feeling with regards to the importance of education, it cannot be overemphasized that "Manitobans did not pay attention to their educational needs, prior to the great war. Manitobans were too busy developing the province."⁴⁹ Further, the present study notes with some interest the need to put more emphasis on the process of acquiring facts and information than on the facts and information themselves.⁵⁰ Educators should show greater concern for what the students are "growing to be" than what "they are growing to know". The period under review becomes more meaningful because it sought to produce the "ideal gentleman"; not necessarily an intellectual.

The concern for education must be seen in the broader context of the Canadian history between 1896 and 1921. During the period, there was a strong desire that Canada should show greater involvement in imperial and world affairs as a demonstration of her national status. Canada could not assert her national status unless she possessed the pre-requisite power to do so; education was perceived as the basis of that power. Good citizenship and moral training were therefore related to the goal of national sovereignty and power.⁵¹

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 40-41. ⁵⁰Ibid., p. 33.

⁵¹Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921. A Nation Transformed (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1976) pp. 162-187.

Toews⁵² has shown in his extensive study that the present public school system has failed to promote the development of morally sensitive human beings.⁵³ His study, which focuses on a program which could promote moral sensitivity through moral reasoning is, therefore, interesting from some standpoints. First, it has shown that the hidden curriculum is the major means employed by the public schools to inculcate morals in the students. In his opinion, "rules, regulations, rewards for obedience, punishment for disobedience and numerous other control strategies exercised in schools, moreover, implicitly promote moral codes."⁵⁴ Second, the study develops a program which is designed to establish objectives for moral education rooted in psychological facts, epistemological and value assumptions.⁵⁵ Third, the Jurisprudential Teaching Model developed in the study shows how Kohlberg's developmental theory can be put into practice; while at the same time it elucidates the processes of executing such a program.

The study has value for the present study. It identifies the inadequacies of the existing hidden curriculum and builds a model for moral education instruction. The present study does not intend to build a new curriculum though suggestions are made as to how to proceed in removing the anomalies and the inadequacies of the existing one. Meanwhile,

⁵²Otto B. Toews, "Youth, Law and Morality: A Program in Moral and Legal Education" (M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1975).

⁵³Ibid., pp. 8-21. ⁵⁴Ibid., p. 2. ⁵⁵Ibid., p. 47.

Toews' study qualifies as an example of pursuing curriculum innovation to its logical conclusion.

Sissons⁵⁶ has studied the public school system in Canada during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and has shown that the Manitoba Public School system was plagued with difficulties. One gains the impression that by concentrating on the political aspects of the bilingual school question, little attention was paid to the need to identify the full ramifications of the educational issue. Apart from the need to recognize ethnic identity in schools, there were other problems associated with school facilities, teacher training and school attendance, just to mention a few. According to Sissons, the establishment of bilingual schools failed to settle the question as to how the school system could help to reconcile majority rule with minority rights. Instead, it created chaos.⁵⁷ Moreover, the school issue was exploited for political purposes. In Sissons' opinion "the school organizer did everything for the political advantage of the government which appointed him and next to nothing for the welfare of the helpless communities."⁵⁸

Ready,⁵⁹ in a study of the period 1897 to 1916, has, among other things upheld Sissons' thesis regarding bilingual schools. Despite the threat to social order of the "influx

⁵⁶C. B. Sisson, op. cit.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 118. ⁵⁸Ibid., p. 123.

⁵⁹William B. Ready, op. cit.

of the new immigrants⁶⁰ and the gigantic problem which this influx created for education,⁶¹ Ready maintained that the issues were not addressed. He charged that Roblin, the Premier of Manitoba in the first decade of the twentieth century, "either ignored or was ignorant of the effects of immigration."⁶² He further made the specific charge that, "Roblin wished to secure the vote of the new settlers. He was not concerned with any real problem of education."⁶³ He also took issues with the federal government on its immigration policy which created the chaos in Manitoba's public schools because it failed to address itself to the question of how to secure education for the immigrants' children; ostensibly because education was a provincial matter.⁶⁴

Cook⁶⁵ on the other hand, has shown that the conflicts which existed between the church, the public schools and politics in Manitoba prevented the emergence of any final solution to the educational problems which faced the province. The frictions which existed between the federal government and the provincial government on the one hand; and among the ethnic groups in Manitoba on the other were, in his opinion, worsened by ethnic and religious antagonisms. He pointed out that lack of trust, particularly between the two levels of government prevented any final settlement of the school

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 87. ⁶¹Ibid., p. 95. ⁶²Ibid., p. 87.

⁶³Ibid., p. 95. ⁶⁴Ibid., p. 95.

⁶⁵G. R. Cook, op. cit.

question.⁶⁶ In his estimation, the public school consequently became a pawn in the political chess-game of the political parties.⁶⁷

The findings of Ready, Sissons and Cook have some relevance to the present study. The three studies have indicated that the designing as well as the execution of a public school curriculum in Manitoba between 1897 and 1908 was chaotic. It is important to note that the public school system, rooted in a complex and heterogeneous society, was almost paralysed by the political mistrust and religious antagonisms which plagued the society within which it existed.

Jahn⁶⁸ focused attention on the development of a pattern in the immigration and settlement in Manitoba prior to 1897. Jahn traced the beginning of the process of mass settlement in Manitoba during the years 1870-1881. The study focuses on philosophy and execution of the early federal government policy on immigration and settlement particularly in Manitoba.⁶⁹ The cornerstone of this policy was the Homestead Act which employed land as a means of luring new immigrants into Canada.⁷⁰ It is obvious from this study that though the search for new immigrants was extended beyond the

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 16. ⁶⁷Ibid., p. 23.

⁶⁸Hertha Evelyn Jahn, "Immigration and Settlement in Manitoba, 1870-1881, The Beginning of a Pattern" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1968).

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 1-14. ⁷⁰Ibid., pp. 6-10.

British Isles into Western European countries and the United States, the focus was naturally on the former.⁷¹ Also, the letters, pamphlets, newspaper columns and hand books which were used as means of advertising never missed the point as to what the position of the new immigrants other than those from the British Isles would be. Settlement of Canada was held as part of England's destiny;⁷² and the Anglo-Saxons were urged to settle in Manitoba.⁷³

One important point for the present study from Jahn's work is that the government's propaganda which lured people to Manitoba promised the promotion of an Anglo-Saxon society - its institutions and culture. The propaganda promised to preserve carefully those traditions which give the general features to English society found all over the world.⁷⁴ Numerically, the Anglo-Saxons emerged as the majority and as such promoted the public school system which enhanced Anglo-Saxons customs and traditions. The period covered by the present study witnessed other ethnic groups challenge this position, particularly in educational matters. The bilingual schools established during this period was, at least in part, a device to accommodate the language of such other ethnic groups, particularly in the public school curriculum. Jahn's study analyses the remote causes of the dilemma which the bilingual schools faced between 1897 and 1908.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 18. ⁷²Ibid., pp. 28-29.

⁷³Ibid., p. 29. ⁷⁴Ibid., p. 29.

Willows⁷⁵ has studied the settlement of one ethnic group in Manitoba. This study traces the Mennonite movement to the Reformation.⁷⁶ Due to persecutions, the Mennonites moved into Germany and later into Russia. The immigration of the Mennonites to America started in 1663, in Pennsylvania.⁷⁷ His chapter on the immigration of the Mennonites to Manitoba is, however, more useful to the present study. It points out one significant fact; the Mennonites chose to settle in Canada because, among other things, they had been guaranteed certain religious and educational rights.⁷⁸ The promise that the Mennonites had the fullest privilege of exercising their religious beliefs and educating their children in schools as approved by law, without any kind of molestation or restrictions offered the group one of their most effective arguments against a unilingual public school system. In part, it justified the Mennonites' opposition to such a school system. Moreover, the promises of special privileges in educational and religious matters seems to weaken the chances of transforming Manitoba into an Anglo-Saxon community. Let it be sufficient to say that given the positions of the Anglo-Saxon and Mennonites, Willows' study demonstrates why, the goals and content of public education were such contentious issues between 1897 and 1908.

⁷⁵Andrew Willows, "The History of the Mennonites, Particularly in Manitoba" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1924).

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 1. ⁷⁷Ibid., p. 8. ⁷⁸Ibid., p.9.

Arnason⁷⁹ has studied the settlement of the Icelanders in the North American continent. This study offers some explanations for why the Icelanders left Iceland, and describes in a chronological order the various settlements of the Icelanders in North America. The present study is interested mainly in the educational implications of the Icelandic settlements in Manitoba.⁸⁰ One major factor that is noted in the religious aspect of the Icelanders' social life, is their conservatism. The Icelandic church was conservative because it did not sanction affiliating with other churches, and it was such a powerful agency in their social life.⁸¹ It organized Sunday schools which gave the Icelandic children instructions in their native tongue and also in the Icelandic national heritage in literature and ideals.⁸² The study shows that the Icelanders were concerned with their children's education which they perceived as a means of inculcating a sense of responsibility in the youth.⁸³

In his study, Woods⁸⁴ has shown that the ethnic problem which existed between the Anglo-Saxons and the French was

⁷⁹Angantyr Arnason, "Icelandic Settlements in America" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1929).

⁸⁰Gimli, Winnipeg, Argyle, Shoal Lake, and Swan Lake were areas of such settlements. Ibid., pp. 19-32.

⁸¹The Icelandic church at Gimli broke up in 1877 because some members showed preference for affiliating with some organizations in the United States. Ibid., p. 43.

⁸²Ibid., p. 44. ⁸³Ibid., p. 47.

⁸⁴David Scott Woods, "The Two Races in Manitoba" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1926).

aggravated by the influx of the new immigrants, particularly during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. According to Woods, the influx affected the school curriculum because:

This influx of foreigners, speaking many languages, each with its national customs and ideals, adhering to the Protestant or Catholic religion, aggravated jealousies of the English and French races, and created an entirely new language and educational problem into which each of the old Canadian races proceeded to project their influence.⁸⁵

Woods' study suggests that one major issue in the bilingual school problem was whether to assimilate the new immigrants into the English (Protestant) or the French (Catholic) culture.⁸⁶ At any event, the public school system assumed greater importance because,

... the school became the medium through which Church ambitions might be given effect, and the struggle of the two races, now aggravated by the desire to control the many nationalities, became centered more than ever before in the schools of the Province. The racial issue became more than ever a religious issue, the school the fighting ground, and the language privilege the immediate bone of contention.⁸⁷

Anderson's⁸⁸ study of Canadian immigration problems further suggests the issues which the Province of Manitoba perceived as problematic in the early twentieth century. First, there was the change in the ethnic composition of the province's population as immigrants were admitted from Eastern

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 51. ⁸⁶Ibid., p. 52. ⁸⁷Ibid., p. 53.

⁸⁸J. T. M. Anderson, "Canadian Immigration and Its Problems" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1914).

Europe and Asia.⁸⁹ This change warranted assimilation of the new immigrants, but how to go about it was the problem. Second, there was an increase in the crime rate.⁹⁰ Third, there was the danger of illiteracy.⁹¹ Anderson suggests that illiteracy, crime, and poor health were linked. Fourth, was the exclusiveness of the church organizations in the province.⁹²

Anderson's study shows that the foregoing constituted certain problems for the public school system. At once, the school system became an important agent in finding solutions to the immigrants' problems. Manitoba looked upon its schools to lay the foundations of citizenship.⁹³ The present study notes with some interest that cultivating citizenship in the immigrants' children included reconciling the ethnic and religious groups, eradicating crime and teaching the work ethic.

Ivens' study of Canadian immigration⁹⁴ reiterates, among other things, the problems associated with assimilation already pointed out. Ivens' study however, is relevant. First, it describes some of the characteristics of the major ethnic groups that settled in Manitoba. Second, it discusses some means of facilitating the assimilation of the new immigrants.⁹⁵

⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 5-7. ⁹⁰Ibid., p. 47. ⁹¹Ibid., p. 48.

⁹²Ibid., p. 52. ⁹³Ibid., p. 63.

⁹⁴William Ivens, "Canadian Immigration" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1909).

⁹⁵See pp. 30-46 for such means.

The public school system was, however, in Ivens' opinion, the greatest factor in the assimilation of foreigners.⁹⁶ The present study attaches some significance to Ivens' suggestion that a national educational policy which allows for the establishment of separate private schools was the only possible satisfactory solution to the problems of education and assimilation.⁹⁷

One more study of Canadian immigration and its problems during the early twentieth century is that of Whittaker.⁹⁸ Like others considered, the study examines the backgrounds of immigrants and the implications of that background or the existing social order. The present study takes some interest in its recommendation of compulsory education for all as a means of rapid assimilation.⁹⁹

In spite of the need to ensure attendance at the public schools, the government of Manitoba failed to enact the necessary legislation. According to Wilson,

. . . the existence of private schools and the questionable constitutional rights of the provincial government to enforce attendance at public schools was to be one reason or excuse for postponing the enactment of compulsory attendance.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 47. ⁹⁷Ibid., p. 65.

⁹⁸J. T. Whittaker, "Canada and the Immigration Problem" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1915).

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁰⁰Keith Wilson, op. cit., p. 256.



Morrison's¹⁰¹ analysis of industrial education which was introduced into the curriculum of the Ontario public schools is very informative. His thesis, based on an analysis of the social functions associated with industrial education and the social group that supported its addition to the school curriculum, is that "industrial education was more a bane than a boon, to the working class".¹⁰²

Morrison identifies some of the major objectives of industrial education in Ontario between 1870 and 1900. He suggests that industrial education served as a means to train character, to reinforce social stratification and to make available an additional labor force.¹⁰³ He analyses the problems that plagued the execution of the industrial education programs; the most formidable of such problems being that the goals and the operations of the program were at cross purposes.¹⁰⁴ Also, he pointed out that there were some inconsistencies in the industrial school reformers' actions because much more emphasis was put on acquiring respect for manual labor than on academic education or on formal training.¹⁰⁵

Since industrial education was introduced into Manitoba public schools during the period covered by this study, the significance of Morrison's study of the industrial education in Ontario cannot be overemphasized. The study

¹⁰¹T. R. Morrison, op. cit. ¹⁰²Ibid., p. 87.

¹⁰³Ibid., pp. 53-59. ¹⁰⁴Ibid., pp. 59-63.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., pp. 22-46.

shows that the program and goals of the Ontario public schools were expanded earlier than those of Manitoba public schools and perhaps had influence on developments in Manitoba.

Bilash¹⁰⁶ has investigated the establishment and operation of bilingual schools in Manitoba. His thesis is another source of information on the background of the new immigration, and particularly on the prospects and problems of the bilingual schools. Poor attendance, shortage of teachers, lack of equipment were some of the reasons which, in his estimation, could account for the failure of the bilingual schools.

Cowie,¹⁰⁷ in his study of the teaching of geography in the Province of Manitoba between 1818 and 1968, has shown that during the period covered by the present study the subject suffered like many others in the school program. Though the course outline was revised to reflect a new trend in which geography was defined as "the study of the earth as the home of man"¹⁰⁸ there was still emphasis on "memorizing a myriad of geographic facts on places and products".¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶B. W. Bilash, "Bilingual Public Schools in Manitoba, 1897-1916" (M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1960) pp. 95-97.

¹⁰⁷Malcom Stewart Cowie, "The Development of Geography in the Schools of Manitoba 1818-1968" (M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1975).

¹⁰⁸Ibid., pp. 1-18. ¹⁰⁹Ibid., pp. 19-114.

Also in 1903,

. . . Geography had disappeared from the Normal School while in the Intermediate School, which prepared students for the non-professional Third and Second Class Certificates, Geography had become a general world course.¹¹⁰

Thus, the subject continued to be taught by the old methods whereby,

. . . facts, fixed and ready made, were given to the child as so much knowledge, thus destroying interest and giving false motives for true. The material was selected from the adult point of view, rather than for the purpose of developing the child.¹¹¹

Morton's history of Manitoba is a valuable source on the social economic and political development of the province. The chapter on "The Triumph of Ontario's Democracy" and, "The First Decade of the Boom 1897-1907"¹¹² have been found tremendously useful for this study.

Margaret McWilliams' account of the historical development in Manitoba is also a valuable source. Her account and Morton's do not only parallel each other, they also supplement each other. The sections which have been of value to this study include the chapter on the early immigrants¹¹³ and the one on the demographic and economic expansion during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹¹⁴

William H. Lucow¹¹⁵ has traced the origin and growth of the Winnipeg School District. His exposition has been

¹¹⁰Ibid., pp. 115-162. ¹¹¹Ibid., p. 109.

¹¹²W. L. Morton, op. cit., pp. 273-295.

¹¹³Margaret McWilliams, op. cit. ¹¹⁴Ibid., pp. 171-189.

¹¹⁵William H. Lucow, op. cit.

found very useful particularly in the areas of how the changing social, economic and political needs of society influenced the school curriculum.¹¹⁶ Also, the story of how the public school curriculum was expanded to accommodate the changing needs of society¹¹⁷ has been very helpful. His most valuable contribution to this study is, however, his account of the organization and structure of school boards in Winnipeg.¹¹⁸

Katz's works on early school reforms are important to the present study. Suffice it to say that his analysis of the school reform in mid-nineteenth century Massachusetts has been very valuable.¹¹⁹ His perspective on historiography¹²⁰ his analysis of the social origins of educational controversy¹²¹ and his exposition on the uses of pedagogy¹²² have tremendously helped in clarifying the perspectives of the study. In his Class, Bureaucracy and Schools,¹²³ Katz's elucidation of how the school structure can account for the gulf which exists between the ideals of the public school system and its tangible achievements¹²⁴ is important.

¹¹⁶Ibid., pp. 53-59. ¹¹⁷Ibid., pp. 59-63.

¹¹⁸Ibid., pp. 22-46.

¹¹⁹Michael B. Katz, op. cit. ¹²⁰Ibid., pp. 1-18.

¹²¹Ibid., pp. 19-114. ¹²²Ibid., pp. 115-162.

¹²³Michael B. Katz, Class, Bureaucracy and Schools. The Illusion of Educational Change in America (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971).

¹²⁴Ibid., pp. 56-104.

Artibise has traced the social development of Winnipeg between 1874 and 1914.¹²⁵ The book endeavours to describe the various factors and personalities that played a key role in the development of Winnipeg. The Sections on urban growth and problems which it posed to public education¹²⁶ are very useful to this study.

With specific reference to the post-1897 immigration, it has been shown that the charter or dominant group was ill-prepared for finding solutions to the problems created by the influx of the new immigrants:

Having experienced so little difficulty in their pursuit of a common nationality in the pre-1897 period, the charter group was ill-prepared to meet the enormous challenges of the next decade. They were practically unprepared for the large degree of group consciousness that the immigrants who came after 1897 possessed, and this cohesiveness provoked a secondary reaction among established Winnipeggers. The English majority rapidly became even more conscious of their own identity.¹²⁷

When the dominant group turned its attention to the public educational system as the key agent in the assimilation processes, it ran into further problems. First was the problem of providing adequate facilities and teaching staff to serve the rapidly growing student population.¹²⁸ In this regard the authorities, in Winnipeg showed that their priority was economic growth:

¹²⁵Alan F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975).

¹²⁶Ibid., pp. 177-206. ¹²⁷Ibid., p. 198.

¹²⁸Ibid., pp. 199-201.

Measuring progress in material terms. Winnipeg's businessmen directed their efforts toward achieving rapid and sustained growth at the expense of any and all other considerations. Regarding Winnipeg as a community of private money-makers, they expressed little concern with the goal of creating a humane environment for all the city's citizens. Accordingly, habits of community life, an attention to the sharing of resources, and a willingness to care for all men, were not much in evidence in Winnipeg's struggle to become a "great-city". Rather, the most noteworthy aspect of Winnipeg's history in this period was the systematic, organized, and expensive promotion of economic enterprise by public and private groups within Winnipeg.¹²⁹

Language and the establishment of bilingual schools in the province coupled with the lack of provision for compulsory school attendance further plagued the school system.¹³⁰ This book has been useful in identifying some of the problems faced by the public schools in Winnipeg during the period covered by this study, and in tracing the history of how assimilation became a major goal of education in Winnipeg.

From the foregoing, it should be noted that aspects of the school curriculum have received a great deal of attention over the years. Some of the works reviewed have touched on goals of the public school system while some have touched on its means. The relationship which exists between the curriculum goals of the public school system in Winnipeg and the means made available for the system to achieve its goals has not been studied. Many of the existing works on the school system in Manitoba have focused on the tasks which society assigned its school system, very few have questioned

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 23. ¹³⁰Ibid., pp. 201-206.

if the school system could actually carry out the task successfully; hence the concern of the present study which focuses on the goals, means and the tangible achievements of the Winnipeg public school system.

Chapter III

BACKGROUND FOR SOCIETY'S VISION AND CURRICULUM GOALS IN WINNIPEG, 1897-1908

It is the objective of this chapter to examine the trends and tension which influenced society and the public educational system during the period 1897-1908. The chapter sets out to answer the following questions:

What socio-cultural forces were predominant in Winnipeg between 1897 and 1908? What problems did these forces pose for society and its school system? How did these forces influence society's vision during the period? What effects, if any, did the forces have on curriculum goals and program?

The Democratic Tradition

In a limited sense, democracy might be defined as a government run by the people who live under it. In a broader sense, however, the ideals and principles underlining a democratic government such as freedom of association, religion, and speech are essential ingredients of a democracy. Moreover, a definition of democracy may not be complete without its essential features such as representation by population, majority rule and minority rights, just to mention a few.

In Manitoba, the emergence of an industrial society hastened the spread of democracy.¹ Part of the democratic

¹W. L. Morton, op. cit., p. 228

principles which the settlers from Ontario brought to the province included the principle of representation by population and the introduction of manhood suffrage.² The introduction of manhood suffrage had some implications for the educational goals. Among other things, ability to read and write became essential if the full benefits of the principle of manhood suffrage were to be reaped. Indirectly, however, it became essential that the school system produce individuals who could judge the merits and demerits of political and social policies. It also became essential that the school system include in its clients the qualities of a democrat such as broadmindedness, autonomy, and the belief in the dignity and equality of man. Moreover, it became essential that the school system not only guard, but also broaden the principles underlining democracy as it was reminded of,

The invincible strength and the indomitable love of liberty of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, the early battles for civil and religious liberties against the efforts of the tyrants who sought to crush it, the Puritains who left their homes for conscience's sake, the Scottish covenanters who dyed the leather with the blood.³

²Ibid., p. 231.

³Rev. John Hogg, 'Report of the Activities of the Manitoba Cristian Endeavors', The Winnipeg Free Press, 7 February 1897, p. 5.

Manitoba, a Frontier of Opportunities

Economically, the province of Manitoba along with the other Prairie Provinces of Western Canada offers distinct natural advantages for agricultural settlements. Manitoba's many lakes and rivers provide an abundance of fish which provided part of the food which fed the colonists when they were establishing themselves; while in the later period grains from the Prairie Provinces were the cornerstone of the trade between Western Canada and the world. The plentiful supply of rich pasture and natural hay proved sufficient for cattle throughout the year. The province also had enough supply of timber for construction and, wood and coal for fuel.⁴

Though rainfall is scanty throughout Western Canada, the important point to note is that much of the precipitation is concentrated during the growing season. In Winnipeg, for example, though the total precipitation is small, a good proportion of the precipitation occurs during the growing season, when it is most needed.⁵

During the nineteenth century, Western Canada took advantage of the new agricultural techniques developed in the United States, particularly the new system of tillage suitable in the semi-arid region. In Utah and California, in the fifties and the sixties, settlers had worked out by the trial-and-error

⁴James B. Hedges, Building the Canadian West. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1939). p. 3.

⁵Ibid., p. 5.

method, the technique of dry farming, based upon the principle of conserving moisture in the soil. Summer fallow was accepted as an essential part of the dry farming practice, which soon spread over the plains country.⁶

The use of barbed wire which made possible the fencing of the largely treeless prairie country, Oliver's dreeled steel plow, the invention of the roller milling to overcome the hardness of spring wheat, the use of mechanical grain elevators, and the various experiments which provided varieties of wheat which would thrive on the prairies, were other instances of how Canadian Prairie farmers gained from the experiences of their counterparts in the United States.⁷ The important point to note is that Manitoba among the Prairie Provinces had lots to offer in terms of natural resources to the newcomers and some major problems which could have made the exploitation of those resources very difficult, were being solved.

One indispensable condition remained to be met, however, before immigrants from other parts of the world could come and transform Manitoba's potential wealth into a real one. A generous government immigration policy was heeded. The Liberal government set up an extensive propaganda machinery in Europe and the United States to advertise the potential wealth of the

⁶Ibid., p. 7

⁷Ibid., pp. 7-9.

Prairie provinces. Organizations and agencies were established at strategic points under successful western farmers as agents.

Repulsed by fierce competition from the United States, particularly in the Scandinavian countries, Canada turned attention to Eastern Europe.⁸ This new direction in immigration policy, proved successful because a large number of Ukrainians came to settle in the west, particularly in Manitoba. The concern of this study is the apparent lack of co-operation and consultation between the provincial and the federal levels of government over the important subject of education. The demands which increased immigration made on society and its school system in Manitoba and the lack of constitutional powers on the part of the provincial government over immigration complicated matters for the province.

The immigration propaganda of government, however, received an additional boost. The economy of Manitoba enjoyed a substantial growth. Commenting on the bright prospects of Manitoba's economy during the opening of the sixteenth session of the Manitoba Legislature in 1899, the Winnipeg Free Press in editorial described Manitoba as being "peaceful, contented and prosperous, enjoying good times and looking forward for better".⁹

⁸ Ibid., p. 131

⁹ The Editorial, The Winnipeg Free Press, 1 March 1899, p. 4.

In an article titled "Our Prospects are Bright", published March, 1899, a citizen of Winnipeg had cause to express satisfaction because "the propsects in Winnipeg point to a very prosperous summer. Building operations will be extensive".¹⁰

The prosperity which Manitoba enjoyed during the period was noticeable to outsiders, too. An annonymous traveller who passed through the province and the Northwest Territories in 1898 made some very interesting observations on the satisfactory considerations of affairs that then prevailed in the two places he visited. He was particularly impressed by the "general prosperity among the farming community".¹¹

Alex Smith, a journalist and an organizing secretary for the Liberal Party, one of Canada's major political parties, was also enamored of Manitoba. He talked about "the pretty homes of contented farmers"¹², while D. C. Fraser, M.P. and a strong believer in the dignity of labor especially that labor engaged in tilling the soil had strong belief that "this western country was alright".¹³

Thomas Ballantyne, ex-Speaker of the Ontario Legislature, a leading farmer and a manufacturer noticed the direction in

¹⁰Mayor Ashdown, "Our Prospects are Bright", Winnipeg Free Press, 1 March 1899, p. 4.

¹¹"Observation of a traveller who has just been through the Province and the Northwest Territories", Winnipeg Free Press, 9 August 1898, p. 6.

¹²Alex Smith, 'Progress in Manitoba', Winnipeg Free Press, 6 August 1898, p. 4.

¹³D.C. Fraser, "Prosperity in Manitoba," Winnipeg Free Press, 6 August 1898, p. 6.

Manitoba has passed the experimental stage and the people in this country have evidently every confidence in the future - - - in view of the fact that farmers are practising improved methods of agriculture and are moving rapidly in the right direction.¹⁴

Morton has suggested some factors which were responsible for the great boom which Manitoba's economy witnessed between 1897 and 1907. The first was an increase in the supply of gold and the second was the building of the Canadian Northern Railway.¹⁵

In 1897, gold was struck in the Yukon Territory, Added to the flood of South African gold from Witwatersrand, the gold backing of the world's currencies was increased thereby making money and credit available once more, for railway stocks, government bonds, and farm mortgages. Railway rates and ocean steam ship rates had fallen during the nineties and continued to fall for some years. Consequently, Manitoba wheat and cattle moved more cheaply to the Eastern and British markets. Wheat prices began to rise in 1896 and moved steadily up as the European industrialized countries demands increased. Post-1897 yields and acreage increased in response to clement weather conditions. The economy of Manitoba was booming and as Morton wrote:

Manitoba and the Canadian West, last of the great agricultural frontiers, were coming into their own after twenty years of preparation and disappointment. The world, it soon became apparent after 1897, would buy all the wheat Manitoba farmers could grow and would loan all the money Manitobans could spend on the development of the provinces's resources.¹⁶

¹⁴Thomas Ballantyne, 'Manitoba's Buoyant Economy', Winnipeg Free Press, 6 August 1898, p. 8.

¹⁵W.L. Morton, op. cit., pp.273-295.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 273.

Good prices for wheat, cheap lands, and a high flow of investment meant that immigration also quickened and the old problems of land settlement and national identity assumed new dimensions.¹⁷

The second factor which marked the turning point of 1896 in the development of Manitoba was the building in the summer of that year the 100 miles of railway by which the settlement around Dauphin got railway connection, and the whole fertile area in the northwestern Manitoba became open to settlement. The expansion of the Canadian Northern system was rapid. Charters of railroads, built and unbuilt, in Manitoba and Western Ontario were acquired. In a short while, the Canadian Northern expanded into a trans-continental system.¹⁸ It is important to note that the building of the Canadian Northern and its subsequent expansion, promoted a quick settlement of the prairies to the wooded slopes to the north and south and westward towards the rolling uplands which connected with the Shell River district to the southwest, and the upper valley of the Assiniboine.¹⁹ On the whole, the natural resources of the prairie west, the availability of agricultural techniques already developed in the United States, a vigorous government immigration propaganda, the prosperity of the Manitoban economy and the construction of

¹⁷Ibid., p. 273.

¹⁸Margaret McWilliams, op. cit., p. 175.

¹⁹W. L. Morton, op. cit., p. 275.

the Canadian Northern railway system, all combined with the end of a world-wide depression to advertise Manitoba as a frontier of opportunities. Attention is now turned to the numerous immigrants who sought to share in the province's prosperity and development.

The Emergence of Manitoba's Cultural Mosaic

The great influx of immigrants into Manitoba between late nineteenth century and World War I has received some attention. Before an examination of the new immigrants, however, it is necessary to point out that the Mennonites, the Icelanders and the Jews had already settled in the province during the late nineteenth century.

Willows,²⁰ has traced the history of the Mennonites in Manitoba. With regards to their background, it is important to note that the Mennonites accepted the Holy Bible as, "the first and final authority on all matters of faith and discipline".²¹

In Europe, they were misunderstood as they were considered a danger to the state. Their refusal to take up arms or to assume public positions was mistaken for civil disobedience or lack of patriotic feelings. To escape the wholesale

²⁰Andrew Willows, op. cit.

²¹Ibid., pp. 2-3.

persecution which accompanied the ministry of the Mennonites, a massive emigration became the only solution.²²

On August 13th, 1873, an agreement was struck between the Canadian government and some representatives of the Mennonites. This agreement absolved the Mennonites from any military services, it reserved eight townships for the exclusive use of the Mennonite settlers, and most important of all the right of the Mennonites to "have the fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles and educating their children in schools, AS PROVIDED BY LAW, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever".²³

From the foregoing, it would seem that the Mennonites, particularly those who believed in the principle of self-autonomy for the individual church, came from a background different from that of either the British or the French. Generally speaking, the Mennonites, particularly the conservative elements, resisted assimilation and opposed public education. Their struggle to safeguard the fundamental aspects of their culture constituted one of the problems which society in Winnipeg and its school system faced during the period under consideration.

²²Ibid., p. 6.

²³Ibid., p. 36.

Arnason has traced the history of the Icelandic settlements in America.²⁴ The first permanent Canadian settlement of the Icelanders was Gimli or New Iceland. After winning the war with a new and a harsh environment,²⁵ the small pox epidemic of 1876,²⁶ the Icelanders finally set up a local government system.²⁷

The Icelanders took education seriously. Through the activities of the churches,²⁸ (the Lutheran and the Unitarian), societies,²⁹ and newspapers,³⁰ the Icelanders instilled

²⁴Argantyr Arnason, op. cit.

²⁵Ibid., p. 19

²⁶Ibid., p. 20

²⁷Ibid., p. 21

²⁸Ibid., pp. 43-45.

²⁹Ibid., p. 48.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 49-50.

in their young ones certain essential Icelandic values. Young Icelanders were taught the Icelandic language while Icelandic literature was made available. When Lord Dufferin visited the New Iceland 1877, he was impressed by the fact that "no matter how bare or scanty its furniture, no (Icelandic) home was without a library of twenty or thirty volumes."³¹

However, it was of survival rather than cultural pride that dictated what the attitude of the Icelanders (would be) towards public education and the learning of the English language. Thus, Icelanders showed a desire for education and for assimilation. English was adopted as the official language of instruction in their newly established schools while they freely sent their children to public schools. Consequently the public schools in the Icelandic settlements was saved from the controversy and bitterness which plagued the system in Manitoba during the period under consideration. Icelandic children were taught their mother tongue by their parents, who in most cases instilled in the young Icelanders qualities of a good citizen and the responsibilities that citizenship implied, such as loyalty and patriotism.³²

The noticeable groups of Jewish immigrants arrived in Winnipeg in 1882. They were mainly Orthodox Jews from Czarist

³¹Ibid., p.24.

³²Ibid., p.47.

Russia. Like the Icelanders, the Jews approached the matters of education with some seriousness. In 1883, they opened a Sabbath School at Winnipeg with a curriculum which was limited to the study of the Bible. The official language, however, was English. Through the instrumentality of the public school system, and the fact that the Jewish immigrants were few in number, coupled with their readiness to adopt the use of the English language, the Jews, like the Icelanders were easily absorbed into the mainstream of the Canadian culture.³³

Between the late nineteenth century and World War I, the public schools in Manitoba were filled with the children of new immigrants. This included the Ukrainians, settlers from the United States, and Ontario, the Poles and the Swedes just to mention a few.

The emigration of the Ukrainians to Canada actually began in 1896. During this period about 94% of all Ukrainian immigration was concentrated in the three Prairie provinces. Manitoba had the largest number of Ukrainian settlers.³⁴

The Ukrainians were, not a homogeneous group. The overwhelming majority of the group who are now so termed, were, prior to 1918, inhabitants of what was the old Austria-Hungarian Empire. Maranchak, in his study, estimates that of

³³Keith Wilson, op. cit., pp.111-113.

³⁴Ol'ha Woycenko, 'The Ukrainians in Canada'. (Winnipeg: Trident Press Ltd., 1968). p.4.

Ukrainian population in Canada at the time of World War I, 97% were from the provinces of Austro-Hungary. They were described variously as "Galicians" "Austrians" "Bukovinians" "Ruthenians", less commonly as Ukrainians per se, and occasionally as Poles. Religion, however, provides a better guide for it is reasonably safe to assume that most people describing themselves as Greek-Catholic or Greek Orthodox were in fact Ukrainian.³⁵

In matters of religion, the Greek Orthodox Ukrainians showed hardly any tolerance or understanding of other denominations. They evinced a keen awareness of the differences between their religion and that of others; and perceived their church as a bulwark against the erosion of their religious traditions and their cultural identity.³⁶ With regards to education, they sought to establish their own schools though their success in this area was limited by their lack of experience in conducting school affairs, extreme hardships, lack of knowledge of the English language and the strange laws and ways of a new environment. Thus, some Ukrainian parents neglected their children's schooling and kept the children at home for farmwork and household chores.³⁷

Like the Mennonites, therefore, the Ukrainians resisted

³⁵ M.H. Maranchak, The Ukrainian Canadians' A History. (Winnipeg & Ottawa: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970). pp.80-81.

³⁶ Ol'ha Woycenko, op. cit., p.83.

³⁷ Ibid., p.83.

assimilation and fought 'tooth and nail' during the period under review for the retention of their cultural identity. They, like the French, opposed the secular public school system as a means of assimilation, and championed the cause of the bilingual school system which they thought was an excellent medium of fostering the survival of the various ethnic groups in Manitoba.³⁸

During the period under review, many immigrants with Anglo-Saxon background, particularly from the British Isles, the United States and Ontario came to settle in Manitoba. These immigrants naturally "adapted themselves most readily to Canadian conditions, knew the language and customs of the people and understood the underlying principles of the Canadian political economic and social life".³⁹ The new immigrants of the Anglo-Saxon origin therefore had a lot in common with the predominant group in Manitoba and were therefore easily absorbed into the mainstream of society.

The French, more than any other ethnic group articulated the struggle for minority rights in educational matters and opposed the establishment of a secular public school system by the Anglo-Saxons.

³⁸ Ibid., p.83

³⁹ J.T.M. Anderson, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

The settlement in Manitoba of many ethnic groups, mostly grouped in large bodies, speaking many languages, each with its national customs and ideals, adhering to Protestant or Catholic religions, intensified the religious jealousies of the English and the French races, and created an entirely new language and educational problem into which each of the old Canadian races proceeded to project their influence.⁴⁰

Thus, the struggle between the forces of assimilation and those of ethnic autonomy posed threats to society. By 1908, the Poles, the Swedes, the Galicians, the Rumanians and a host of other ethnic groups had settled in Manitoba.⁴¹ Definitely, the emergence of Manitoba's cultural mosaic posed significant problems for the public school system.

First, the influx of many ethnic groups into the province changed its ethnic composition and character. The fairly-well defined English system which was emerging towards the end of the nineteenth century in terms of moral, social and physical characteristics was disrupted. Moreover, the attempts by ethnic-conscious groups like the French, the Mennonites, the Ukrainians, the Galicians and the Poles just to mention a few; to maintain the separate identity was resisted by the dominant Anglo-Saxon group which was committed to safeguarding the existing character of the province.⁴²

⁴⁰David Scott Woods, op. cit., p.51.

⁴¹J. T. M. Anderson, op. cit., pp.5-7.

⁴²J. T. Whittaker, op. cit., p. 31.

Second, the enrolment in the public schools naturally became heavy.⁴³ Closely connected with increased enrolment was the problem of providing accommodation and necessary equipment.

Third, there was the numerous human problems encountered by the children of the immigrants in the public schools because, no sooner than many of the immigrants settled they realized that there existed real linguistic, cultural and social obstacles which impeded the progress of their children in the public school. The school community had very little direct knowledge of the immigrant's educational system, the teaching method used, the curriculum values stressed the expectations of students by the school or by the parents, or the role of the parents in the school. Similarly, the immigrant student and his family knew very little about the Canadian education, culture, values and expectations. The situation was challenging as both the hosts and the immigrants were handicapped because of language barriers.⁴⁴

Fourth, the influx of some immigrants into Winnipeg, coupled with the increased mechanization of agriculture and the automation of industries in general, created further social disturbances. For example, there was the problem of

⁴³ Keith Wilson, op. cit., p. 257

⁴⁴ J.W. Chase, An Apple for the Teacher: A Centennial History of the Winnipeg School Division. (Winnipeg: The Winnipeg School Division, No. 1, 1967), pp.60-62.

poverty,⁴⁵ poor accommodation,⁴⁶ and disease,⁴⁷ coupled with increased juvenile delinquency as already noted.

The socio-economic problems created by the great influx of immigrants had a definite bearing on the school curriculum. According to Wilson:

The changing character of society led to a reappraisal of the aims and the role of the school. It also led to a broadening of the curriculum with a greater emphasis being placed on the practical and technical. . .⁴⁸

Immigration, increased urbanism and industrialism greatly influenced the educational goals in Manitoba between 1897 and 1908. The vision of society in Manitoba was toward an amelioration or possibly a complete eradication of the pernicious effects of these forces while at the same time society could enjoy their blessings. This was also an increasing realization that literacy was essential for democratic government. Part of the vision which was emerging in Manitoba was that of a prosperous and harmonious state. The vision, however, focussed on the individual as well as society because, due to influence of the New Pedagogy, the public educational system showed the desire to cater to the needs and interests of the learners as well as those of the state.

⁴⁵Alan F. J. Artibise, op. cit., pp. 178-181.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 185-187.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 187.

⁴⁸Keith Wilson, op. cit., pp. 322-323.

The New Pedagogy

The New Pedagogy is part of the Progressive Movement in Education. According to Cremin,

. . .progressive education began as part of a vast humanitarian effort to apply the promise of American life - the ideal of government by, of, and for the people - to the puzzling new urban-industrial civilization that came into being during the latter half of the nineteenth century. . .progressive education began as progressivism in education: a many-sided effort to use the schools to improve the lives of individuals. . .this meant several things. First, it meant broadening the program and function of the school to include direct concern for health, vocation, and the quality of family and community life. Second, it meant applying in the classroom the pedagogical principles derived from new scientific research in psychology and to social sciences. Third, it meant tailoring instruction more and more to the different kinds and classes of children who were being brought within the purview of the school.⁴⁹

The public school system in Winnipeg, like many other school systems in the western world was in the mainstream of this new educational developments. Earlier in 1888, it was reported that the teachers of the Winnipeg School District, under the encouragement of their superintendent, Daniel McIntyre,

⁴⁹Lawrence Arthur Cremin, The Transformation of the School Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), pp. viii-ix.

"voluntarily organized an in-service program, meetings in groups to study psychology".⁵⁰

One of the new educators who perhaps exerted the greatest influence on the public school system in Manitoba was Colonel Parker and his wife. In an editorial, the Educational Journal of Western Canada, put the contributions of Mrs. Parker to education in its perspective:

It is not enough to say that she has been the devoted help-mate of the most heroic figure in the educational life of this continent. She has followed her chief to the field and has stood by his side in the heat and stress of the battle for educational reform, for sounder methods, for broader sympathy. . .

It is not too much to say that of all the outside influence which have directed and moulded educational thought in Manitoba, the most potent for good has been the influence of the Parkers. Mrs. Parker's talk on expression and child study are still fresh in the minds of teachers and have exercised an influence for good which cannot be estimated. . . Her addresses on child study have done much to lead teachers to a more loving and sympathetic knowledge of child life.⁵¹

In 1900, the Journal devoted about three pages to an anonymous report on the contribution of Colonel Parker's 'Chicago Institute' to the New Education. The report stated:

The aim of the Chicago Normal School has been to realize the highest possible moral, mental and physical development of the pupil to this end, the whole faculty with their combined knowledge and experience co-operated in adapting to each pupil according to his needs, all

⁵⁰J.W. Chafe, An Apple for the Teacher. A Centennial History of the Winnipeg School Division, (Winnipeg: The Winnipeg School Division No. 1, 1967), p.37.

⁵¹The Editorial, 'Mrs. Parker and Education', The Educational Journal of Western Canada, Vol. 1, No. 2, (February 1899) p.61.

the educative activities of study, play, manual training, music and the various forms of physical exercise. The chief characteristic of the school was the emphasis placed upon the correlation of studies and the mental concentration and interest developed by this means.⁵²

And in 1902, when the news of the Colonel's death reached Manitoba, an editorial of the journal reiterated his contributions to education,

It is with regret that we record the passing away of Colonel Francis W. Parker, of Chicago, - the teacher of big heart, broad sympathy and honest courage. He loved freedom with an intense passion, and he loved it most in little children. His whole life was an effort to harmonize educational efforts with the laws of nature. He studied children and found that they had as many merits as have adults, he found that they could teach him more about methods in education than he could teach them; he humbled himself and became as a little child, in his humility and honest search for truth, he found what prouder souls have missed. . . . His work on the platform, in his schools at Quincy and Chicago, in his books for teachers has been an inspiration.⁵³

An exposition of the ramifications of the 'New Pedagogy' was not limited to the pages of The Educational Journal of Western Canada. A cursory look at the program of studies of teachers in the province during the period shows that a good attention was devoted not only to Parker but also to some of the leading advocates of the New Pedagogy, which included Dewey, Herbart, Spencer, Horne, Harris, and Butler.

⁵² Anonymous, 'The Chicago Institute', The Educational Journal of Western Canada, Vol. 2, No. 5, (May 1900) pp. 333-336.

⁵³ The Editorial, 'The Late Colonel Parker', The Educational Journal of Western Canada, 1902, Vol. 2, No. 1, (January 1902) p. 23.

One major result of the attention which the public school system in Manitoba focussed on the new trend in education was the expansion of the school curriculum. During the period, the school curriculum expanded both horizontally and vertically. Horizontally, because new subjects were included in the curriculum, and vertically because the horizon of each subject was broadened. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, composition, literature, and history were added to the curriculum. Between 1900 and 1925, object lessons were replaced by nature study, while physical training and hygiene replaced physiology, physical drill and temperance.⁵⁴ Other new subjects included Gardening, Agriculture, particularly in the rural districts and Industrial Education in the urban schools.

In an article titled, 'Subjects of Study and Their Purpose', Daniel McIntyre, Superintendent of Winnipeg School District, put the school curriculum in some perspective. The written exercises in his estimate were a means of training the student in painstaking and orderin, while spelling is desirable because of its social utility. The purpose of Arithmetic was to teach accuracy while Geography was indispensable because of its commercial value. The study of History was to familiarize students with their heritage while at the same time it could lay a foundation for their future participation in public life after they had become acquainted with the duties and privileges of a citizen. Through Agriculture, students could develop an

⁵⁴ C.E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada, (Toronto: W. J. Gage & Co., Ltd., 1957), p. 433.

awareness of their immediate environment and its potentials. Grammar and Composition are essential in developing the skill of communication, while through Form Study and Drawing the students could develop their taste and gain some degree of technical skill.⁵⁵

The important point to note is that the child was the center of the New Education at least in theory. The subject matter, it was urged, should take cognizance of the needs and nature of the child. There was an attempt to make the school program more practical and true to life. In short, the curriculum in response to changing social and economic conditions, became a means of accommodating such changes.

School method, like the school subjects also received attention. In the Normal Schools, the program of studies centered around the child. Child Study, School Organization; and new subjects like Physiology and Personal Hygiene took cognizance of the child's needs and nature. In 1903, for example, the teacher's examination in Psychology focused on perception and instincts, as well as principles of streaming, discipline and school environment.⁵⁶

In 1899 Teachers' Examination in Physiology, a knowledge of the general anatomy of the human body was tested with emphasis

⁵⁵D. McIntyre, "Subjects of Study and their Purpose", *The Educational Journal of Western Canada*, vol. 5, no. 6 (June 1903) pp. 331-333.

⁵⁶Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report, 1903, pp. 55-56.

on the various organs of the human body, health hazards and personal hygiene.⁵⁷ In 1905, Psychology examination topics selected for examination included consciousness, sensation, emotion, interest, and the influence of exercise on memory. In School Management, attention was focused on behavior, teacher/pupil cooperation and how to make school interesting. In Personal Hygiene topics like proper ventilation, safety and convenience of the school plant were included in the examination.⁵⁸

In 1906, two examination papers were added for the kindergarten assistants. The first paper was on "The Theory and Practice of the Occupations" while the second was on "The Theory and Practice of the Gifts".⁵⁹

In The Educational Journal of Western Canada, school method was more closely tied to psychology; and the two together received extensive attention. Through the media of the teachers' conventions, feature articles, inspector's notes, and the editorial, ideas were exchanged among teachers pertaining to how best to impart knowledge in the school room.

⁵⁷Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report, 1899, pp. 22-23.

⁵⁸Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report, 1905, pp. 7-8.

⁵⁹Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report, 1906, p. 72.

In 1900, W.A. McIntyre, principal of the Manitoba Normal School, offered some observations on primary reading. In this long article, McIntyre went into some detailed discussion of the psychology of learning, emphasizing the need to secure attention and arouse consciousness.⁶⁰

In response to teachers' questions, the journal occasionally published lesson notes to serve as guides for teachers. One primary concern of the teachers during this period and in this regard was how best to harmonize the child's interest with the subject-matter. In these lesson notes, apparatus, real and improvised, were often suggested as well as pupils' activities.

At teachers' conventions, ideas on all aspects of education with particular emphasis on learning, were disseminated. Problems pertaining to teaching were analyzed and solutions were suggested. In the convention of the German Bilingual Schools of Southern Manitoba held in the Altona Public School on Friday and Saturday, November 1st and 2nd, 1901, attention was focussed on the teacher, discipline and self-activities of the pupils. In a paper, 'The Ideal Teacher' Professor Ewert of Gretna Normal School emphasized the duties of a school teacher while L. Erk emphasized the need to allow the students to indulge in the use of their hands in learning in his paper titled

⁶⁰W.A. McIntyre. 'In the Schoolroom', The Educational Journal of Western Canada, Vol. 2, No. 5, (May 1900) pp. 357-360.

'Means for Self-employment of the Pupils'.⁶¹

Another regular feature which the journal employed as a means of educating teachers on the New Pedagogy was the 'Inspector's Notes', edited by Inspector Rose of Brandon School District. These notes focussed attention on problems topics or concerns which were shared in common with regard to child psychology, school method and school management. The important part to note is that the period under consideration was preoccupied with the New Pedagogy. Through the media of teachers' conventions, feature articles and editorials, teachers aired their problems and shared solutions.

The increasing attention which was focussed on the child did not go unchallenged. One leading opponent of the New Education was F.H. Schofield, principal of the Collegiate Institute in Winnipeg. In one article titled 'Some Half Truths', he took exception to what he considered to be the new child worship when he wrote,

Within the last ten years, our educational literature has been dominated by a kind of transcendental child worship, and not a few of our leading teachers in Canada and United States have become adherents of the new cult. The object of their rapt adoration is not a real child with freckled face, mischievous eyes, rumped hair, and torn clothes, who in the years to come must do a man's work in the rough-and-tumble struggle of life and fight his way to success or be pushed aside as a failure; it is rather a kind of cherubic abstraction made up mostly of sentimental possibilities. And there is a marked tendency, on the part of the worshippers to sit before that idol and gaze upon its possibilities. . . . The child

⁶¹ L. Erk, "Means for Self-employment of the Pupils", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, Vol. 3, no. 9 (September 1901) pp. 283-285.

is the supreme head of the educational system, he is above the programme of study, timetables, methods and devices, he is higher than textbooks, and drill and examinations, he is superior to the hopes of teachers, the ambitions of parents, financial considerations, and business success; his welfare is the ultimate good; and for him alone the school and the school master exist.⁶²

Schofield was not alone in opposition to the child-centered education. J. C. Butchart, a writer in the journal, pointed out the one dilemma of the school teacher with regard to the child-centered education as he was faced with reconciling what he was taught to teach and what the public expected him to teach. In his opinion,

It often seems that to the teacher come peculiar and subtle temptations to essay the impossible. It has been preached to him that education is not the gaining of information, but the development of inborn faculties that its end is not knowledge but power. . . It often comes upon him with a shock of surprise that many of the people among whom his lot is cast have entirely different ideals from himself in matters of education.⁶³

Agnes D. Cameron, another popular writer in the journal during the period, also had an axe to grind with the New Pedagogy, particularly with its over-expanding program as shown in her observation.

⁶²F.H. Schofield, 'Some Half Truths', The Educational Journal of Western Canada, Vol. 1, No. 6, (June 1899) pp.169-170.

⁶³J.C. Butchart, 'The Child-Centered Education', The Educational Journal of Western Canada, Vol. 1, No. 6, (June 1899) pp.69-70.

In the school, as elsewhere in this busy age of emulation, of turmoil, and competition, we attempt too much - eagerness takes the place of earnestness - and we are out of touch with the good old-fashioned virtues of thoughtfulness and thoroughness.⁶⁴

She urged that the clock be put back, enrichment lopped off as the school gets back to simpler conditions.⁶⁵

The New Pedagogy, therefore, was not accepted by all the teachers as the solution to the prevailing educational problems, though the notion of a child-centred education received considerable attention in the records examined. The influence of the New Pedagogy was, however, reflected in a re-examination of old subjects, an expansion of the school curriculum designed to cater to the needs and interests of the child. Coupled with the influx of the new immigrants, the New Pedagogy therefore encouraged an expansion of the curriculum goals of the public school system. Chapter IV and V will show further impact of the New Pedagogy on the goals and practice of public education in Manitoba.

Considering the foregoing, certain similarities which existed in the circumstances underlining educational goals of the school systems in the State of Massachusetts, United States during the mid-nineteenth century and Winnipeg between 1897 and 1908 are not difficult to find. In both situations, industrialism

⁶⁴ Agnes D. Cameron, "Too Much too Fast". The Educational Journal of Western Canada, Vol. 1, No. 2, (February 1900) p. 85.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 85.

the urbanism brought in their wake certain social ills which occurred in Massachusetts, Katz wrote:

Within the lifetime of one man a new society was born, a society that smashed old expectations with the force of steam, that ripped apart and restricted the web of relationships composing the experience of man.⁶⁶

Suffice it to say that the new society both in Massachusetts and in Manitoba made new demands on the public school system. In Manitoba, as in Massachusetts⁶⁷ the increase in population necessitated an expansion of public schooling.⁶⁸ In some respects, the New Pedagogy reinforces society's expectations of its school system with particular regards to cure for social ills. On the other hand, the New Pedagogy produced new instructional approaches which put the child, rather than the subject-matter at the center of the educational process. The New Pedagogy with its emphasis on reform was the major means of realizing the new society.

The Progressive Education, of which the New Pedagogy was part has been criticized on many grounds. One criticism of the movement is the negativism inherent in reform movement. The movement knew what it was against, but it was divergent

⁶⁶Michael B. Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts (Harvard University Press, 1968) p. 11.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 11-12.

⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 11-17.

on what is was for. The advocated practices were often idealistic and of little use in the classroom. Second, the progressive plan required far more of the teacher than most were able to give. When applied properly, most of its ideas were excellent; when applied poorly they were worse than the traditional system.⁶⁹ Further criticism of the progressive plan include its anti-intellectual stance,⁷⁰ its obsession with the egalitarian principles,⁷¹ its emphasis on attitudes and value as opposed to facts⁷² and the lowering of the educational standard.⁷³ At all events, between 1897 and 1908, society in Winnipeg experienced increased immigration, urbanization and industrialization and their concomitant effects. The Democratic tradition and the New Pedagogy were primarily the springwell of society's vision. The need to solve society's social ills, maintain the social order and the need to reform society became part of the educational process. The expansion of society's needs led to the expansion of curriculum goals and curriculum program. It became essential that the school program incorporate into its goals the principles of both the democratic tradition and the New Pedagogy.

⁶⁹Lawrence Arthur Cremin, op. cit., pp. 348-349.

⁷⁰Hilda Neatby, So Little for the Mind . (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited, 1953). p. 25.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 36-42.

⁷²Ibid., pp. 42-45; pp. 48-59.

⁷³Ibid., pp. 45-48.

Chapter IV
SOCIETY'S EXPECTATIONS
OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM
1897-1908.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline society's expectations of the school system as a means of turning its vision into reality. It is essentially an exposition of an ideal, a presentation of a vision which society in Winnipeg felt was realizable through the instrumentality of its public school system. It offers the reader the opportunity to trace the social origins of the public school curriculum goals in Winnipeg.

Immigration, Poverty, Public Morality and the School System.

At the core of any sense of community among individuals or social groups lies a suspicion of outsiders. People who share a sense of community tend to view themselves bound together by commonly held values, standards of public and private behavior, and social goals. Outsiders are often seen as posing threats to the continued harmony of the community.¹

The above reflects similar apprehension of the dangers associated with the influx of immigrants into Manitoba during

¹Stanley K. Schultz, The Culture Factory (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973) p. 210.

the period under discussion. There was the fear of the potential threats which immigrants posed to the social order,² strengthened by the belief that by accepting low wages, aliens depressed the living standard of Manitoban workers.³

W. A. McIntyre expressed the notion that the public school system should reduce, possibly remove, the fear associated with the immigrants by creating and sustaining a sense of harmony and shared purpose among the divergent peoples of Manitoba:

In a community of mixed races, it is not to be expected that all will have the same ideals of life and duty. It may be hoped that as the school continues to exert its beneficial influence in the direction of intelligence and morality, prejudice will be overcome, sectional differences will be reconciled, mutual respect will be engendered, and the varying type of civilization will be conformed to the national ideal.⁴

T. M. Maguire, Inspector of Schools for the North-Central Inspectoral Division, saw a definite need to assimilate the immigrants through the public schools:

The great work of the public school in Canada is the formation and development of a high type of national life. This is particularly true in western Canada with the heterogeneous population. These incongruous elements have to be assimilated, have to be welded into one harmonious whole.⁵

In the opinion of J. T. Cressey, Principal of the Ruthenian

²J.T.M. Anderson, The Education of the New-Canadian (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1918), p. 25

³J.T.M. Anderson, "Canadian Immigration and Its Problems", (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1914). p.39.

⁴Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report, 1899, p.26.

⁵Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report, 1906, p.31.

Training School, ignorance also posed a serious danger to social order:

As the Ruthenians and Poles have been placed in large communities by themselves where, if allowed to grow in ignorance, they would eventually become a menace to the state, therefore it seems to me that the state must educate these people for its own preservation.⁶

The greatest danger to threaten society during the period was the increased rate in juvenile delinquency which was also associated with increased immigration. On March 12, 1897, a large deputation from the Humane Society presented a memorial to the government on the subject of "Reclaiming Neglected and Vicious Children".⁷

The Society claimed that in Winnipeg alone there were 123 arrests of juveniles in 1896. Thirty-two of these were under sixteen years of age, forty-six were under 19 while 45 were not yet 21 years old. Among these were included boys and girls whose ages range between 9 and 12 years, arrested for theft. Others, just a few years older, were charged with persistent vagrancy, drunkenness and disorderly behavior.⁸

⁶ Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report, 1906, p. 483.

⁷ See article entitled, "Reclaiming Neglected and Vicious Children", The Winnipeg Free Press, 12 March 1897, p. 4.

⁸ Ibid., p. 4.

It was also alleged that in addition to those whose names appeared on the criminal records, a large number of young children were being systematically trained to beg and were being debased by degrading influences and vicious surroundings, while many children not under parental control and influence swelled the rate of juvenile crimes. The Society therefore perceived juvenile delinquency as a real danger to society as those delinquents might eventually be lost to the community and swell the ranks of the hardened criminals whose existence was a menace to social order.

In view of these considerations, the Society felt that immediate steps should be taken to cope with the evil before it became worse. Part of their suggested plan included, a) establishment of government supervised homes; b) legal protection for children from cruelty; c) stricter government control over neglected and delinquent children,⁹ and the petitioners expected the public school to reform the juvenile delinquents. It urged that;

. . . the government take into consideration the best mode of dealing with juvenile offenders who have gone so far in crime that they are not fit for family life; and make provision for the detention and education of such offenders, so they may have such measure of training and reformation as will give them an opportunity of escaping from a life of crime.¹⁰

⁹ Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

The fear of increased juvenile crimes expressed by the Humane Society was shared by the free Kindergarten Association.¹¹ The Association praised the efforts of the Press, the Pulpit, public platforms, board meetings and Associations for "employing all possible means for the cure of evil already prevalent in this young city". It, however, regretted that too much attention was being devoted towards curing the crime, when in fact greater attention should be focussed on preventing it.

In this regard, the Association expected the public schools as a vital means to prevent the evils of immorality and crime.

It has often been said that the mission of the present generation in this new country is to lay broad and deep foundations of righteousness and sound morality. Our great public school is carried on not only that the child may have sufficient knowledge of English and Mathematics to enable him to make his ways among his fellows, but that his mind may be trained to absorb such food as will fit him to become a benefit to the community.¹²

The inspector for the South-East Inspectoral Division,

¹¹The Free Kindergarten Association was a humanitarian organization sponsored by some Winnipeg ladies. On April 17, 1897, the Association had 70 children of various nationalities aged 2½-7 years enrolled at its Logan Avenue address. One object of the Association was "to keep the children, particularly those of the working mothers from the temptations of the street". Winnipeg Free Press, 12 April 1897, p.4.

¹²Ibid., p. 4.

R. Goulet reiterated the expectation that the public school system should concern itself with morality, among other things:

The teacher must not be satisfied with storing the mind of the child with facts. He must not stop at the development of those intellectual faculties when the child through the reasoning power has been led to discover the unknown from the known. The influence of the teacher must extend beyond the training of the intellect. It is for him to direct the will of the child in the noble path of love and virtue. It is for him to instill in the hearts of the young the sanguine desire to acquire sentiments which will lead him to the knowledge and desire of all that is beautiful and good and true.¹³

Goulet, therefore, expected the public school to prepare the student both morally and intellectually because both intellectual and moral training is essential for a wholesome life.¹⁴

W. A. McIntyre also shared the expectation that the development of sound morals and proper habits should be part of the public schools' concern. In his estimates, the public school should inculcate in its clients "the most necessary qualities in any life".¹⁵

The concern for character training also received support from other educational leaders. For example, an inspector of public schools during the period, S. E. Lang, reiterated that the public schools should cultivate virtues in the students

¹³Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report, 1907, p.50.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 51.

¹⁵W.A. McIntyre "On Moral Education", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, Vol. 1, No. 8 (December 1899) p.230.

as well as develop their intellect. Part of the function of the public schools according to him should be, "to fill the child's soul with a sense of moral duties and obligations".¹⁶

It should be noted that the period between 1897 and 1908 witnessed a great concern for morality and character training through which it hoped to solve the problems of ignorance, poverty and increased juvenile delinquency, all of which were aggravated by increased immigration. It was felt that the public schools through their moral education could do a great deal to lessen the evils that existed in society and aid in their elimination. Through its character training program, the school was expected to serve as a new pillar of support for the social order and established customs.

The supreme question of the century is the question of personal character. The nation that can grow a worthy manhood and womanhood can live. It is immortal. The nation whose personal life deteriorates is already smitten with death. Character is the only conserving and conquering power.¹⁷

¹⁶S. E. Lang, 'Conduct', The Educational Journal of Western Canada, Vol. IV, No. 8 (December 1902) p. 284.

¹⁷W. Schofield, 'Public Education and Character Training', The Educational Journal of Western Canada, Vol. I, No. 4. (April 1906) p. 5.

Concern for the Democratic Tradition

During the period under review it was part of public expectations that the common schools should include the inculcation of democratic ideals in the young Canadians living in Manitoba. It was felt that before the new immigrants could participate meaningfully in political and social life, they had to be educated. Literacy was deemed essential for the operation of a democracy.

In this regard, the public schools were expected to produce a society consisting as far as possible, of persons characterised by independence of mind, responsibility, and freedom of action which spring from high principles. It was necessary to develop in the immigrants a belief in the mission, ideals, morals and institutions of Canada as the common school was expected to employ various means to impress upon Manitobans that they were all part of a 'self-governing whole', and, therefore, had duties which could not be ignored nor relegated to others. Cameron, a school teacher and a regular writer in the Western School Journal during the period, explained in some detail some attributes which public schools had to develop. The attributes included a demonstration of virtues in private life, a deep sense of brotherhood and harmony in social life and responsibility in political undertakings.¹⁸

¹⁸A.E. Cameron, "Our School System and Moral Education", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, Vol. 1, No. 8 (August 1899) p. 234.

It was also suggested that Canadian citizenship must "mean more than the mere privilege of making a cross opposite a name on the ballot paper".¹⁹ It was urged that a citizen of a democracy must show that he is:

. . .capable of thinking independently and of taking his place as an honest, industrious and intelligent member of society, prizing his liberties, respecting the law that protects him and fully realizing his duties and responsibilities.²⁰

Due to the fact that the ignorant man led by a political demagogue and bribed by his agents constituted a menace to democratic government, it was further required that the public school system should ensure that,

. . . the people of whom, by whom and for whom government is conducted must at least be lifted from the slough of illiteracy.²¹

It was considered that part of the common school system should be to lead the individual "to appreciate the struggles of the race and nation, to secure personal, political and religious freedom for all", and to create "a body of men and women capable of moulding public opinion and keeping it pure".²²

Furthermore, the public schools were urged to assume as

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 6.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 6.

²¹ Ibid., p. 6.

²² E.E. Best, "Civics in Our Schools", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, Vol. 1, No. 8, (August 1899) p. 234.

part of their duties equipping their students with the ability to weigh facts, to make deductions. It was felt that a true conception of Canadian government be taught in schools with emphasis on its leading features of monarchical government, its federal, provincial and municipal organization.²³

Thus, it could be seen that during the period, society depended on the school system to stimulate the child to develop loyalties and sentiments which go beyond the family.²⁴ The public school system was society's principal agency for loosening the child's ties to his parents and initiating him into social institutions that cut across kin and neighbourhood groupings.²⁵ It was expected that the school system socialize its clients to the political norms and values of society in Winnipeg.

The task of fostering democratic ideals in future Canadian citizens was, considered in a broader perspective. The assistance of the family and that of the church was urged.

Through the Sunday Schools, the Young Woman's Christian Association, and Young Men's Christian Association and a host of other Christian and Public organizations, the new immigrant were admonished to adopt more liberal methods of raising children. They were, for example, advised "not to consider

²³Ibid., p. 234.

²⁴Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes In Children, (Chicago: Aldines, 1967), p.217.

²⁵Frederick Elkin & Gerald Handel, The Child and Society: The Process of Socialization. (New York: Random House, 1960), p. 111.

their children as their personal belonging or a mere continuation of survival, as it were of themselves". On the contrary, they were urged to consider their off-springs as "beings who presently will have to be independent of them". In this regard, the adoption of a liberal child-raising method was recommended as a means to "hasten their children's emancipation under the best possible conditions".²⁴

Children, it was further urged, should be treated from the very beginning, and even after, as grown-ups, as separate personalities, so as to facilitate the process of making them responsible and original personalities. Parents were therefore urged to treat their children with respect and to give them ample practices in managing certain affairs and commissions as such opportunities would foster independence.

As expected of good and responsible citizens, it was urged that parents observe all the laws of their country and to be alert to their civic responsibilities.

Don't ride your wheel on the sidewalk and then boast about it; your son will do the same thing on the first opportunity. Don't smuggle a pair of shoes from Seattle the next time you visit the Sound, and follow it up by saying in the presence of your family that there is no sin in cheating the government, your action will have little effect on the public credit, but it will have an effect upon the standard of right and wrong in your home.²⁵

²⁴S.E. Lang, "The Role of the Family and Church in Education", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, Vol. 2, (July 1901) pp. 240-252.

²⁵Ibid., p. 249.

The pulpit was urged to undertake the role of preparing a self-governing, law-abiding citizenship. It was suggested that the church should be "more insistent on the plain duties of man to man". In place of putting an undue emphasis on "justification by faith, on apostolic succession and verbal aspiration", the church was expected to sermonize on "school-girl honor", "playground ethics", and on the fundamental principles or "commandments" that underlay good citizenship and democratic government.²⁶

As part of preserving the nation-state and developing the right disposition for a democracy, and as a bulwark against despotism, the school was expected to encourage patriotism.

. . . In this western land, we are all Canadians by birth or by adoption. Canada is our home. There is an abundance of patriotic deeds for us all to do, we cannot meet the emergencies unless we put ourselves deliberately on the alter of sacrifice for God and for our country- - ²⁷

In this regard, teachers were expected to 'imbue their students with the idea of service to one's country', and to impress it upon them that "everyone is constantly receiving something from the state" and therefore "a debtor to the state". It was expected that the public schools explain the true meaning of taxes in a way that everybody could understand that

²⁶ Ibid., p. 250.

²⁷ Rev. John Hogg, "Report of the Activities of the Manitoba Christian Endeavorers", The Winnipeg Free Press, 25 May 1897, p. 2.

they were simply means by which "a person's indebtedness to the state may be discharged", that military service and jury duties as well as holding public offices is a means to serve the state not an opportunity to get something from the state.²⁸ Thus, it was felt during the period that an essential part of the functions of the public school system was to encourage harmony among the ethnic groups and loyalty and service to the country were essential for Canada to realize her dreams about national consciousness and greatness and to assume greater roles in international affairs.

Education for the welfare of the Individual

Society's vision during the period was not focussed on the state alone, the vision envisaged that a good state should also show concern for the welfare of the individual. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, both in Europe and America, there was a movement to discover the child. Increasingly, the child came to be viewed differently in terms of his needs.²⁹ Soon, attention was focussed on the various stages of development of the child and the need to recognize these stages and provide appropriate nurture that would ensure a moral life when children reach maturity gained currency.³⁰ The implications

²⁸ E.E. Best, op. cit., p. 240.

²⁹ Neil Sutherland, Children in English Canadian Society Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus. (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 13-36.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 17-21.

for the public school system are also apparent. The school system had to recognize and cater to the needs of the child. The New Education was a challenge to an educational system which was preoccupied with catering to the needs and interests of society while it neglected the interests and needs of the individual.

In Manitoba, the child was courted in more ways than one. First, some concern was shown for the welfare of children which led to a growing realization that statutory regulations and publicly supported agencies must be established "for the benefits of those children whose home could not or would not provide adequately for them".³¹ In 1901, the Children's Protection Act was passed in Manitoba and a Superintendent of Neglected Children was appointed.³² In 1908, following the passage of the Juvenile Delinquents' Act by the Government of Canada, Manitoba took the lead to establish a juvenile court and a detention home for truants and delinquents.³³

With regards to the public school, it was the opinion of John W. Dafoe that it should equip the clients for life:

The purpose of the school was to do something for them by which they could improve their position in the world, by which they could acquire some equipment which will fit them better for the difficulties and problems of life. What comes first in education is to equip people to live and to do things they want to do and that otherwise they cannot do.³⁴

³¹Keith Wilson, op. cit., p. 270.

³²Ibid., p. 270.

³³Ibid., p. 270.

³⁴Ramsay Cook, The Politics of John W. Dafoe and the Free Press. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p.5.

The Free Kindergarten Association of Winnipeg, which took children from poor and unstimulating surroundings, saw it as an essential part of its mission to lay the foundation for all education by leading the child to understand his relation to nature, his peers and to God.

The child is born with all his possibilities in germs, the awakening of these germs depends on his environment. Being made in the image of God, he possesses creative activity, and the aim of the Kindergarten is to develop his creative activity, this God-given power in man and in which man resembles most his creator. . . the work is one that should appeal to all for it is a work that will tell upon the future good conduct of our city.³⁵

Daniel McIntyre, Superintendent of the Winnipeg School Division during the period also supported the idea that the public school should have life as its focus:

The taking over of the Manual Training Schools, the Organization of Nature Study and the institution of classes in sewing are three distinctly forward steps marking the year and giving evidence of the Board of Trustees to make the school an efficient agency to equip the children of the city for the requirements of life.³⁶

It should be noted from the foregoing that the New Education and its ally, the New Pedagogy played an important role in shaping society's vision. The concern shown particularly for the less fortunate or the disadvantaged children demonstrated that there was concern for humanity in the vision.

³⁵The Free Kindergarten Association, "Educating Our Children", The Winnipeg Free Press, 17 April 1897, p. 6.

³⁶Daniel McIntyre, "School Subjects" Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report, 1908, p. 422.

Similarly, society saw its school system as the major means of fostering individual happiness and growth. Because of the demands of the New Pedagogy, it became obligatory for the schools to help the individual to understand life and to realize his full potential.

The School System and the Development of Basic Skills

The society envisaged during this period was one blessed with political harmony, humane feelings and skillful men and women. The need to develop basic social skills also received attention. Among the basic social skills which society felt its school system should develop in the students because of their social values were legible handwriting, correct spelling and diction and calculation. Accurate calculations and effective communications were essential for the realization of society's vision.

W. A. McIntyre was in agreement with the view that the school system should play a crucial role in developing basic skills of its clients because in his opinion, "the test of capacity is not power to assimilate but power to perform".³⁷ He also gave recognition to the fact that the need to produce "practical men" demanded a change in the orientation and the process of education. In his estimate, education could not

³⁷Ibid., p. 422.

produce "men and women who will clamor for the latest invention in machinery with the old time equipment and old time methods".³⁸

The need to produce skilled men and women was regarded as an insurance against class strife and a means to eradicate poverty. In this regard, education was seen as a means of turning the new immigrants into productive citizens as well as a means of self-sustenance.

According to W. M. Finlay, principal of the Brandon Collegiate Institute:

Our country has need of the man who sees things as they are and hates violence; who has no fear of oppression because he is strong, who cannot be deceived because he has been trained and knows truth from mania, who cannot be terrorized because he is not afraid, who cannot be starved because his hands have skills and his brain has cunning.³⁹

The Young Men's Christian Association saw the need for education to equip the student with the ability to survive, cope with change, maintain and improve competency. Education was regarded as indispensable to the effective operation of a free society and the management of its public offices and affairs.⁴⁰

From the foregoing, it is useful to make some observations. First, the voice of the educated elite is preponderant in the expression of what was expected of the public school system

³⁸ Ibid., p. 422.

³⁹ W. M. Finlay, "The Individual and the State", The Educational Journal of Western Canada. Vol. IV, No. 8 (December 1902) p. 241.

⁴⁰ "The Educational Endeavors of the Y.M.C.A.", The Winnipeg Free Press, 22 November 1898, p. 4.

during the period. The voice of business men and that of labor became less vocal though for different reasons. In a convention of the business men from all over Canada held for several days starting February 4, 1897, absolutely nothing was said with regard to the state of education. Resolutions were adopted, discussed and in some cases eventually passed in such areas as Department Store competition with retail stores, the insolvency law, sale of bankrupt stocks, tariff and a host of other business-related interests. No resolution was adopted with regards to education.⁴¹

Why was the business interest silent on education? Was it because education was irrelevant to success in economic pursuits? Or was it an oversight? Part of the reason education was not on top of the list of the business men's resolutions could be that the school as it was in 1897 was supplying the business interests with adequate numbers of skilled workers and artisans. There was no shortage of qualified personnel. The picture might have been different if the school system had failed to produce such adequate numbers of skilled workers. Also, it might be that the business men were being supplied by institutions other than the public schools. In this regard, more research work is needed to study the role of the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., private schools, and the apprenticeship system.

⁴¹"Business Convention in Winnipeg", The Winnipeg Free Press, 11 February 1897, pp. 3, 5 & 7.

Finally, since Manitoba was passing through a period of prosperity, it was possible that business assumed that the economic prosperity was enough justification for the school system to supply the needed manpower.

The role of the farmers in education during the period deserves further research as the inclusion of Nature Study, Agriculture and Gardening in the public school curriculum suggests that they had some influence on educational policies. Nevertheless, in the resolutions adopted by the farmers for presentation to the commissioners organizing a farmers conference, it was shown that the farmers' priority was tariff, free implements and the removal of duty on farm implements, just to mention a few items, not education.⁴² Moreover, it will be shown later that the report of the inspectors of Education with particular reference to attendance showed that the farmers kept their children away from school particularly during planting and harvesting seasons.

The attitude of the farmers to education might be explained, first, by the fact that as most of them were new immigrants, there was need for everybody in the family to share in the farm chores particularly as some of the farms were isolated. Second, it could be reasoned that the success of most of the farmers during this period in spite of their

⁴²The Winnipeg Free Press, 18 March 1899, p. 5.

limited education, rendered education secondary in successful agricultural management. It was reasonable for the farmers to have the feeling that the education received by the farmer's son on his father's estate was far more relevant than the "bookish" education rendered by the public school system. The apprenticeship system in agriculture could therefore be a challenge to the public schools.

As already shown, the immigrants particularly the Ukrainians, the Mennonites and the Icelanders along with the French exerted great influence on educational matters during the period.⁴² These immigrants with the means and who were opposed to the public schools sent their children to private schools.⁴³ Also, the creation of bilingual schools was a result of the agitations by the ethnic groups. The Laurier/Greenway Agreement guaranteed some flexibility in the goals and program of the public school system. In practice, the bilingual arrangements, in spite of its limitations, offered some protection to some ethnic groups which consequently saw the need to operate within the guidelines of the bilingual schools.

At all events, society's expectations of its school system were very high. The school system was expected to cater to the needs of both society and the needs and interests

⁴²Keith Wilson, op. cit., pp. 293-294.

⁴³Keith Wilson, op. cit., p. 256.

of the individual. It was expected to guarantee national survival as well as full development of the individual's potential. Certain problems are inherent in these expectations. With regards to catering to the needs and interest of both the society and the individual there was a problem of balance. It was possible for the school to err on either side. If it adopted a society-centered curriculum, the interests of the individual becomes secondary. On the other hand, if it adopts a child-centered curriculum, the needs and interests of the society become secondary. There was a need for a school curriculum which balanced the demands of the adult society with the interests and needs of the individual child. There was a need for a school curriculum which accommodates the prospects and problems of urbanism, immigration and industrialism and the demands of the New Pedagogy.

From the foregoing, two broad categories of expectations emerged. First, the school system was expected to be a "culture factory"⁴⁴ designed to turn out identical products; Second the school was expected to cater to individual differences and individual growth implying that the school system should produce autonomous individuals. These two expectations contradicted each other. The demand that the public school system should

⁴⁴Stanley K. Schultz, op. cit. pp. 103-104.

reflect or mirror society was in a collision course with that which expected it to reform society. In one respect, the school system was regarded as society's tool in propagating itself, in the second respect it was perceived as an autonomous institution, which it was not. The school system, as will become clear later, was no more than an agent of the larger social, economic and political interests which fostered it. Accordingly, its role corresponded to the institutions of the larger society as it served the functions of producing the social, economic and political relationships reflected by the prevailing institutions and modes of thought while its role as an agent of reform fell in arrears.

Society in Winnipeg was therefore in a dilemma when it expected its school system to mirror as well as reform it, a dilemma which was passed on to the school system. The problem simply put is this: Could the school system meet all public expectations? Or should it? How influential are society's expectations on curriculum goals? Is the school system a tool of assimilation or is it an agent of reform? Chapter V will provide answers to these questions with regards to the public school system in Winnipeg between 1897 and 1908.

Meanwhile, it is important to note that society in the state of Massachusetts, like the City of Winnipeg, had high hopes of the school system as the major means of achieving or

or realizing its vision though at different time periods. Massachusetts, like Winnipeg expected its school system to cure social ills,⁴⁵ promote economic prosperity,⁴⁶ and to elevate moral and develop intellectual power. Like in Winnipeg due to the exposure of the school system to the principles of the New Education, the school system was expected to develop the physical, moral and intellectual attributes of the individual. Reform was the thrust of society's vision in both places and the public school system was to both societies one means of achieving their vision.

⁴⁵Michael B. Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform
Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts.
(Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), p.47.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 27

CHAPTER V

The Public School Curriculum as a Means of Realizing Society's Ideals in Winnipeg, 1897-1908

In this chapter, the case that society in Manitoba had high hopes of its school system as a means of realizing its vision is presented. The purpose of this chapter is to show that the high hopes expressed by society of its school system became a stimulus for action by that school system. Due to the declining significance of other social institutions like the church, the family and the community, the public school system became the last hope of society. An examination of the curriculum goals in the public schools of Manitoba during the period revealed that a close correlation existed between the ideals which society was trying to achieve and educational goals. Educational goals strongly reflected society's vision. In spite of the similarity between educational goals and society's vision text-book analysis, however, reveals that in practice, a gulf existed between society's vision and the tangible achievements of the school system.

Curriculum Goals in the Public Schools
of Winnipeg, 1897-1908

At the opening ceremony of the Isbister School in 1898, the Chairman of the Winnipeg School Board, speaking on behalf of the school trustees, put the curriculum goals of the Winnipeg school system in perspective.

The walls that you see rising before you are an expression of the universal desire of our citizens to give the children who will succeed them an education as will enable them to carry on worthily the work of nation-building which their fathers, have so well begun, and to provide them with a training that will aid their work and solace their lives wherever their lot may be cast.¹

With reference to the concomitant expansion of the school program which accompanied the expansion of curriculum goals, he concluded:

We can not only endeavor to teach what are called the three R's, but we try to teach them everything that will elevate their minds and enable them to become good men and women, good citizens and in time to come, good fathers and mothers.²

One of the new subjects added to the curriculum during this period particularly for its aesthetic values was Nature Study. At a Convention attended by some two hundred teachers in Brandon in 1898, there was a plea for the inclusion of Nature Study in the school program. It was argued that the goal of education should be more than to prepare the students to make a living; it should prepare them "to live a life".

¹The Winnipeg Free Press, 17 September 1898, p. 14.

²Ibid., p. 14.

It was emphasized that:

The character of the child depends largely upon the reaction of his environment upon him, and that Nature Study should bring the child into proper relation with both forms of organic life, animal and plant.³

Nature Study was, however, included in the school curriculum for reasons other than familiarizing the students with life and their environment. In his annual report for the year 1898, the Superintendent of the Winnipeg School Division, Daniel McIntyre, saw one purpose of the subject as a means to intimate the student with Agriculture.

Nature Study and Agriculture are taught in their season for the purpose of training pupils to observe the phenomena of their immediate surroundings for the purpose of familiarizing them with outdoor life and making it attractive to them so that their minds may be turned in the direction of agriculture, which will always be the leading industry of the community.⁴

Nature Study was included in the school program because of its intrinsic values. In his article, "Nature Study, a Plea for the Preservation of Life",⁵ J. B. Wallis suggested that through Nature Study the students might be taught, "the sacredness of life and their duty towards living things". He suggested that through the subject, the students must be led "to gain an insight into the world around them and see for themselves the beauty of animals and plants and the wonderful struggle they make for existence. Such exposure, it was estimated should enable the student to "gain a sympathy and

³Ibid., p. 14.

⁴The School District of Winnipeg, Annual Report, 1898, p. 20.

⁵J. B. Wallis, "Nature Study, a Plea for the Preservation of Life", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. IV, no. 8 (September 1902) pp. 113-115.

love of Nature which must necessarily show itself in a kinder treatment of and greater care for all her children".⁶ It was further recommended that Nature Study should enable the student to appreciate beauty in life.⁷

Nature Study was, therefore, a means of realizing the humane society; it was a means of exposing the student to the beauty of nature as well as a means of teaching them to appreciate beauty, it was a stimulus for originality:

Whatever conduces to our happiness to our enjoyment of life on earth is worthy to be thought of. Now observation of beauty does bring enjoyment; we see that and try to bring our pupils to an understanding of the beauties of Art. But Art is the idealization of Nature, and its expression by words or pictures, and how can we really appreciate such ideals if we have never attended to the original? . . . If we only study the production of others, we shall never be more than copyists, for material for original work, we must go to the source of all ideals - Nature.⁸

Agriculture or farming was included in the school program for reasons other than its close connection with Nature Study. It was included as a counterforce to the urban pull on the countryside. The Educational Journal of Western Canada, in one of the editorials suggested that boys left the farm, mainly because, compared to other business ventures, agriculture was less remunerative. Socially, the attraction and the opportunities offered by farming could not compare with those offered by the city.⁹

⁶Ibid., p. 232. ⁷Ibid., pp. 232-233. ⁸Ibid., p. 236.

⁹"The Editorial", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. I, no. 1 (January 1899) p. 29.

It was in this regard that the school system sought to "bring the pupils into such close and loving harmony with Nature and those phases of science which form the basis of agriculture". The school essayed to show the boys that "they can find in farming full scope for their brains and their scientific knowledge".¹⁰

The need for the educational system to support the economic order was stated clearly by Rev. Dr. Bryce, who for a long period was a member of the Advisory Board. He wrote,

Yet in a country as purely agricultural as Manitoba it is plain that in these days of competition in all products of the farm, the greatest intelligence and most thorough training will be necessary to enable the Manitoba farmer to hold his own in the struggle for competency. Something has been done, on the suggestion of the legislature, to have the teaching of agriculture as part of the public school training. This however needs to be supplemented by something more - something that will be a goal to induce farmer's sons and daughters to push on to higher education suiting them for intelligent and cultivated farm life.¹¹

It should be added that the emphasis on farming could be seen as a means of mingling the best of the past with the dynamism of the future, it was a means of permeating a landscape of cities and factories with the social and moral values of the countryside. But could the system accomplish this?

Like Nature Study and Farming another subject which gained grounds as part of the school program during the

¹⁰Ibid., p. 29.

¹¹Rev. Dr. Bryce, "Agricultural Education", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. I, no. 4 (June-July 1899) p. 112.

period was Science. In the scheme of realizing part of the society's vision, science had a tremendous role to play. It was seen as a means of developing a high degree of intellectual power and a stimulus for a desire to search for the truth. Aesthetically, science was perceived as a means of broadening sympathies and cultivating a love for beauty. Above all, the practical utilities of science as a subject definitely broadened life's opportunities and increased the pleasures of life.¹² The notion of science as a stimulus to search after the truth posed definite dangers to other functions which the public school system had to perform, particularly in the area of socialization. In one respect the students were urged to question, to doubt and to search after the truth, in the other respect they were urged to acquiesce and to conform, yet another paradox arose which society nor its school system was able to resolve.

Like Nature Study, Farming and Science, Manual Training also became important as part of the school curriculum. In his exposition on the subject, W. J. Wartens, Superintendent of Manual Training Schools in Winnipeg Schools in Winnipeg, wrote:

Manual Training is the art of teaching by means of the senses of sight and touch. The teacher takes advantage of the natural activity of the child and by guiding it into a right channel and bringing it under proper control uses it as a means of producing mental development yet is taught to see a right and to carry that impression to the brain and the hands to carry out

¹²H. S. Maclean, "Science in the Public School", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. II, no. 8 (December 1901) p. 245.

the dictates of the mind thus impressed. It is a special training of the senses of sight, touch and muscular perception by means of various occupations, and a training of these faculties not so much for their own sake as it is for the effect produced upon the brain. While the eye is being taught accuracy, the hand dexterity and skill, the mind is led to observe, to compare and contrast, to think and to draw definite conclusions.¹³

While the above may be true of the idealism underlying the inclusion of Manual Training in the school program, it has been shown elsewhere that Industrial Training or Manual Training was a means of establishing control over the character, behavior and career of poor and delinquent children.¹⁴

Closely connected with Manual Training was Drawing. In her article, "Hints on Drawing", Sinclair, the Supervisor of Drawing, Brandon, wrote:

The end and aim for which we strive is something far higher than this. It is the awakening of the spiritual (mind and soul) nature of the child. It is the unsealing of his eyes to perceive the beautiful and true in life and nature, it is aiding him to form just conceptions of what he sees, and it is training him in the best ways and means of giving expression to these conceptions.¹⁵

Also, through drawing, the school sought to give recognition to the uniqueness of each individual and to inspire him not only to seek the ideal but also, through "the doing power" in him to create such ideal:

¹³W. J. Wartens, "Manual Training", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. II, no. 9 (January 1901) pp. 57-58.

¹⁴T. R. Morrison, op. cit.

¹⁵J. Sinclair, "Hints on Drawing", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. II, no. 8 (December 1901) p. 303.

The real end and aim of all our work is the development of creative power in the mind of the child, but it is the child's individuality that gives value to this creative power. . . . Our work would be very incompletely done indeed, if we failed to lead the child to feel and know and use intelligently the "doing power" within him. Nor in all this must we forget what underlies this power and should be one of the most potent qualities, viz, the feeling for the ideal, the sense of what things ought to be.¹⁶

In drawing, therefore, the child was taught to observe, cultivate taste and acquire some skill, it was a means of educating the pupil's mind, hand and eye.

During the period under consideration, some attention was given to history. In his annual report of 1898, the Superintendent of the School District of Winnipeg saw the subject as a means of

. . . leading our boys to appreciate their birthright, as a British subject and citizen of Canada, to acquaint them with the duties and privileges in right of that citizenship and to familiarize them, in an elementary way, with the nature of the problems which in the past presented, thus laying the foundation for intelligent participation in public matters when in mature years the exercise of that citizenship shall fall on them.¹⁷

In his article, "The Study of History", D. W. Duncan elaborated on the purpose of the subject. In his judgment, a teacher of history should possess "a knowledge of the facts, keen sympathy, graphic descriptive power, good judgement, and personal force".¹⁸ With regard to the student of history,

¹⁶Ibid., p. 304.

¹⁷The Winnipeg School District, Annual Report, 1898, p. 20.

¹⁸D. W. Duncan, "The Study of History", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. I, no. 6 (October 1899) p. 199.

the writer suggested that history should acquaint him with the great events which have made the nation what it is, it should broaden his outlook thereby acting as a counter-force to the narrowing influence of personal experience. Furthermore, history aimed at teaching the student "that the law of cause and effects acts upon all planes" while in the final analysis "it should teach him his duty to the great whole of which he forms a part".¹⁹

In answering some questions set for third class professional work, it was shown that history, like literature and nature study, tended to develop the emotional side of the soul. With particular reference to history the anonymous writer said,

History deals more with human action. The bare record of events would not on the face appear likely to inspire emotion of any kind, but history includes more than the mere record of events and the study of the conditions of life. The triumphs and disasters of nations inspire various kinds of emotions. We all recognize that history has a most powerful influence in developing patriotism, which is the result of emotions resulting from a consideration of historical characters and events.²⁰

Arithmetic was one of the core subjects during the period. In his article "Solutions in Arithmetic", W. Bothwell suggested the utility of the subject when he wrote,

Teachers are fairly well agreed upon the importance of the study of arithmetic in our public schools, both for the utility in the duties of life and for its disciplinary value. The utility in the duties of life depends on accuracy and rapidity in calculation.²¹

¹⁹Ibid., p. 199.

²⁰Anonymous, "School Work", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. I, no. 1 (April 1899) p. 49.

Arithmetic was, therefore, included in the school program because through numerous exercises in reasoning, thinking and recalling, the subject strengthens the faculty of reason, thought and recollection respectively.²²

During the period under review, Music received some attention, too. In his article, "Music" Lawrence H. J. Minchin, Supervisor of Music, Winnipeg Schools, wrote,

In the first place as to the object of school music, it may be taken as generally acknowledged that there are two results to be aimed at, and they must both be obtained if any good is to be done; the one is to teach the pupil to be able to read music with moderate facility, and the other, which is no less important but unfortunately liable to be overlooked, is to cultivate in the pupil a love for music and taste that will appreciate what is best in it.²³

In the opinion of D. McIntyre, however, music had a deeper aesthetic value, "music is taught" as a subject that "refines and sweetens life".²⁴

Other school subjects like composition, spelling, reading and geography were included in the curriculum because of their social and economic utility. For example, the aim of spelling was "to teach all pupils to spell correctly the words they make use of in expressing themselves in writing" while in geography, the goals was "for mental training and

²¹W. Bothwell, "Solutions in Arithmetic", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. II, no. 8 (December 1961) p. 13.

²²Ibid., p. 13.

²³Lawrence H. J. Minchin, "Music", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. I, no. 6 (October 1899) p. 202.

²⁴Daniel McIntyre, "On the School Subjects", The Winnipeg School District Annual Report, 1898, p. 20.

commercial purposes".²⁵

From the above it can be seen that the school program expanded in two significant ways. First, new subjects were added to the program such as Manual Training and Gardening, while in the second instance the school program was given a broader scope in terms of goals and ideals. There was a definite change in the orientation of the school curriculum due mainly to the changing needs of the society. According to Lucow,

At first, the basic skills were enough for a boy who would leave school after the fourth grade to go to work. The growth of the community soon brought out the need for enrichment in the form of new subject-matter. The arrival of the immigrants demanded not only curricular changes, but changes in teaching methods as well.²⁶

From the foregoing, it could be noted that a strong relationship existed between society's expectations and the curriculum ideals of the school system. Both society and its school system shared a common vision and they both believed that the public school system could help realize the vision. It is, however, yet to be seen if the school system, did, in fact, match its ideals with tangible achievements. A text-book analysis, to which attention is now turned, would reveal the relationship which existed between the curriculum ideals and the reality of the public school system in Winnipeg between 1897 and 1908.

²⁵Ibid., p. 20.

²⁶Willia, H. Lucow, op. cit., p. 59.

The Victorian Readers

This series which included a primer and five readers was in use in Manitoba during the period covered by this study. The focus of the primer was natural history. Children are introduced to animals like dog, cow, frog, fox, mice, lion, birds, like the Oriole, the Robin, the Bluebird, and plants like the sweet pea, the golden rod, the fern and the daisies. Natural forces, such as the wind, the cloud, the moon and the sun are also brought to the attention of the students. The most important concept to which the students were introduced was the concept of love and consideration, particularly for animals. Direction, time and seasons were also introduced. The exposure of the students to the concept of love and consideration for others should be seen in the wider context of moral training which was a major pre-occupation of the period under study. As will become apparent later, the text book, particularly the Victorian Readers, had a strong moral tone. The emphasis was not on knowledge alone, the readers conveyed hidden moral lessons.

The concept of work also prevailed throughout the primer. The cow had to be fed, cared for and milked; the farmer had to look after his plants and cattle; he had to perform certain duties at specific times and seasons and the children were taught this:

We must take our eyes to see with,
And take our ears to hear with,

And take our feet to run with,
And take our hands to work with.²⁷

With regards to the knowledge imparted, it seems that most of the categories introduced were within the realm of the child's understanding excepting the fact of the language barrier which existed for the immigrant children. The sentence-method which was the approach of the primer might have presented difficulties in the area of forming complete thought in a foreign language. The primer, it seems, was therefore written for pupils whose mother tongue was English and who already had a vocabulary to build upon. It should, however, be realized that in spite of the difficulties which the immigrant children might have encountered with the English language, their knowledge of the subject was essential for their social and economic survival in a predominantly English society.

The 128-page Book One has 49 selections, 24 or almost of which is in poetry, the rest in prose. The first book of the Victorian Readers seems to be based on the assumption that the students thoroughly mastered the Primer. The stories are longer, the sentence structure more complex. However, animals, birds, insects and a few natural phenomena remain the focus of attention. The over-riding purpose of the book is still inculcation of morals. The virtues that receive attention include kindness as illustrated in "The Three Butterflies",²⁸ industry or work ethics as illustrated in

²⁷The Victorian Reader. A Primer (Toronto: The Copp Clark Company Ltd. and W. J. Gage & Co. Ltd., 1903) p. 82.

"The Nest Builders"²⁹ and "Do Your Best",³⁰ friendliness as observed in "The Lark and the Robin",³¹ forgiveness as illustrated in "The Glass Slipper"³². Other virtues included courage as observed in "The Birds and the Bees",³³ obedience as seen in "Lady Moon"³⁴ gentility as revealed in "The Story of the Echo",³⁵ purity as shown in "The Diamond and the Star"³⁶ uprightness as shown in "The Three Bears",³⁷ and humility as observed in "The Race of the Trees".³⁸ Considering this preoccupation with the inculcation of morals, one cannot but conclude that the goal of The First Reader was to mould, rather than liberate. The reader afforded the student an ample opportunity to read, but very little chance to think. The book did very little in the way of helping the student question some of the values presented.

Like the First Reader, the Second Reader utilized every available opportunity to teach the students some moral lessons. In fact, this book sought to reinforce some of the virtues to which the students were exposed in Book I. Thus, "The Ugly Duckling"³⁹ exposes the virtue of perseverance and

²⁸The Victorian Readers. First Reader, pp. 13-14.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 49-52. ³⁰Ibid., p. 63.

³¹Ibid., pp. 18-23. ³²Ibid., pp. 40-47.

³³Ibid., pp. 24-25. ³⁴Ibid., p. 34.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 56-67. ³⁶Ibid., pp. 101-111.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 61-62. ³⁸Ibid.,

³⁹The Victorian Readers. Second Reader, pp. 8-26.

bravery, "The Stone in the Road"⁴⁰ illustrates kindness as well as "The Good Samaritan"⁴¹. The "Daisy and the Lark"⁴² teaches self-sacrifice, "The Hero of Halem"⁴³ illustrates courage and patriotism while "The King and the Page"⁴⁴ demonstrates love. The high water mark of the moral lessons presented in Book II is "The Beatitudes"⁴⁵. This sermon possessed a tremendous spiritual value on the one hand, while on the other hand, it offered very little in the way of how to bring about reform in society. It states some social problems but offers no solutions for those problems. The book reveals the ambivalence which characterized reform during this period. It showed the conflict which existed between the humanitarian impulse and that of indoctrination. Like the earlier two Victorian Readers, Book II therefore offered very little opportunity for developing critical awareness because the meek, the merciful, the long-suffering, the obedient, the righteous and the upright students would more likely accept the status quo than make waves or question the social order. Everything considered, they would not be champions of reform.

The Third Reader introduced the students to the works of some reputed literary men like Longfellow, Hawthorne,

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 28-29. ⁴¹Ibid., pp. 8-81.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 66-71. ⁴³Ibid., pp. 88-91.

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 36-41. ⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 73-75.

Dickens, Mark Twain, and Woodsworth. Some of the selections were written by local educators like Andrew Lang, a school inspector during the period, and S. H. Clark, who wrote the Introduction to Book III.

For the first time the composers of this book presented "in an orderly and philosophic manner, the difficulties the pupils have in learning to read".⁴⁶ They recognized the need for careful preparation on the part of the pupils. The book had two goals: a) to develop the logical and the intellectual side of reading; b) to give the teacher some flexibility in presenting the reading materials. However, there was still the pressure on the teacher and the pupils to cover certain selections within a given period.⁴⁷

Though the students were exposed to some stories of adventure like "The Wreck of the Hesperus",⁴⁸ "The Horatio",⁴⁹ "The Battle of Blenheim",⁵⁰ and "The Conquest of Peru",⁵¹ the concern for the social order was still paramount. In fact, the main focus of this book seems to be to socialize the students and to make them aware of the norms, values and ideals of Canadian society. Again, stories within the book reinforced values and virtues like gentility, kindness, endurance, and self-sacrifice.

⁴⁶The Victorian Reader, The Third Reader, p. x.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 15. ⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 83-88.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 119-121. ⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 121-124.

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 124-126.

Some definite attempt was also made to stimulate, for the first time, national consciousness in the students.

Canada, Mapleland!
Land of Great Mountains!
Lakeland and riverland!
Land betwixt the seas
Grant us God, hearts that are large as our heritage,
Spirits as free as the breeze,
Last born of Nations!
The offspring of freedom!
Heir to wide Prairies, thick forests, red gold!
God Grant us wisdom to value our birth right,
Courage to guard what we hold!⁵¹

There was also some concern for the Empire and the Union Jack.

It's only a small bit of bunting,
It's only an old colored rag,
Yet thousands have died for its honor,
And shed their best blood for the flag.
You may call it a small bit of bunting,
You may say it's an old color'd flag,
But freedom has made it majestic,
And time has ennobled the flag.⁵²

The fourth reader has 83 selections, 61 in poetry, 22 in prose.⁵³ It is 376 pages long in clear print. This book reinforces the whipping up of national awareness started in Book III. "Canadian Streams"⁵⁴ was, for example, presented to do more than inform the students on Canadian rivers. The author employed important Canadian rivers as a means to relate the heroic deeds of great Canadians like Adam Danilac, who with 16 Frenchmen and a few Indians held a fort at Long Sault on the Ottawa River against hundreds of Indians, Charles La Tour,

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 124-126. ⁵²Ibid., pp. 66-69.

⁵³The Victorian Readers, Fourth Reader, p. 1.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 28.

who held Fort St. Louis against his father and a considerable force of English soldiers, Tecumseh, Chief of the Shawnee Indians who assisted the British in the War of 1812 and was made a general in the British services, Champlain, one of the foremost Canadian explorers, and other heroes like Jacques Cartier, D'Iberville, Henry Hudson and de Salaberry just to mention a few.

The opportunity offered by "Canadian Streams" as a means to instill love and loyalty for Canada did not go unnoticed by the Advisory Board. Welcoming such opportunity, the Board instructed that the teacher "should be perfectly familiar with any incident mentioned here (in the poem)" and the Board insisted that, "the poem should be taught or studied in the spirit in which it was written by the author".⁵⁵

Even in "Love and Country", the intention was not hidden either as the students were admonished to be proud of their country and heritage:

Breathes there a man with sould so dead,
 Who never to himself hath said,
 This is my own, my native land!
 Whose heart hath never with him burn'd,
 As home his footsteps he hath turn'd
 From wond'ring on a foreign strand?
 If such there breathe, go mark him well;
 For him no minstrel raptures swell;
 High though his titles, proud his name,
 Boundless his wealth as wish can claim
 Despite these titles, power and pelf,
 The wretch concentrated all in self,
 Living shall forfeit fair renown,
 And, doubly dying shall go down,
 To the vile dust, from whence he sprung,
 Unwept, unhonor'd, and unsung.⁵⁶

⁵⁵John C. Saul & W. A. McIntyre, eds., Handbook of The Victorian Readers, (Toronto: The Coop-Clerk Co. Ltd. 1902), p. 84.

The "Dominion Hymn" was very strong in supporting the flag, the Canadian ideals, particularly liberty and the Queen and the Empire.

Good bless our wide Dominion,
 Our father's chosen land;
 And bind in lasting union,
 Each ocean's distant strand.
 From where Atlantic terrors
 Our hardy seamen train,
 To where the salt sea mirrors
 The vast Pacific chain.
 Oh bless our Dominion,
 True freedom's fairest scene,
 Defend our people's union,
 God save our Empire's Queen!
 Inheritors of glory,
 Oh, Countrymen! We swear
 To guard the flag that o'er ye
 Shall onward victory bear,
 Where'er through earth's far regions
 Its tripple crosses fly,
 For God, for home, our legions
 Shall win, or fighting, die.⁵⁷

"The Marseillaise" was a strong admonition for the students not only to fight for their freedom but also to guard it jealously as they were urged to fight for freedom and glory and to be relentless in their pursuit of liberty and peace.⁵⁸

The Bible had a prominent place in the reader, too. There were such psalms as Psalms 23,⁵⁹ 103 and 148⁶⁰ which enjoined the students to trust in the good shepherd; to be grateful and to praise the Lord respectively; and the story of "The Creation"⁶¹ which revealed the versatility of God.

⁵⁶The Victorian Readers, Fourth Reader, p. 140.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 365. ⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 371-372.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 153. ⁶⁰Ibid., p. 106.

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 126-128.

The Victorian Readers demonstrated that certain school subjects had influence beyond their expressed objects. In this instance, the reading materials made available to the students definitely had hidden messages on morals and culture. Part of these hidden messages were reflected in ordinary tales, fables, and stories while others had firmer foundations as they derived, in part, from the Holy Bible and from some of the great writers. Thus, apart from its formal organization based on hierarchies of authority, division of labor and emphasis on compliance with law, authority and school regulations, the school system employed the content of its curriculum to socialize its clients into the predominant norms and values of society.⁶² Though there was a definite advantage in exposing the students to such literary men like Robert Browning, John Bunyan, Edmund Burke and Thomas Carlyle, just to mention a few, almost all the writers came from the same social class. The educational background of most of the writers suggests that they belonged to a higher social class. The majority of the writers were college products, some with three degrees. Moreover, a good number of them that went to college attended renowned and elitist institutions of higher learning such as Eton, the Universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dublin, Oxford in England; Harvard, Yale in the United States, and Toronto in Canada.

⁶²On the subject of the Hidden Curriculum see Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, op. cit., Philip W. Jackson, Life in Classrooms (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1968) and John Eggleston, The Social Context of the School (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967).

A good number of the writers, therefore, were in support of the social order and they used their literary prowess to instill the same feeling in the students. To them, the existing society seemed settled, good, if not perfect. In their writings they showed very little understanding or appreciation of the conditions under which the laboring class existed. There was little in their writing to show that society is a human product which reveals the genius of humanity as well as its limitations. The content of the Victorian Reader was very vocal in presenting society as a product of human genius, it was completely silent in exposing the limitations as reflected in the predicaments and problems of the laboring class. Rather, the series presented the existing social order as immutable, perfect and just. The result was that key issues were not addressed and the realization of society's vision fell in arrears.

A simple tabulation of the content of Books I-V of the Readers shows that national consciousness was reflected in one selection in Book II, three in Book III, 37 in Book IV, and 30 in Book V. In regards to Natural History, there were 12 related items in Book I, 13 in Book II, six in Book III and 16 in Book IV. The students were exposed to other peoples and other lands once in Book II, thrice in Book III, twice in Book IV, and eight times in Book V. Farming and mechanics of agriculture hardly received attention; only once in Book III. This simple analysis shows that the Readers did very little to equip the students to face life either on the farm

or in the factory. If it was the intention of the Readers to integrate the English language with other school subjects as the New Pedagogy seemed to suggest, there was a definite lack of balance. The dice was loaded in favor of subjects like National Consciousness and Moral Culture against such subjects as Farming, Manufacturing, Geography and Natural History.

In terms of knowledge, the Readers seem to have challenged the students at the very base level. The students were exposed to lots of information, but it would seem that they were asked to accept the facts and opinions as the truth.

History

The inclusion of this subject in the school curriculum was motivated by the significance attached to the subject, not only as a means of realizing society's vision, but also as a means of broadening that vision. In an article published by the Educational Journal of Western Canada in 1901,⁶³ it was stated in relation to the end which the teaching of history should serve that it should develop inquiry skills, attitudes and values and knowledge.⁶⁴ The reform zeal imbued with the teaching of history therefore enhanced its significance in a society grappling with reform because:

⁶³A. Stevenson, "The Teaching of History", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. III, no. 5 (August-September, 1901) pp. 141-142.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 141.

The teaching of history should tend to prevent the formation of class and social prejudices and should show that the highest greatness of a country is in the morality and prosperity of the people as a whole. Such a spirit should be developed in our students that when they come to take an active part in citizenship they will foster all movements tending to the elevation of the common people and resolutely oppose any that would tend to their degradation.⁶⁵

It will soon become apparent, however, that history was included in the public school curriculum in Manitoba during the period for reasons other than fostering reform zeal, broadening the horizon of the individual and developing intellectual power. It will be shown that the goal of teaching history was to shape character and to assimilate.

The text book adopted for use in Manitoba public schools in 1897 was W. H. P. Clement, The History of Canada. This book of approximately nine thousand words was designed to shift the emphasis from the provinces to the Dominion.⁶⁶ Its focus, therefore, was primarily the political development of Canada with some narrations on the social and economic events.

The approach adopted by the author is topical, not thematic. There was, therefore, no consistent development of any theme. There were sections on the growth of parliament and the Canadian Constitution, but, the discussion and narration on these topics and many others were disjointed and scattered throughout the book.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 142.

⁶⁶W. H. P. Clement, The History of Canada (Toronto: William Briggs, The Copp-Clark Co., Ltd., 1897) p. v.

Further analysis of the book reveals that the author intended to introduce the students to certain historical concepts, foremost among which is the concept of chronology. In this regard, the book starts with a brief description of the various Indian tribes and their customs, followed by the history of the explorers, the establishment of colonies, the Anglo-French rivalry and wars and the development of a responsible government culminating in the evolution of the Confederation. Thus far, the emphasis is on dates and accumulation of facts not, training the critical faculty in weighing evidence and questioning the validity of historical facts.

Another concept which the book emphasizes is that of hero and heroism. The book is replete with names of heroes of various categories - explorers, colonizers, governors, freedom fighters, church dignitaries, Prime Ministers, Fathers of Confederation and war heroes. In the category of explorers, the book contains character sketches of Marco Polo,⁶⁷ Christopher Columbus,⁶⁸ John and Sebastian Cabot,⁶⁹ Jacques Cartier,⁷⁰ Champlain,⁷¹ and Henry Hudson,⁷² just to mention a few.

In the categories of Governors, there are historical sketches on De Mezy,⁷³ Talon,⁷⁴ Frontenac,⁷⁵ LaSalle,⁷⁶

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 2. ⁶⁸Ibid., p. 2. ⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 2-3.

⁷⁰Ibid., pp. 5-7. ⁷¹Ibid., pp. 14-18.

⁷²Ibid., p. 18.

Sir Guy Carleton,⁷⁷ Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe,⁷⁸ Sir George Simpson,⁷⁹ Lord Durham,⁸⁰ Sir Charles Metcalfe,⁸¹ and Lord Elgin.⁸²

In the categories of war heroes, those prominent were: Joseph Brant,⁸³ Sir Isaac Brock,⁸⁴ Colonel de Salaberry⁸⁵; while Joseph Howe,⁸⁶ William Lyon Mackenzie,⁸⁷ Louis Joseph Papineau,⁸⁸ L. A. Wilmot,⁸⁹ and Rev. Egerton Ryerson⁹⁰ and Bishop Strachan⁹¹ were portrayed as champions of liberty and church dignitaries and educators, in that order.

The dominant concept in the book is in regard to government and society. The book is full of narrations of wars, expansion of colonies and contraction of liberty, autonomy, rise and fall of colonies, revolution in America and rebellion in Canada and the evolution of the Union or Dominion of Canada. With specific regard to government, power, justice and democracy receive attention. It should be mentioned, however, that those concepts were not defined or

⁷³Ibid., p. 33. ⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 33-39.

⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 40-41. ⁷⁶Ibid., p. 41.

⁷⁷Ibid., pp. 98-99. ⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 149-154.

⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 235-237. ⁸⁰Ibid., pp. 246-247.

⁸¹Ibid., pp. 252-255. ⁸²Ibid., pp. 267-274.

⁸³Ibid., pp. 274-278. ⁸⁴Ibid., p. 127.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 161. ⁸⁶Ibid., p. 173. ⁸⁷Ibid., p. 198.

⁸⁸Ibid., pp. 198-200. ⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 208-209.

⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 224-225. ⁹¹Ibid., pp. 224-225.

explained per se. Some are interwoven with the narration while a lot of them have to be inferred. Though there is an index at the end of the book, no glossary was included.

The tendency of the book to be narrative rather than analytical weakens its value as a stimulus to student awareness of the versatility of history as a subject. The presented history was a dead issue, a catalogue of facts about past events, no single opportunity was offered the students to read the exact words of any of the many actors. The book is devoid of any quotation or an in-depth expression of some profound thoughts or ideals for which many Canadians struggled in their history. The absence of quotations or ideals or profound thoughts on the motives behind individual or national character robs history of its excitement.

Rather than broadening the horizon of the students' vision and enhancing the virtue of sympathy, the book presented stereotypes with regards to the character and habits of the Indians:

To the early Europeans the Indian was not an attractive figure. They describe him as of unclean habits and without morals. Master of woodcraft, he was seen at his best when hunting. Upon the war-path he was cruel, tomahawking, scalping and torturing with fiendish ingenuity. A stoic fortitude when himself tortured was about his only heroic quality. In his own village, among his own clansmen, he spent his time in gambling, or taking part in some rude feast.⁹²

On the subject of the religion of the Indians, it was said:

⁹²Ibid., p. 205.

Indian religion was purest superstition, peopling forest, stream and air with supernatural beings, both good and evil. Every manifestation of nature was the work of some particular deity. Of one God over all, he seems to have had no idea, and his notion of heaven was a happy hunting-ground where departed spirit would have full enjoyment of liberty, enjoyment of every sensual and savage desire.⁹³

In this regard, it would seem that the exposure to stereotypes could not prevent or remove social or racial prejudice, nor could it expand the horizon of the students. It also seems that the humanitarian impulse was sacrificed to the indoctrination impulse as history became a means of maintaining the status quo rather than a means of challenging and reforming it. The opportunities offered by the teaching of history as a means of realizing society's vision were tremendous but little advantage was taken of these opportunities. With regards to history, therefore, the conclusion cannot be resisted that society almost abandoned its vision particularly in the areas of broadening the scope of humanity, harmonizing society and enhancing the intellectual development of the individual.

Geography

Apart from its aesthetic values, the intellectual values of teaching geography include, a) the training of the observing facilities; b) enabling the students to draw logical conclusions from his observations and c) making available

⁹³Ibid., pp. 12-13.

useful information.⁹⁴ Aesthetically, an examination of the program of studies in Geography shows the extent to which the subject can contribute to the realization of society's vision with regards to broadening the student's horizon and stimulating his awareness. The focus in Grade III when Geography was first introduced was the neighbourhood.⁹⁵ In Grade IV, the child was exposed to the simple conception of the earth as a ball. Through observations and by means of moulding and drawing, the students were introduced to the concept of map and globe.⁹⁶ In Grade V, the students' horizon broadened as he was brought in contact with the outside world with focus on the natural features, climate, people, manners, customs and cities of selected countries and continents.⁹⁷

The Grade VI Geography program had three foci. The first was an introduction of such concepts as parallels, meridians, motions, zones, day, night, season, currents and climate. The second was on North America studied in comparison with South America and Europe in regards to location, size, shape, drainage, population, occupation, social and human conditions. The third focus was on such planets as the sun, the moon and the stars.⁹⁸

⁹⁴R. T. Hodgson, "How to Teach Geography", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. III, no. 7 (November 1961) p. 202.

⁹⁵Appendix, See Geography Grade III., p. 196.

⁹⁶Ibid., Geography Grade IV, p. 198.

⁹⁷Ibid., Geography Grade V, p. 201.

⁹⁸Ibid., Geography Grade VI, p. 203.

In Grade VII, attention focused on some important aspects of the countries in Europe and America - size, shape and location, climate, vegetation, resources, population, occupations and social conditions.⁹⁹ In Grade VIII, Grade VII work was reviewed along with the continents with special reference to British possessions and with emphasis on physical geography.¹⁰⁰

In regards to text books, in 1897, The New Canadian Geography replaced the old public school Geography because of a general dissatisfaction with the latter which was never available in sufficient quantities. In both print and illustration the next text book surpassed the old in many respects. Its major drawback, however, was that its vocabulary seemed too advanced, for most of the students, a situation which may have presented an immense difficulty to the students.¹⁰¹

In 1901, a new geography text book was introduced. Our Home and Its Surroundings was adopted for instruction in Manitoba schools while The New Canadian Geography was retained for use in Grades VI-VIII. The new 139 page book has a 12-page review section at the back. However, it lacked coherence as each chapter appeared totally unrelated to the other. The chapter looked just like a series of separate

⁹⁹Ibid., Geography Canada VII, p.205.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., Geography Canada VIII, p.208.

¹⁰¹Malcolm Stewart Cowie, "The Development of Geography in Schools of Manitoba, 1818-1968" (M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1975) p. 114.

pieces of information, with no cohesive theme.¹⁰² In 1903, the New Canadian Geography was replaced by Our Earth as a Whole which became the authorized text book for Grades V-VII.¹⁰³

Apart from the limitations of text books, the teaching of Geography in Manitoba between 1897 and 1908 has been criticised with regards to method of instruction. There seemed to be too much emphasis on memory work:

In grades IV-VII they (the text books) were full of facts to be learned with respect to countries in different parts of the world. Unless the teacher was very skillful and knew his subject well, it seems likely that all that would be required of the student was the memorization of facts and maps as had been the case in the previous twenty years.¹⁰⁴

This notion was confirmed by S. E. Lang, Inspector of Schools for North Central Inspectoral Division, when he wrote:

There are many teachers and parents and trustees who still labor under the medieval notion that the boy is not being educated unless he is making himself unhappy over . . . some wretched list of rivers or capes.¹⁰⁵

Another public school inspector, T. M. Maguire thought that geography was being poorly taught because of the overdependence on a single text book by both teachers and pupils. According to his report,

¹⁰²Ibid., pp. 114-115. ¹⁰³Ibid., pp. 115-118.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 90.

¹⁰⁵Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report, 1897, p. 139.

Geography is characterised by an almost entire absence of map study. The lessons are taught from the authorized text books, neither teachers nor pupils seeming to be aware of the necessity for accurate mental pictures of boundaries, places, directions and distances.¹⁰⁶

Inspector Fallis put the problem in its true perspective when he wrote, " . . . in the teaching of geography, not enough attention is given to map and globe study. The teacher makes the mistake of using the text books too much in class".¹⁰⁷

From the foregoing, it could be concluded, geography could not perform the task of broadening the intellectual horizon of the students because it was mainly an 'information subject'. This approach to the teaching of geography failed to train the observing faculties of the student as it failed to challenge the student in the use of logical conclusions from his observations. An approach which represented fixed, ready-made facts as knowledge must have weakened the student's critical faculty. Such an approach must have weakened the student's interest in the subject because the approach was dull, boring and uninspiring. The teaching of geography, therefore, contributed very little to the realization of society's vision which the public school curriculum goals strongly reflected. The overdependence on prescribed text books restricted the vision, rote learning weakened the analytical powers of the student's mind while emphasis on

¹⁰⁶Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report, 1907, p. 469.

¹⁰⁷Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report, 1908, p. 92.

facts encouraged the student to accept the status quo rather than observe, analyse and reform.

In the light of the above evidences, this study concludes that with regards to the teaching of the key subjects presented, the public school system lost some of its aims and ideals in transit. This loss was due in part to the attempt by the school system to escape from the real issues. Faced with the reality of attaining its vision which warranted a radical departure from the familiar socializing role of the school system, the will of the system weakened. Thus, the indoctrination impulse grew stronger. Consequently, there was a noticeable dichotomy between the statement of curriculum goals and, what in fact was presented to the student in some text books.

The story of the school curriculum and its goals in the city of Winnipeg is a testimony to the fact that society in general, and educators in particular, have strong emotional commitment to education as great tool for social reform. This is not only true of Winnipeg, it is also true of the State of Massachusetts during the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁰⁸ In order to realize society's hope and allay society's fears, the school systems in both Massachusetts¹⁰⁹ and Winnipeg sought means to enhance the moral, physical and intellectual development of the child. Due to the influence of the New

¹⁰⁸Michael B. Katz, op. cit., p. 115.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., pp. 125-135.

Education, many school men in Massachusetts and Winnipeg emphasized, though in theory, education as a means of social reform. But the reality of the situation was that both the school systems were unable to achieve their ideals as their functions as agents of socialization took precedence over their zeal for reform. Their failure, however, strengthens the notion that the school system alone cannot bring about fundamental changes in the overall social, political and economic relations which exist in society. Educational reform has to be accompanied by other social economic and political measures before a far-reaching reform can be achieved otherwise conformity and indoctrination would prevail over uniqueness and innovations.¹¹⁰ In both Winnipeg and Massachusetts, the New Pedagogy could not reach its goals while education in both places were too optimistic with regards to what the public school system could do. Katz's exposition of the failure of the school system is apt indeed:

The new urban pedagogy in which the teachers invested so heavily could not reach its goals. Within educational ideology contradictory perceptions of the new society were fused into a set of goals that were sometimes logically incompatible, nearly always implausible. To join the best of the past with the dynamism of the future, to permeate a landscape of cities and factories with social and moral virtues of the countryside . . . was more than education could do; more, probably, than any set of institutions could accomplish.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰Peter L. Berger & Thomas Luckman, op. cit., pp. 19-42.

¹¹¹Michael B. Katz, op. cit., p. 159.

CHAPTER VI

Barriers to an Effective Execution of the Curriculum Goals of the Public Schools in Winnipeg, 1897-1908

The purpose of this chapter is to present and analyse some of the difficulties encountered by the school system in executing the curriculum goals during the period. It is an exposition of the predicament in which the school system found itself as it attempted to turn society's vision into reality. The chapter shows that the school system encountered educational, administrative, social and political problems which impeded the progress during the period.

Educational Problems: Limitations of the New Pedagogy

It is apparent from Chapter V that the New Pedagogy on which the teachers relied heavily could not reach its goals. According to Katz:

At its core, the ideology of the New Pedagogy was soft; the sinews that joined the dualistic goals of the educational system were made of the flimsiest logic. The school system was to unleash and contain the forces of industrialism, to inculcate socially desirable attitudes which will meet future demands while it left

past norms and values intact. There were, indeed, many flaws in the educational ideology on which the public school system was based during the period.¹

The misfortune of the educational system in Manitoba during the period was that it borrowed ill-adapted theories from other fields, particularly from child psychology. The modern school system is also plagued with this misfortune. Learning theory which was evolved largely in the animal behavior laboratory² has been applied to classroom situation on a large scale. Psychometric theory finds its background in industrial psychology³ and, like the learning theory, a body of theory which is uniquely adapted to the solution of problems in a limited sphere, has been given universal application in the schools. Also, one might doubt whether a theory derived from the psychiatric study of seriously disturbed patients would be of any particular use in the study of day-to-day classroom events.

The point of discussion is that the concern of psychology with the development of comprehensive theories of human behavior, had little relevance for the actual classroom situation because such theories were derived from limited clinical situations. The predicament of the school system in Manitoba during the period was that it depended on a

¹Michael B. Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform
Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts
(Harvard University Press, 1968) p. 159.

²Robert M. W. Travers, An Introduction to Educational Research (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1958) p. 7.

³Ibid., p. 7.

theoretical base which had little relevance for the reality of classroom situation. It meant that "the school system equipped to handle a child or learner derived from a theoretical abstraction encountered difficulties in handling the real child in the school situation".⁴

The shaky foundation on which the prevailing educational theories rested during the period had further implications for the school system in Winnipeg. One particular problem which the educational theory posed was that the theory was based on the assumption that the school system had an autonomous existence. Due to this assumption, the school system tried to assume roles which, in many respects, contradicted its traditional role as a disseminator of knowledge. Could the public school system successfully cater to the needs and interests of both the individual student as well as those of the society? Or should the school system relinquish its social role and concentrate on its academic role? The school system in Winnipeg during the period did not seem to have addressed itself to those problems in spite of the fundamental implications which they had for the school curriculum, particularly in the areas of administration, the categories of knowledge made available,⁵ the instructional methods and the text books, just to mention a few.

⁴Joseph J. Schwab, "The Practical: A Language of Curriculum", David E. Purple and Maurice Belanger (eds), *op.cit.* Curriculum and the Cultural Revolution (Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corp., 1972) p. 89.

⁵P. W. Musgrave, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-20.

The wrong assumption that the school system had an autonomous existence created further problems - that of over-optimism. The danger here was that of disenchantment. As the educational system embarked on its optimistic goal of ushering in a new and better society, it became ambivalent toward society and showed lack of self-criticism. To look long and hard at the flaws in their ideology or to compare the goals of their movement with its achievements became impossible for the educational reform. Self-criticism was avoided, probably because it would have raised too many doubts, too many questions about the real nature of their own impact on society. More importantly, education had too great a personal stake in the reform movement to admit the possibility that schools alone were impotent to cure social ills.

Over-optimism on the part of the educational reform during the period has contributed to the perennial notion of mixing the potential powers of education or schooling with its actual strength. During the period what schooling should do was mistaken for what it could do. Over-optimism led to the instant acceptance of society's expectations as goals of popular education. It explains why the curriculum goals vigorously reflected society's ideals during the period. Unfortunately, it forced the school system to start out without knowing too well where it was heading. Planning, during the period, became an after-the-fact and, as the school system readily accepted more and more functions without any regard to its means, the ability of the school system became

exaggerated indeed.

In reality, however, it was forced to abandon some of its goals and to concentrate on one or two goals at the expense of the others. This explains why, according to Artibise, the public school system became preoccupied with assimilation during the period 1897-1914.⁶ And in spite of its inability to produce the desired results, with regards to assimilation, the public school system in Manitoba remained unyielding and stuck to assimilation as its goal.⁷

Consequently, public education during the period seemed to downplay its traditional role as a disseminator of knowledge as its academic goals were subordinated to assimilation. As will be shown later, the reports of the school inspectors revealed that many school subjects were neglected.

Since the New Pedagogy which sought to place the child and his intellectual moral and physical needs at the center of education, got underway during the period, the assimilation policy of the public school system also undermined the influence of this movement which emphasized individual differences. The failure of the school system to accommodate the principles of the child-centered education has been explained by Macdonald

⁶Alan F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975) pp. 199-206.

⁷Ibid., p. 206.

when he quoted a group of parents;

With the large groups of pupils per room and the stress on conformity, on grading, on failure, with many inadequately trained teachers, with prescribed books and outdated courses of study, it is difficult for us to believe that the doctrine of individual differences is completely accepted and practised If we are to have a truly child-centered program in the classroom, we should also consider a realistic child-centered discipline for the classroom.⁸

One can only add that the school system in Winnipeg during the period fits the above description and therefore raised further problems. One of such problems was that the system overlooked in many respects certain socio-economic factors which affect the education of the individual child and of which the modern educational system is becoming increasingly aware. With particular regards to children from different ethnic backgrounds, for example, it has been suggested that:

The school must take the life styles of the various ethnic groups in the inner city seriously as a condition and as a pattern of experiences - not just as a contemptible and humiliating set of circumstances from which the children should be anxious to escape. It must accept their language, their dress and their values as a point of departure for disciplined exploration to be understood, not as a trick for enticing them into the white middle-class culture, but as a way of helping them explore the meaning of their own lives.⁹

Needless to say, committed to assimilation and conformity as the educational goals, the public school system

⁸Murdoch MacDonald, "Individual Differences", The Toronto Educational Quarterly, vol. VI, no. 1 (Autumn 1966) pp. 11-12.

⁹Calvert Hayes Smith, "Prerequisites to Successful Communities", Education and Urban Society, vol. IV, no. 1 (November 1971) p. 42.

in Winnipeg during the period failed in this respect because of its inability to respond favorably to the experience and cultural strengths of many 'foreign' students.

It has been shown that children from the poor working class are behind in academic skills and other learnings when they enter the first grade; and that this handicap must be overcome by providing the disadvantaged children with higher quality education.¹⁰ During the period under review, the school system was unable to modify its curriculum to accommodate such disadvantaged learners. In fact, the common practice was to put 'foreign' students with no knowledge of English at all in overcrowded classes and drag them along until they learned enough of the language to keep pace with others.¹¹

Apart from the pedagogic problems which plagued the school system in Manitoba during this period with regards to exaggeration of the role of the school system and the inadequacies of psychology as the basis of school method and practice, the system encountered further problems. In the conception and presentation of its curriculum content, the heavy dependency on text books and rote memory, the lack of equipment in many schools, the emphasis on stereotypes and conformity was reflected in "the acceptance world of the

¹⁰Sol Cohen, "Educating the Children of the Urban Poor", Education and Urban Society, vol I, no. 1 (November 1968) p. 61.

¹¹The Winnipeg Free Press, 1 July 1897, p. 1.

school",¹² all weakened the chances of the school system to achieve its ideals and goals. Attention is now turned to the structure of the public school system in Manitoba during the period and the effect, which such organization had on the execution of curriculum goals.

Bureaucracy and Education

The basic model of bureaucracy formulated by Max Weber refers to a certain kind of formal organization characterized by,

- i) an administrative hierarchy,
- ii) a specialized work force,
- iii) prescribed values for organizational members,
- iv) impersonal relations between the organization's officials and the organization's clients,
- v) separation of control and ownership whereby those who do the work do not control the means by which the work is performed; and,
- vi) recruitment and career advancement of the organization's members based on the criterion of individual competence.¹³

¹²Frederick Eklun and Gerald Handel, The Child and Society: The Process of Socialization (New York: Random House, 1972).

¹³H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds.), From Max Weber; Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958) pp. 186-204.

The purpose of this model is to outline not only the features of the educational bureaucracy in Winnipeg during the period, but also the effects which such features had on the goals and practice of the public school curriculum.

Wall¹⁴ has shown that the corner-stone of the structure of the public school in Manitoba between 1890 and 1938 was the Advisory Board of Education which enjoyed a delegated authority from the Department of Education. The Board prescribed not only rules and regulations which bound the educational enterprise, it also prescribed the school curriculum,¹⁵ and the text books.¹⁶ Through the activities of the Board's Committee an examination which prescribed the subject matter to be tested, and set the standards to be attained on these examinations,¹⁷ the Board had a decisive influence on the products of the school system.

Moreover, the Board had a decisive control on the recruitment, training, hiring and firing of teachers.¹⁸ It prescribed courses for the training of teachers and gave permits to non-professional teachers. With its control over the curriculum, text books, examinations and the teachers, the Advisory Board actually controlled the destiny of the school system.

The school district or the Local School Board was

¹⁴W. W. Wall, op. cit.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 148-150. ¹⁶Ibid., pp. 152-158.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 158-162. ¹⁸Ibid., pp. 163-173.

important aspect of the educational enterprise during the period. In his study, Lucow has shown the various facets of the structure of the school system in Winnipeg.¹⁹ This study reveals that like the Advisory Board of Education, the School Board enjoyed the delegated responsibility of providing for the education of the pupils within its area.²⁰ To carry on its functions, the Board operated in committees among which the finance, the school management, the building and the printing and supplies committees were the most important.²¹

With regards to the structure, the study reveals that the Superintendent, School Boards and the Principals were important sections in the structure with specific duties.²² With reference to the principals, the study shows that the Superintendent, the Assistant Superintendents, the Supervisors and the Principals had charge over the supervision of instruction.²³

At the base of this administrative structure was the teaching staff²⁴ who worked under some basic regulations²⁵ and who had specific duties to perform.²⁶

Another important aspect of the structure of the educational enterprise in Manitoba during this period was

¹⁹W. H. Lucow, op. cit.

²⁰Ibid., p. 23. ²¹Ibid., pp. 24-25.

²²Ibid., pp. 26-35. ²³Ibid., pp. 35-42.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 43-51. ²⁵Ibid., pp. 44-46.

²⁶Ibid., p. 43.

the school inspector. Appointed by the government, the school inspector through his visits to schools ensured a great measure of uniformity within the system. In general, he was the means to ensure that the prescribed curriculum as well as the text books were used in schools. The inspector also performed some other important functions. They were the interpreters of government regulations as well as the tutors of the teachers during the teacher training sessions. Thus the school inspector could be regarded as a means to control both the thought and the actions of the school teacher. In his "The Work of a School Inspector",²⁷ Daniel McIntyre showed that it was part of the duties of the inspector not only to follow the progress of the students in the academic field but also to ensure that good "habits of thought and action" were fostered.²⁸

The bureaucratic organization of schools have definite effects on the goals and achievements of the school system. Katz has shown that the relationship exists between the way education is organized and the hidden message such organization is designed to transmit. In his estimate:

Their (schools) main purpose is to make these children orderly, industrious, law-abiding, and respectful of authority. Their literature and their spokesmen proclaim the schools to be symbols of opportunity, but their

²⁷Daniel McIntyre, "The Work of a School Inspector", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. I, no. 1 (April 1899) pp. 10-12.

²⁸Ibid., p. 11.

slitted or windowless walls say clearly what their history would reveal as well: They were designed to reflect and confirm the social structure that erected them.²⁹

In what ways does the bureaucratic organization of education belie the goals of education? Though education has for one of its goals the development of the potentials of the individual, bureaucracy ensures that children "are processed into particular shapes and dropped into slots roughly congruent with the status of their parents."³⁰ Routine and rituals drive a wedge between the teacher and the pupils thus altering what had once been a much more vital meaningful relationship; while organization narrows responsibility and stifles thought, stamps out spontaneity and originality, thus acting as a "poison" to all inventive minds.³¹ Thus it could be said that rigid formalism reduced the quality of education, it suppresses individuality by adopting the personality and behavior of a drill master; and exalts means over ends.

Bureaucracy has affected the activities of the school system in some more profound ways. Bowers³² has shown that bureaucracy is responsible for the powerlessness of the teaching profession. The writer regrets that on the important subject

²⁹Michael B. Katz, Class, Bureaucracy and Schools. The Illusion of Educational Change in America (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971) p. xviii.

³⁰Ibid., p. xxiv. ³¹Ibid., pp. 83-84.

³²C. A. Bowers, "Professionalism Without Autonomy; The Paradox in Modern Education", The Journal of Educational Thought, vol. II, no. 2 (August 1968) pp. 68-77.

of class size the teachers' opinion is neglected. In spite of his professional knowledge decisions on class size "are determined on other grounds and by other people".³³ With regards to whether the teachers have any authority over how much money to be spent on instructional materials, Bowers wrote:

The teacher's area of decision-making is circumscribed by policy decisions over which he has no control, e.g. the amount of money that the district has allocated for art, for library books, for new chemistry equipment, etc. Thus, while the teacher is nominally responsible for educating the student, he has no effective voice in determining the instruments that are essential for carrying out his task.³⁴

Other areas in which the powerlessness of the professional teacher has a great impact on the achievements of the educational enterprise include what subjects the teacher has to teach,³⁵ classroom discipline involving major decisions like expulsion,³⁶ the amount of time that can be spent on a subject and the emphasis to be given,³⁷ who their colleagues would be and what kind of training their colleagues should have³⁸ and the nature of the intellectual process that goes on in the classroom.³⁹

With regards to the ephemeral nature of the privileges that the teacher enjoys, Bowers wrote:

³³Ibid., p. 69. ³⁴Ibid., p. 69.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 69-70. ³⁶Ibid., p. 70.

³⁷Ibid., p. 70. ³⁸Ibid., p. 70. ³⁹Ibid., p. 70.

If one looks for the rights of teachers what he finds are privileges that can be withdrawn arbitrarily by the school administration. I cannot think of any decision that a teacher could make that could not be overturned by an administrator, if the administrator thought it was not in the interests of the school. Even in the area of civil rights the teacher has to make sacrifices not required of other members of the community. . . . When one compares the civil rights of teachers with those of professional groups such as doctors and lawyers, it readily becomes apparent that there is a significant difference.⁴⁰

Wise⁴¹ has suggested some reasons why educational policies often fail reasons which emanate from the bureaucratic organization of education. One explanation for the failure of educational policies is "excessive prescription" of the inputs to the system, the process the system is to employ and the outcomes the system is to achieve.⁴² Another reason for failure is "procedural complexity"⁴³ which often results from the efforts to respond to demands for sharing power. It results when those in power wish to appear to share authority without, in fact, surrendering authority. Thus during the period under review, the educational authority by establishing bilingual school and local school districts seemed to be sharing authority whereas that authority remained vested in the Advisory Board and the Department of Education.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 70-71.

⁴¹Arthur E. Wise, "Why Educational Policies Often Fail: The Hyperrationalization Theory", Curriculum Studies, vol. IX, no. 1 (1977) pp. 43-57.

⁴²Ibid., p. 44. ⁴³Ibid., p. 44.

"Inappropriate solutions", it has been pointed out, are also responsible for the failure of educational policies. Inappropriate solutions derive from ignorance or an inability or unwillingness to face up to a situation. During the period, the 1897 Education Act represented an inappropriate solution to the educational problem faced by Manitoba as will be shown later. Suffice it to say that educational programs like that of the bilingual system in Manitoba during the period

. . . are often inappropriate because the problems which they are designed to solve, have their genesis in social structure rather than in individual behavior. The solution to the problem, in other words, may lie in reforming society or the school rather than in the creation of a specific programme or curriculum. The logic that connects the problem to the solution is faulty.⁴⁴

A first-order solution which labels a programme after the problem and which yields the appearance of coping with the problem, for example, "competency based high-school graduation programme" to cope with incompetency of high-school graduates is also responsible for the failure of educational policies. In essence, it amounts to "tinkering in a superficial way with the outcomes of schooling" and it "is very far from the real solution".⁴⁵ Wishful thinking is another cause of the failure of educational policies.⁴⁶

Miller⁴⁷ has shown that bureaucracy is largely responsible for the alienation of the school's clients.

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 44-45. ⁴⁵Ibid., p. 45. ⁴⁶Ibid., p. 45.

⁴⁷John Miller, "Schooling and Self-Alienation: A Conceptual View", The Journal of Educational Thought, vol. VII, no. 2 (August 1973) pp. 105-120.

This has happened in some concrete ways. First, through compulsory attendance:

The most overriding factor of schooling is that it is compulsory. The school is like two other societal institutions - prisons and mental health clinics - in that it does not give its members the prerogative of learning. Although the school's impact is not as total or unpleasant as these two institutions, it is similar to them in that its members must also face the inevitability of the experience. It is this inevitability that forces him to develop strategies to cope with the experience in ways that are conceivably alienating.⁴⁸

Second, the school isolates the student from the community by its emphasis on "a system of age-grading which has as one effect the fractionalization of human career",⁴⁹ also by placing the student in the school away from other community activities "the school accentuates the conflict between generations and encourages a posture of dependency, a sense of powerlessness that may carry over from youth to adulthood".⁵⁰ Third, the administrative structure of the school has some unsavory effects on the growth of the students.

With its emphasis on organizational efficiency, the school environment is a microism of corporate technology and in terms of human growth, its resulting incongruence with the natural, developmental needs is no less "polluting".⁵¹

The structure of the school also has effects on the interpersonal relationship within it: "Because the emphasis in many classes is on discipline or control, the students learn not to communicate with one another except in a manner

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 109. ⁴⁹Ibid., p. 109. ⁵⁰Ibid., p. 110.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 110.

prescribed by the teacher".⁵²

The administrative structure of the school system in Winnipeg between 1897 and 1908 had effects similar to those described above. For example, the teachers worked under strict control,⁵³ the school curriculum was prescribed⁵⁴ and the administrative structure was hierarchical. The superintendent, by established regulations, administered the schools in practical details with emphasis on efficiency.⁵⁵ The inspector required and maintained a rigid adherence to standards "in accordance with the requirements of the provincial programme of studies and to long-established traditions of the Winnipeg schools."⁵⁶ Only the inspector, in consultation with the superintendent could make changes in the methods, subject-matter and technique in use in the schools.⁵⁷ The emphasis, therefore, was on the system, rigidity and efficiency; not on flexibility and initiatives.

Education and the Cultural Milieu

It cannot be overemphasized that the socio-political context of an educational system has tremendous impact on the curriculum. According to Counts,

⁵²Ibid., pp. 110-111.

⁵³William Harrison Lucow, op. cit., pp. 44-47.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 23-31. ⁵⁵Ibid., p. 27.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 38. ⁵⁷Ibid., p. 39.

The historical record shows that education is always a function of time, place and circumstances. In its basic philosophy, its social objectives, and its program of instruction, it inevitably reflects in varying proportion, the experiences, the condition and the hopes, fears and aspirations of a particular group at a particular point in history.⁵⁸

The Manitoba public school system during the period under review demonstrated the significance of the cultural milieu for education. As already shown, the juxtaposition of many ethnic groups in Manitoba was bound to create some problems which could affect education. The fact is that the extent of the problem created for education by the 'cultural mosaic' of Manitoba was not fully realized. The inability to give any serious consideration to the complex nature of the provinces racial composition led to hasty decisions on a very complicated problem.⁵⁹

The educational Act of 1897 was an example of the inability of both the provincial and federal governments to devise a thorough and practical solution to the multilingual problem which plagued Manitoba. This act, which put into effect the agreement of the preceding year known as the Laurier-Greenway Compromise, contained the clause which affected education until the year 1916.⁶⁰

⁵⁸George S. Counts, The Social Foundation of Education Part IX. Report of the Social Studies American Historical Association (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934) pp. 8-9.

⁵⁹J. T. M. Anderson, The Educating of the New Canadian (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1918) p. 215.

⁶⁰Keith Wilson, op. cit., p. 292.

This legislation had several weaknesses: it failed to give a clear definition of what the bilingual system meant, it did not provide for the supply of bilingual teachers, while it failed to take into account the future consequences when Manitoba became a more polyglot province. Furthermore, as most of the new immigrants from central and eastern Europe settled in separate colonies, the problem of how to bring the English language and Canadian ideals into their schools arose as their languages contended for the privilege of being association with English, "upon the bilingual system".⁶¹

The reaction of many ethnic groups in Manitoba to the 1897 Act showed that to a great extent, religious and political factors were closely interwoven during this period.⁶² The agreement was not accepted by the French Roman Catholic Church as a final settlement.⁶³

Religion provoked an intense animosity and mutual mistrust among the ethnic groups because, according to Wilson

Even when the schools in the predominantly French districts were being operated strictly according to the law, the general feeling of mistrust and suspicions was sufficient to cause widespread accusations that they were not.⁶⁴

⁶¹C. B. Sissons, op. cit., pp. 118-119.

⁶²Keith Wilson, op. cit., p. 278.

⁶³G. R. Cook, "Church, Schools and Politics in Manitoba, 1903-1912", Canadian Historical Review, vol. XXXIX, no. 1 (March 1958) p. 2.

⁶⁴Keith Wilson, op. cit., p. 288.

The widespread religious antagonisms could explain, at least in part, why many students were kept from school during the period. It would seem that many members of the ethnic groups who could not afford to send their children to private schools and who distrusted the public school system kept their children at home. This reaction worked against assimilation and also perpetuated ignorance which originally produced mistrust. The extent of this educational problem could be fully realized by noting that religious considerations were one of the reasons why Manitoba did not have a compulsory school attendance act until 1916 despite the popular request for such legislation.⁶⁵

Political factors, though closely interwoven with social factors played an important role in deciding the cause of education between 1897 and 1908. According to Ready,

The schools at this time seemed to be only important as a political argument. Education suffered because of the political implications that were contained in the school question in Manitoba. On the one side there was a provincial politician in league with an anachronistic Catholicism, and on the other hand was a Protestant Liberal opposition, integrally pledged to public and secular education and who were beginning to realize the political and social value of assimilation. For the first fifteen years of the new century that the struggle was waged, the children were ignored.⁶⁶

The important point to note from the foregoing is that society in Winnipeg between 1897 and 1908 was continuously changing. As the ethnic groups struggled for the control

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 291-293.

⁶⁶William B. Ready, op. cit., p. 102.

of the education of their members, a control which was deemed necessary as a means of safeguarding and perpetrating their identity, the educational system in the province became entangled with ethnic animosity and with provincial and federal politics. Consequently, there was a very weak concerted effort to tackle the realities of the collection of many ethnic groups in Manitoba and its implications for the educational system. The Education Act of 1897 and the flag policy of 1906 were simplistic solutions to a profound problem which almost paralyzed the school system.

Education and the Problem of Means

As already stated, the shortage of teachers during this period more than the religious controversies reduced any chance which the public school system had to transform its ideals into realities. Nearly all the school inspectors expressed deep concern over the problem of teacher shortage.

In 1897, the new Inspector of the French Schools, Telesphore Rochon, found efficient teaching greatly hindered by a shortage of teachers. In 1899, R. Goulet reported that although normal school sessions were held on a regular basis at St. Boniface, many teachers were leaving the profession because of low salaries thereby causing a continued shortage of teachers.⁶⁷

⁶⁷B. N. Bilash, op. cit., p. 5.

Teachers were in short supply among the Mennonites too due to low salaries. Some salaries were so low that the teachers could not afford to improve their qualifications.⁶⁸ In an Editorial of The Western School Journal of 1899, the issue of teachers' salaries was examined. The Editorial was not particularly happy that other professionals and workers were by far better remunerated than teachers.⁶⁹

In another article of the 1901 edition of the Journal, S. B. Todd listed what was expected of the public school teacher and the inadequate remuneration she was given:

The teacher who must teach the 3 R's, physiology, civics, virtues and godliness, music, drawing, penmanship, physical culture; the teacher who must teach the effect of alcohol, spend eight to ten hours in the unwholesome atmosphere of a poorly ventilated room, carry out silly experiments, govern wild and wicked children when parents failed, spend hours and hours making statistics, reports, striking balances and averages; and for all this she received a salary which enabled her to live in poverty or on the charity of her friends if she fell ill, offended the authority or lost her pupils.⁷⁰

The Editorial of the Journal, 1907, showed that the shortage of teachers frustrated the school trustees too and reiterated the fact that teachers were underpaid in reference to their training and the demands of their jobs.⁷¹ In the

⁶⁸"The Inspector's Report", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. I, no. 4 (June 1899) p. 125.

⁶⁹"The Editorial", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. III, no. 9 (July 1901) pp. 206-207.

⁷⁰S. B. Todd, "On Teacher's Salary", The Educational Journal of Western Canada, vol. V, no. 7 (August 1902) p. 91.

⁷¹"The Editorial", The Western School Journal, vol. VI, no. 9 (March 1907) p. 69.

same year, A. L. Young, Inspector for South-Eastern Inspectoral Division regretted the fact that very few young men were preparing for the teaching profession due to the increasing prosperity of the province. Such young men, according to his report, opted for other jobs which offered remuneration which were commensurate with what the job demanded.⁷²

In 1904, Inspector E. E. Best reiterated the same point but more bluntly:

Again will I repeat what I said in my report of 1903, let the department devise means of improving these conditions. Young men do not care to qualify for the teaching profession and as a result, only eight percent of the total number of my teachers are men. It is painful for me to note that not one male at present employed in the school of my division has had his preparatory training in the schools of our province.⁷³

In 1905, Inspector Goulet was having difficulties in keeping certain schools supplied with teachers, due to lack of boarding places, a problem which was experienced by many other schools.⁷⁴ And in 1906 Inspector Charles K. Newcombe concluded that "much of the inefficiency of our school system is due to the continuing shifting of teachers".⁷⁵ In 1908, Inspector W. J. Parr complained that some lamentable work was being done in the primary classes by teachers who

⁷²Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1905, p. 40.

⁷³Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1904, p. 210.

⁷⁴Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1905, p. 53.

⁷⁵Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1906, p. 138.

came to the province with good non-professional standing, but who seemed to have no ideas of the principles of successful teaching.⁷⁶

Thus, the shortage of teachers was never overcome during the period under review as lack of adequately trained personnel plagued the educational system as it struggled to achieve its goals.

Yet, the public school system had another barrier before it, that of poor attendance. Like the shortage of teachers, hardly any year passed without the expression of some concern over poor school attendance by at least one school inspector. In one school division several schools had less than six pupils in attendance and in a few areas, only three "searchers after knowledge" were found.⁷⁷

Some inspectors like Inspector Rose suggested that a legislation which would make the payments of grants dependent upon regularity of attendance be enacted.⁷⁸ The important point to note is that irregular attendance sapped the energy as it frustrated the efforts of the teachers who unfortunately had very little visible influence on the government which refused to legislate compulsory school attendance because such a legislation would conflict with the rights of Catholic parents under the Manitoba Act. Consequently, it was felt

⁷⁶Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1908, p. 48.

⁷⁷Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1907, p. 37.

that the enactment of a compulsory school attendance legislation would open up once more the Manitoba School Question with all its unsettling political implications.⁷⁹

Lack of finance, however, impeded the progress of the public school system as much as poor attendance. In spite of the economic and population changes and their concomitant effects on educational facilities, the provisions of the 1877 Educational Act continued to provide financial resources to public schools in Manitoba. Thus school financing continued to rest on collection of school taxes and government grants. These proved inadequate because there were occasions when the local boards, for one reason or another, could not raise sufficient revenues from taxes on farms. Moreover, the pledge of the government to "economy and efficiency"⁸⁰ meant that the public schools received grants which proved utterly inadequate to meet their needs. Lack of a sound financial base therefore explained the severe lack of equipment and facilities in some school rooms during the period. Lack of finance also explained the low salaries for teachers and why some inspectors had such a tight schedule which nearly amounted to being called upon to do the impossible.⁸¹ Lack

⁷⁸Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1906, p. 174.

⁷⁹W. L. Morton, op. cit.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 280.

⁸¹Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1901, p. 37. "Inspector Goulet with an inspectoral division

of finance also explained the inadequacies of transportation facilities in isolated rural districts which meant that some children had to walk long distances of three to four miles to school. In winter this could be a very difficult and unpleasant task to undertake and may explain, though in part, why many students stayed away from schools as well as why inspectors were unable to get to their schools.⁸²

The foregoing reveals that some striking similarities existed in the problems and predicaments experienced by the public school systems in both Massachusetts and Winnipeg as each of them tried to execute their goals. In Massachusetts⁸³ as well as in Winnipeg the pedagogic theories underlying the goals and practice of the school system were based on wrong assumptions. In both Massachusetts⁸⁴ and Manitoba, the educators showed greater concern and better awareness of the problems which plagued society. In fact, the educators' high optimism in the two places led to an overestimation of the strength of the public school system as a means of major social reform. In fact, Katz's assessment of the high optimism as an explanation of ambivalence which existed between

which was co-extensive with the province, found it very difficult to inspect every school and to take time to conduct the Normal School sessions at St. Boniface. Goulet confessed that he just could not visit all the 187 bilingual schools scattered all over Manitoba."

⁸²Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1908, p. 67.

⁸³Michael B. Katz, op. cit., p. 159.

⁸⁴Ibid., pp. 216-217.

the public school and society in Massachusetts was equally valid in the case of Winnipeg.

Some dissimilarities, however, occurred in the problems and predicaments of the school system in Massachusetts and that of Winnipeg. It would appear that there was little in Massachusetts to match the religious antagonisms and ethnic distrusters which plagued the public school system in Winnipeg during the period. Also, the political climate in Manitoba played a greater negative role in education than in Massachusetts. On the other hand, though teacher's salaries were low in Massachusetts as it was in Manitoba compared to the remuneration of other professionals, the teachers in Massachusetts seemed to enjoy higher social prestige. Social recognition of the teaching profession was more apparent in Massachusetts⁸⁵ than in Manitoba. Finally, the two school systems set out to generate some major reforms in their respective societies, neither of them achieved their stated objectives and ideals because a gulf existed between their ideals and their tangible achievements.

From the foregoing, it could be seen that the public school system in Winnipeg encountered educational, administrative, social and political problems which impeded its progress as it attempted to turn society's vision into reality. In particular, the unsettled political climate in Manitoba and lack of means played havoc on the public school system in Winnipeg as it attempted to pursue its goals.

⁸⁵Ibid., pp. 153-160.

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion and Implications of the Study for Future Policies

Between 1897 and 1908, a drive to meet the changing needs of society in Winnipeg revealed an emergent vision. This vision was preoccupied with the need to develop a harmonious and prosperous society inhabited by skillful, industrious and healthy citizens. In an attempt to realize its vision, society in Winnipeg turned its attention to its school system as the key institution. There was the general feeling that the harmonious and prosperous state could be realized through the instrumentality of the school system. In turn, the school system responded almost instantly to the prevailing demand that it harmonize society, sustain the economy and uphold the dignity of man.

This response was reflected in the writings and speeches of some key personalities, prominent among whom were the educators. The city was more fortunate in its educational leadership than in its political leadership. The educators, more than the politicians, showed more awareness and a clearer perception of the problems which faced Winnipeg. The educational

leaders frequently sought new thoughts and ideas outside the province though many of the ideas were not successfully implemented.¹

In more concrete terms, the response of the school system to general expectations was reflected in the goals and ideals associated with the school subjects. The school curriculum was expanded, new subjects were introduced to teach the students and new skills and ideals while old subjects were imbued with new meaning and new purposes.

The reaction of the school system to popular expectations, however, transmitted some confusion to the school system from society. In fact, it was difficult for the school system to serve the needs of both the individual and the society; it could not reconcile the demands of the New Pedagogy with the politics of education. The role of the school system was, therefore, not clearly defined during the period. The school system was viewed as a powerful institution which could perform conflicting and contradictory functions, whereas, in practice the school lacked direction or focus.

Thus, in spite of the expansion of its program of studies, in spite of the apparent demand of the principles of the New Pedagogy that put the learner at the center of the

¹In 1904, W. A. McIntyre, the Principal of the Normal School spent a considerable time in St. Louis and other American cities at the expense of the Department of Education. His lengthy comments in his annual reports indicated the impact of American ideas on the educational thought in Manitoba. Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report, 1904, p. 326.

educational process, education became largely a socializing process and the needs of the individual learner were subordinated to those of the state.

Various factors were responsible for the inability of the school system to transform society's vision into reality. First, the almost instantaneous reaction of the school system to society's high expectations raised some important questions about the public school system. Who sets the goals for the school system - society, the government, parents or the professionals? How should the school system react to society's demands which more often than not, may be contradictory? Precisely, how could society be led to realize that the actual strength of the school system falls far short of its potential strength? Can the school system reform as well as maintain the status quo in the social order? Can the school system produce autonomous individuals as well as conformists?

With regards to the goals of education, the period covered by the study demonstrated that as long as the school remained dependent on society, the rule of "who pays the piper should call the tune" will prevail and so far as the public school system is not autonomous, it cannot set its own goals. Here lies the dilemma of the public school system. On the one hand it is expected to be in the vanguard of social economic and political reform, while on the other hand it lacks the autonomy prerequisite for performing such a fundamental function. The full potential of the public school system

could not be realized until the conflict which exists between the humanitarian impulse and the impulse of indoctrination as the determinants of educational goals is resolved.

The lack of autonomy which plagued the school system during the period affected the system in other more fundamental ways. During the period the system was plagued with attendance problems but the government refused to pass legislation that would make attendance compulsory in schools in spite of strong opinions and recommendations, particularly by the school inspectors. It cannot be overemphasized that lack of attendance played havoc on the attempts by the school system to transform society's vision into reality. As long as many students stayed away from school, as was prevalent during the period, the hopes of the school system to make good its intentions were shattered. Poor school attendance, therefore, removed any chance which the school system had to achieve its goals.

Like poor attendance, lack of means also played havoc with the attempts by the school system to achieve its goals. The period demonstrated that though the school system was called upon to perform fundamental tasks, society was not as liberal in funding the school system as it was in prescribing its goals.

The social and political problems which plagued society in Manitoba during the period also weakened the chances of the school system of realizing society's vision.

In response to the ethnic rivalry and political mistrust which plagued the province, the 1897 Agreement proved to be an unplanned and ineffective solution to a complex problem. Though proper planning and execution could have produced a greater degree of ethnic harmony, it failed because it was not, among other things, backed by adequate facilities. It was a political expediency.

Implications of the Study for Future Policies

A. Role of Education

More attention should be focused on the precise role that the public school system should play in society. This focus should consider, and differentiate between, the potential and actual strength of the school system. The potential should not be mistaken for its actual strength. In case a conflict or contradiction occurs in the role expected of the school system, separate institutions may be set up for such functions which are in disharmony with the function of the school system as defined.

It is simplistic to say that agreement and harmony would be reached easily among the various interest groups that have big stakes in education. Toews² has shown that conflicts exist among the school trustees, the superintendents, principals and teachers in Manitoba with regard to primary decision-making responsibilities. School

²Elbert Allan Toews, op. cit.

curriculum, according to his study, ranked highest in inter-group differences.³

Smith, Stanley and Shores have also identified an underlying source of controversy with regard to curriculum goals. The problem here is between the advocates of the child-centered curriculum and those of the society-centered curriculum.⁴ The advocates of the child-centered curriculum claim that the primary purpose of education is to assist the individual in achieving maximum moral, physical and mental growth. Education, in the estimates of these advocates, should enable the individual to achieve self-fulfilment.⁵ On the other hand, the advocates of the society-centered curriculum claim that the objectives of education are primarily social; the purpose of education, they insist, is to prepare the individual for a certain kind of society. Educational goals and objectives are found in the beliefs, attitudes, knowledge and skills required for effective participation in social life.⁶

The group conflicts which Toews' study has exposed and the conflicting claims of the advocates of the child-centered curriculum and those of the society-centered

³Ibid., p. 73.

⁴B. Othanel Smith, William O. Stanley and J. Harlan Shores, Fundamentals of Curriculum Development (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Co., 1957) pp. 548-551.

⁵Ibid., p. 549.

⁶Ibid., pp. 548-549.

curriculum would suggest that the controversy surrounding educational role and curriculum objectives are, indeed complex.

It has, however, been advocated that curriculum goals could serve the needs and interests of the individual as well as cultivate social values.⁷ The advocates of this interactive position argue that there is no contradiction or inconsistency in its dual emphasis on the child and on society because both individualization and socialization are complementary aspects of the same process.⁸ While the advocates of the interactive position maintain that education should have meaning for the child in terms of his own experience rather than in terms of the requirements and activities of adult life; the group is at the same time impressed by the patent evidence that human personalities are shaped - and their destinies primarily determined - by the nature of the socio-cultural milieu.⁹

This study supports the position that education should cater to the needs and interests of both the individual and those of the state because the welfare of both is mutually beneficial and therefore should be cultivated. Education should encourage the development of a humane, sensitive, and open society. This is the challenge which faces modern society and its educational system, a challenge that could

⁷Ibid., pp. 550-560.

⁸Ibid., p. 552. ⁹Ibid., p. 552.

be overcome through co-operation and communication, not through confrontation.

B. Humanize Bureaucracy

Faced with the problem of providing public education to a large number of students, the adoption of a bureaucratic system seems inevitable for the educational authorities in Winnipeg during the period covered by this study. The challenge of our times is how to intensify the advantages of bureaucracy and minimize its disadvantages. The challenge, in precise terms, is how to humanize the bureaucratic approach as a means of organizing social services on a large scale.¹⁰

One probable solution is to create schools within a school to facilitate more interaction and closer relationship among students, and between the students and the staff. This will be a complete contrast to the consolidation policy practiced during the period.

Another possible solution may be to institute a policy which gives greater autonomy to teachers in the areas of instructional materials, budgeting and decision-making. The move to give more authority to teachers has definite advantages. First, the teacher has a moral responsibility to be intellectually honest with the students. As this may warrant presenting the students with a point of view or idea that

¹⁰Barbara Finklestein, review of The One Best System by David B. Tyack in The Journal of Educational Thought, vol. IX, no. 3 (June 1975) pp. 219-221.

conflicts with the orthodoxies of the community, it is imperative that the teachers' rights in the classroom be defined so that they can either be respected by the community or defended collectively by the teachers. During the period covered by this study, conformity with the decisions of the educational authorities was apparently a moral imperative for the teachers.

Consequently, the creative energies and individual initiative seemed to have been stifled; though the teacher was the closest to the actual educational process. The challenge facing modern education and the lesson which we can learn from the experience of the school system during the period concerned by this study is to release the creative energies and foster the individual initiatives of teachers.

C. Finance

In his preliminary report on educational finance in Manitoba, Woods¹¹ put emphasis on the fact that adequate finance is one of the pre-requisites for a successful execution of educational programs. All references to the lack of equipment in schools, the poor salaries which teachers received during the period would show that education was starved of necessary funds. This study shares the feeling that the source of educational revenue has proved inadequate. Education has developed to a point where it can no longer be adequately financed by property taxes and government grants. It is,

¹¹D. S. Woods, op. cit.

therefore, considered that, if as it is often claimed education is an essential aspect of modern society as medicare and other social welfare institutions, it should be financed from general income tax just as the other institutions mentioned. Financing education through the general income tax would, it is believed, strengthen the sources of educational revenue and remove the discrepancies in the quality of education offered by rich and poor school divisions or districts.

D. More Professional Autonomy for Teachers

It is obvious from this study that the teachers lacked certain basic autonomies particularly in the area of prescription of text books and decision-making processes which affect their daily work. This was unfortunate in the light of the fact that the teacher is at the forefront of the educational enterprise. This study, therefore, shares the belief that more powers be given to teachers and students.¹² Since it would appear that traditionally, teachers in particular are not trained for this radical departure from convention, it would become incumbent on teacher education to emphasize the need for teachers to become aware of the full scope of such responsibilities and develop skills that will enable them to carry out adequately the required functions.

¹²Michael B. Katz, op. cit., p. 146.

E. Education and Morality

Education and morality deserve separate attention because as the study has shown, the purpose of the school was more the development of attitudes than of the intellect. Suffice it to say that the human qualities which the educational system sought to achieve during the period covered by this study, were very laudable ones; if achieved, they could produce a just and better society. It is, however, becoming more and more unrealistic to charge the school "with the development of such qualities".¹³ This study, therefore, supports the suggestion that the business of moral training should be assigned to the other social institutions designated for that purpose. On the other hand, the study supports the idea that if the public schools continue to be responsible for moral training, it should be recognized that the formal and the hidden curriculum have proved inadequate in promoting the development of moral reasoning in the students.¹⁴ In this regard, it is felt that there is a need for a model or a program like Toews' which focuses "on the moral tension experienced by citizens in moral principled decision-making as they exercise their responsibilities".¹⁵ A program like this would have the effect of raising moral education above the level of indoctrination and it would remove the apparent

¹³Ibid., p. 141. ¹⁴Ibid., pp. 141-146.

¹⁵Elbert Allan Toews, op. cit., p. iii.

conflict which exists between the demands of the development of the intellect and those of indoctrination.

The history of the public school system in Winnipeg between 1897 and 1908 shows that its problems are not as unique as they might initially appear. For example, the period shows that there is a strong relationship between the principles of selection which underlay the goals, content and practice of the school curriculum on the one hand, and those that underlay the wider social structure.¹⁶ Education is society's tool and therefore a reflection of that society. Education during the period strongly reflected the social, economic and political structure of Winnipeg; and the prevailing social, economic and political conditions had a great influence on the school curriculum.

The failure of the educational reform movement during the period shows the significance of the theory that reality is socially entrenched.¹⁷ The failure of the public school system in Manitoba to achieve its reform goals shows the extent to which such reform was in disharmony with the prevailing social order. It shows that fundamental social reform

¹⁶Michael F. D. Young, "An Approach to the Study of Curricula as Socially Organized Knowledge", J. S. Woodsworth and Michael F. D. Young (eds), Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education (London: Collier and Macmillan Publishers, 1971) p. 24.

¹⁷Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co. Ltd., 1966) pp. 19-42.

cannot be achieved through educational reform unless such educational reform is backed by other major social and economic reform and such reform has to confront society's reality maintaining mechanisms.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Clement, W. J. The History of Canada. Toronto: William Briggs, The Copp-Clark Co. Ltd., 1897.

The Educational Journal of Western Canada, 1897-1902.

Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report, 1897-1908.

Saul, John C., and McIntyre, W. A., eds. Handbook of the Victorian Readers. Toronto: The Copp-Clark Co. Ltd., 1902.

The Victorian Readers. A Primer. Toronto: The Copp-Clark Co. Ltd., 1898-1903.

The Victorian Readers. First Reader. Toronto: Copp-Clark and W. J. Gage, 1898-1903.

The Victorian Readers. Second Reader. Toronto: Copp-Clark and W. J. Gage, 1898-1903.

The Victorian Readers. Third Reader. Toronto: Copp-Clark and W. J. Gage, 1898-1903.

The Victorian Readers. Fifth Reader. Toronto: Copp-Clark and W. J. Gage, 1898-1903.

The Western School Journal, 1903-1908.

The Winnipeg Free Press, 1897-1908.

The Winnipeg School District No. 1 Annual Report, 1901-1908.

Theses

- Anderson, J. T. M. "Canadian Immigration and its Problems."
M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1914.
- Arnason, Angantyr. "Icelandic Settlements in America."
M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1929.
- Bilash, B. N. "Bilingual Public Schools in Manitoba,
1897-1916." M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1960.
- Butterworth, Ernest. "The History of the Manitoba Educational
Association." M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba,
1965.
- Cowie, Malcom Stewart. "The Development of Geography in the
Schools of Manitoba, 1818-1968." M.Ed. Thesis, University
of Manitoba, 1975.
- Ivens, William. "Canadian Immigration." M.A. Thesis, University
of Manitoba, 1909.
- Jahn, Hartha Evelyn. "Immigration and Settlement in Manitoba,
1870-1881. The Beginning of a Pattern." M.A. Thesis,
University of Manitoba, 1968.
- Lucow, W. H. "The Origin and Growth of the Public School System
in Winnipeg." M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba,
1950.
- Peters, Peter H. "The Philosophy of Physics Education in
Manitoba Secondary Schools 1900-1966." M.Ed. Thesis,
University of Manitoba, 1971.
- Ready, William B. "The Political Implications of the Manitoba
School Question 1896-1916." M.Ed. Thesis, University of
Manitoba, 1948.
- Toews, Elbert Allan. "An Analysis of Expectations Concerning
the Distribution of Decision-Making Responsibilities
in Schools in Manitoba." M.Ed. Thesis, University of
Manitoba, 1975.
- Toews, Otto B. "Youth, Law and Morality: A Program in Moral
and Legal Education." M.Ed. Thesis, University of
Manitoba, 1975.

- Vidal, Heraldur Victor. "The History of the Manitoba Teachers' Society." M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1958.
- Wall, W. M. "The Advisory Board in the Development of Public Education in Manitoba." M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1939.
- Whittaker, J. T. "Canada and the Immigration Problem." M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1915.
- Willows, Andrew. "The History of the Mennonites Particularly in Manitoba." M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1924.
- Wilson, Keith. "Development of Education in Manitoba." Ph.D. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1967.
- Woods, David Scott. "The Two Races in Manitoba." M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1926.

Books

- Artibise, Alan F. J. Winnipeg. A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1975.
- Ballou, Richard B. The Individual and the State. The Modern Challenge to Education. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1953.
- Bear, R. M. The Social Functions of Education. New York: The Mcmillan Co., 1937.
- Berger, Peter L. and Luckman, Thomas. The Social Construction of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co. Ltd., 1966.
- Brown, L. M. Aims of Education. New York: Teachers College Press, 1970.
- Byrne, Neil and Quarters, Jack, eds. The Growing Debate in Canadian Education. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1973.
- Carr, E. H. What is History? Penguin Books. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Crow and Wyman Ltd., 1920.
- Cassell, H. L. and Deak, S. C. Curriculum Development. New York: American Book Company, 1935.
- Chafe, J. W. An Apple for the Teachers. A Centennial History of the Winnipeg School Division. Winnipeg: The Winnipeg School Division No. 1, 1967.
- Clar, Lovell, ed. The Manitoba School Question: Majority Rule or Minority Rights? Toronto: The Copp-Clark Publishing Company, 1968.
- Claussen, John A. Socialization and Society. Boston: Little, Brown, 1968.
- Clement, W. H. P. The History of Canada. Toronto: William Briggs, The Copp-Clark Co. Ltd., 1897.
- Connelly, F. M. Elements of Curriculum Development. Toronto: Institute for Studies in Education, 1971.

- Cook, Ramsay. The Politics of John W. Dafoe and the Free Press. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.
- Counts, George S. The Social Foundation of Education. Part IX. Report of the Social Studies American Historical Association. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934.
- Cremin, Lawrence Arthur. The Transformation of the School Progressivism in American Education 1876-1957. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961.
- Curle, Adam. Education for Liberation. London: Tavistock, 1973.
- Curti, Merle. The Social Idea of American Education. Patterson, New Jersey, Pageant Books, 1959.
- Davidson, C. B. et. al. The Population of Manitoba. Winnipeg Economic Survey Board, 1938.
- Dearden, R. F. The Philosophy of Primary Education. An Introduction. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968.
- Easton, David and Dennis, Jack. Children in the Political System. Origins of Political Legitimacy. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1969.
- Edwards, Newton and Richey, Herman G. The School in American Social Order. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963.
- Eggleston, John. The Social Context of the School. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967.
- Elkin, Frederick and Handel, Gerald. The Child and Society. The Process of Socialization. New York: Random House, 1972.
- Erikson, Erik. Childhood and Society. New York: W. W. Norton and Company Inc., 1950.
- Firestone, O. J. Industry and Education: A Century of Canadian Development. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1969.
- Fox, David J. The Research Process in Education. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1969.
- Gerth, H. H. and Mills, C. W., eds. From Max Weber. Essays in Sociology. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958.
- Grear, Colin. The Great School Legend. New York: Basic Books, 1972.
- Hanna, Paul R. Education. An Instrument of National Goals. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Ltd., 1962.

- Hedges, James B. Building the Canadian West. New York: Macmillan Co., 1939.
- Hess, Robert D. and Torney, Judith V. The Development of Political Attitudes in Children. Chicago: Aldines, 1967.
- Hia, William D. Education as a Human Enterprise. Worthington, Ohio: C. A. Jones Publishing Co., 1973.
- Jackson, Philip W. Life in the Classroom. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.
- Jeffreys, M. V. C. Education. Its Nature and Purpose. New York: Barnes Noble, 1971.
- Judd, Charles H. Education and Social Progress. New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1934.
- Katz, Michael B. Class, Bureaucracy and Schools. The Illusion of Educational Change in America. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971.
- Katz, Michael B. The Irony of Early School Reform. Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Katz, Michael B. and Mattingly, Paul H. Education and Social Change. Themes from Ontario's Past. New York: New York University Press, 1975.
- King, Edmund J. Education and Social Change. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1966.
- Kitson-Clark, G. The Critical Historian. London: Heinemann, 1967.
- Kohn, Melvin K. Class and Conformity. Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1969.
- Krishnamurti, Joseph. Education and the Significance of Life. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1953.
- Kuhn, Thomas S. The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- Lawr, Douglas A. and Gidney, D., eds. Educating Canadians. A Documentary History of Public Education. Toronto: Van Norstrand Reinhold, Ltd., 1973.
- Lupul, Manoly. The Roman Catholic Church and the Northwestern School Question. A Study in Church-State Relations in Western Canada, 1875-1905. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

- McWilliams, Margaret. Manitoba Milestones. Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1928.
- Manning, Duane. Towards a Humanistic Curriculum. New York: Harper & Row, 1971.
- Marunchack, Michals M. The Ukrainian Canadians. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Science, 1970.
- Morris, Ben. Objectives and Perspectives in Education. London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1972.
- Morton, W. L. Manitoba. A History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.
- Musgrave, P. W. Knowledge, Curriculum and Change. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1973.
- Myers, Alonzo F. and Williams, Clarence O. Education in a Democracy. New York: Prentice Hall Inc., 1954.
- Neatby, Hilda. So Little for the Mind. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co. Ltd., 1953.
- Nicholls, Audrey. Developing a Curriculum. A Practical Guide. London: Allen and Urwin, 1972.
- Nisbet, Stanley. Purpose in the Curriculum. London: University of London Press, 1957.
- Schultz, Stanley K. The Culture Factory. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Schwartz, Audry James. Schools and Socialization. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1975.
- Silberman, Charles. Crisis in the Classroom. New York: Random House, 1970.
- Sissons, C. B. Bilingual Schools in Canada. London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1917.
- Smith, B. Othanel, Stanley W. O. and Shores, J. H. Socialization and Schooling. The Basics of Reform. Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, 1975.
- Smith, B. Othanel, Stanley W. O. and Shores, J. H. Fundamentals of Curriculum Deveopment. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company, 1957.
- Sugden, Virginia M. The Graduate Thesis: The Complete Guide to Planning and Preparation (New York: Pitman Publishing Corp., 1973).

- Sutherland, Neil. Children in English Canadian Society Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.
- Travers, Robert M. An Introduction to Educational Research. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1958.
- Tyler, R. W. Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction. London: The University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Venable, T. C. Philosophical Foundations of Curriculum. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967.
- Woods, D. S. Education in Manitoba. Part I. Preliminary Report. Winnipeg: Economic Survey Board, 1938.
- Woods, D. S. Education in Manitoba. Part II. Preliminary Report. Winnipeg: Economic Survey Board, 1938.
- Woodsworth, James S. My Neighbour. A Study of City Conditions, a Plea for Social Service. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.
- Woodsworth, James S. Strangers Within our Gates or Coming Canadians. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.
- Young, Michael F. D. Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education. London: Collier and Macmillan Publishers, 1971.

Articles

- Black, W. J. "Industrial Education in Relation to Agriculture." The Western School Journal vol. III, no. 4 (April 1908) pp. 170-171.
- Bothwell, W. "Solutions in Arithmetic." The Educational Journal of Western Canada vol. II, no. 8 (September 1901) pp. 13-14.
- Bowers, C. A. "Professionalism Without Autonomy. The Paradox in Modern Education." The Journal of Educational Thought vol. II, no. 2 (August 1968) pp. 68-77.
- Brown, R. J. "Industrial Education." The Western School Journal vol. I, no. 10 (December 1906) pp. 4-7.
- Bryce, Rev. Dr. George. "Agricultural Education." The Educational Journal of Western Canada vol. I, no. 4 (March 1899) pp. 111-112.
- Bryden, Jack, E. "Industrial Education." The Western School Journal vol. III, no. 4 (April 1908) pp. 165-170.
- Burgess, E. "The Training in English. Our Western Civilization Demands." The Western School Journal vol. II, no. 1 (January 1906) pp. 13-17.
- Cohen, So. "Educating the Children of the Urban Poor." Education and Urban Society vol. I, no. 1 (1968) pp. 58-63.
- Cook, G. R. "Church Schools and Politics in Manitoba, 1903-1912." Canadian Historical Review vol. XXXIX, no. 1 (March 1958) pp. 1-23.
- Duncan, D. W. "The Study of History." The Educational Journal of Western Canada vol. II, no. 8 (September 1901) pp. 198-200.
- Finlay, W. A. "The Educated Man and the State." The Educational Journal of Western Canada vol. IV, no. 8 (December 1902) pp. 239-242.
- Finlay, W. A. "Compulsory Education." The Western School Journal vol. I, no. 1 (January 1906) pp. 26-27.

- Fisher, George J. "Physical Training in Public Schools." The Western School Journal vol. II, no. 1 (January 1907) pp. 3-5.
- Gordon, Daisy. "Essentials in Management." The Western School Journal vol. II, no. 4 (April 1907) pp. 88-93.
- Hadcock, H. R. "The Need of Physical Training." The Western School Journal vol. II, no. 2 (February 1907) pp. 41-42.
- Hales, B. J. "School Equipment." The Western School Journal vol. III, no. 4 (April 1908) pp. 174-175.
- Hales, B. J. "Vocation in Education." The Western School Journal vol. II, no. 1 (January 1908) pp. 1-3.
- Hodgson, R. T. "How to Teach Geography." The Educational Journal of Western Canada vol. III, no. 7 (July 1901) p. 202.
- Laidlaw, T. "Where the Emphasis is in Literature." The Western School Journal vol. III, no. 3 (March 1908) pp. 73-77.
- MacDonald, Murdock. "Individual Differences." The Toronto Educational Quarterly vol. VI, no. 1 (Autumn 1966) pp. 11-12.
- McIntyre, Daniel. "The Work of the School Inspector." The Educational Journal of Western Canada vol. I, no. I (January 1899) pp. 10-12.
- McIntyre, Daniel. "Industrial Education." The Western School Journal vol. III, no. 6 (June 1908) pp. 183-190.
- McIntyre, Daniel. "Subjects of Study and their Purpose." The Educational Journal of Western Canada vol. V, no. 4 (April 1899) pp. 62-83.
- McIntyre, W. A. "Society Study." The Western School Journal vol. II, no. 1 (January 1908) pp. 6-7.
- McIntyre, W. A. "Some Defects in our Educational System." The Educational Journal of Western Canada vol. IV, no. 5 (April-May 1908) pp. 133-135.
- McIntyre, W. A. "Reading and Writing Music." The Educational Journal of Western Canada vol. IV, no. I (January 1902) pp. 5-7.
- McIntyre, W. A. "The School Garden." The Western School Journal vol. II, no. 5 (May 1907) pp. 132-133.

- MacLean, H. S. "Science in the Public School." The Educational Journal of Western Canada vol. II, no. 8 (August 1901) pp. 113-115.
- Martin, Frederick. "Physical Training is Necessary to Education." The Western School Journal vol. III, no. 4 (April 1908) pp. 131-133.
- Miller, John. "Schooling and Self-Alienation. A Complete View." The Journal of Educational Thought vol. VII, no. 2 (August 1973) pp. 105-120.
- Morrison, T. R. "Reform as Social Tracking: The Case of Industrial Education in Ontario 1870-1900." The Journal of Educational Thought vol. VIII, no. 2 (August 1974) pp. 87-110.
- Murchin, Lawrence H. J. "Music." The Educational Journal of Western Canada vol. I, no. 6 (June 1899) p. 202.
- Newcombe, Charles K. "Arithmetic in the Intermediate Grades." The Western School Journal vol. III, no. 4 (April 1908) pp. 11-13.
- Newcombe, Charles K. "A Plea for Pictures." The Western School Journal vol. II, no. 1 (January 1908) pp. 175-176.
- Newton, S. T. "Drawings, Construction and Design." The Western School Journal vol. I, no. 6 (June 1906) pp. 6-7.
- Sinclair, J. "The Study of History." The Educational Journal of Western Canada vol. II, no. 8 (August-September 1901) pp. 113-115.
- Sisler, W. J. "The Immigrant Child." The Western School Journal vol. I, no. 1 (January 1906) pp. 4-6.
- Smith, Calvert Hayes. "Prerequisite to Successful Teaching in Inner-City Communities." Education and Urban Society vol. IV, no. 1 (November 1971) pp. 40-42.
- Sproule, G. A. "The Manitoba Agricultural College." The Western School Journal vol. I, no. 8 (October 1906) pp. 7-9.
- Stevenson, A. "The Teaching of History." The Educational Journal of Western Canada vol. III, no. 5 (May 1901) pp. 141-142.
- Sutherland, Neil. "To Create a Strong Healthy Race: School Children in the Public Health Movement 1880-1914." History of Educational Quarterly vol. XII, no. 3 (Fall 1972).

- Thompson, B. J. "The Man who Loves his Country." The Educational Journal of Western Canada vol. IV, no. 3 (May 1902) p. 71.
- Todd, S. B. "On Teachers' Salaries." The Educational Journal of Western Canada vol. V, no. 7 (August 1902) p. 91.
- Wallis, J. B. "Nature Study: A Plea for the Preservation of Life." The Educational Journal of Western Canada vol. IV, no. 8 (September 1902) pp. 113-115.
- Wartens, W. J. "Manual Training." The Educational Journal of Western Canada vol. II, no. 9 (October 1901) pp. 6-8.
- Wise, C. A. "Why Educational Policies often Fail: The Hyperrationalization Theory." Curriculum Studies vol. IX, no. 1 (1977) pp. 43-57.
- Yull, D. W. "Discipline in the School." The Western School Journal vol. I, no. 8 (October 1906) pp. 9-11.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

PROGRAMME OF STUDIES FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF MANITOBA

Revised July 30th, 1902*

SUBJECTS FOR ALL GRADES

HYGIENE - Lessons on cleanliness, proper clothing, pure air, good water, exercise, rest, avoidance of draughts, wholesome food, temperate habits - with special reference to use of alcohol and tobacco; bathing, accidents, poison, disinfectants, digestion, circulation, respiration.

Practical effect should be given to the instruction in this subject by attention to the Physical condition and habits of the children, the ventilation, lighting, heating, and cleaning of the school room, and the supervision and direction of the sports and exercises of the pupils by the teacher.

TEXT BOOK - Child's Health Primer (Pathfinder No. 1).

MORALS - (a) Duties to self - Self culture, self respect, self control; purity in thought, word and deed; industry, economy; truthfulness, courage, etc.

(b) Duties to others - Courtesy, including all forms of politeness, in school room, home, society, public meetings, school ground, street, respect for parents, teachers, benefactors and those in authority.

*Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report, 1902,
pp. 1-16.

(c) Duties to the State - Civil duties, including respect for law as the means by which the innocent are protected and the guilty punished; tax paying, patriotism, support of Government, etc.; political duties - voting, public office a sacred trust.

(d) Duties to animals - As beasts of burden, as food, as sport.

To establish the habit of right doing, instruction in moral principles must be accompanied by training in moral practices. The teacher's influence and example, current incidents, stories, memory gems, sentiments in the school lessons, examination of motives that prompt to action, didactic talks, teaching the Ten Commandments, etc., are means to be employed.

It shall be the duty of every teacher to make out a Time Table for his school and to post it up in the school room. The Time Table shall be presented to the Inspector at each visit for his approval and signature.

The work to be done in the Public Schools is divided into nine grades, as follows:

GRADE I.

READING - First Reader, Part I.

COMPOSITION - Ready and correct use of Simple Sentences in familiar conversation growing out of reading and observation lessons.

WRITING - In exercise books with lead pencil.

ARITHMETIC - Numbers 1 to 20, their combinations and separations.

Use and meaning of one-half, one-third, one-fourth, etc. to one-twentieth (no figures).

Relation of halves, fourths, eighths, thirds, sixths, twelfths, ninths (no figures).

Simple problems and practical measurements introducing gallons in peck, pecks in bushel, months in year, inches in foot, pounds, current coins up to twenty.

Additions in columns, no total to exceed 20.

OBSERVATION LESSONS

1. Plant Life - Study of the plant as a whole. Name of parts - root, stem, leaf. Experiment to determine the use of each part to the plant. Observation of the uses that animals and insects make of the plant.

Leaves - (a) Recognizing and naming a few common leaves.

(b) Drawing and describing each leaf as studied. Noting size, shape, color, margin, veining. Coloring of some drawings.

(c) Memorizing appropriate poems and reproducing stories told.

Flowers - (a), (b), (c) Same as under leaves. Observing the parts in each and distinguishing between them.

Seeds - (a), (b), (c) Same as under leaves. Planting many seeds of some one kind, a few of several kinds; some in the light, some in moist earth, some in cotton.

Observing results.

2. Animal Life - Insects, grasshopper, butterfly and allied insects.

Birds - Habits of the more familiar birds.

Note - A calendar may be made to show changes in climate; the migration of birds; appearance of flowers; ripening of seeds, etc.

SPELLING - Copying words.

MUSIC - Singing of songs. Drill on the scale and intervals as found in exercises 1, 2, 3, 4 on second page, first series of Charts Normal Music Course. First four keys of Music Chart. (These four exercises are also printed on four cards, one on each card). Exercises in rhythm as found on 1st time chart, using swinging metronome.

DRAWING - Nature forms: Fruit, vegetables, flowers, leaves, etc. Objects: Balls, boxes, jars, bowls, etc.

Type solids: Sphere, cube, cylinder, hemisphere, prisms.

Topics - 1(a) Throught of Nature - Observation of form and color in familiar things. Illustrating the story; drawing of places, people, living things, fruit, flowers, etc., with freedom as to ways of expressing (chalk,

pencil, brush).

- (b) Appearance of Form - From single objects and simple groups. The familiar model or object; cylinder, prism, box, apple, pail, etc., viewed at, below, above, level of eye; seeing the changes of appearances; trying to note the parts in sight; to express ideas of the size and proportion. (Sight drawing, memory drawing). Some picture drawing, freely as in 1(a), from dolls, toys, etc.
- 2 Facts of Form - Naming, distinguishing common types: notice of a few plane figures and terms in familiar relation with common objects and types - e.g. circle, square, face, edge vertical, etc. (Modelling, making)
- 3 Thought of Ornament - Border, Rosette. Ideas of pleasant arrangement; lesson from flower forms; guidance in the use of color. (Pencil painting; brush work).

GRADE II.

READING - First Reader. Part II.

Phonic Analysis.

Exercises in Articulation and Pronunciation.

Reading at sight from books used in Grade I.

Reading stories and poetical selections from blackboard.

Appropriate selections of poetry memorized and recited.

COMPOSITION - The substance of the reading lesson, and of short stories told or read to pupils, to be reproduced by them orally.

Oral expression in complete sentences of simple thoughts suggested by reading, observation lessons and personal experience.

WRITING - Copy Book No. 1, with lead pencil.

ARITHMETIC - Numbers 1 to 20, their combinations and separations.

Use and meaning of one-half, one-third, one-fourth, etc., to one-twentieth, (no figures).

Relation of halves, fourths, eighths; thirds, sixths, twelfths; thirds, ninths, (no figures).

Simple problems and practical measurements introducing gallons in peck, pecks in bushel, months in year, inches in foot, pound, current coins, up to 20, etc.

Addition in columns, no total to exceed 20.

OBSERVATION LESSONS - Simple study of familiar plants and animals as in Grade I.

SPELLING - From Readers only - such words from each lesson as pupils can learn while mastering the reading matter.

MUSIC - Singing of songs. Review. Drill in Interval. All exercises from the Chart in each of the nine keys. Exercises in rhythm. All on the first time chart. Exercise in vowels and humming.

DRAWING - Nature forms and objects: as for Grade I.

Topics - As for Grade I.

Further ideas of form and shape; more expression by drawing; a bolder touch, etc.

GRADE III.

READING - Second Reader.

Phonic Analysis.

Exercises in Articulation and Pronunciation.

Appropriate selections of poetry memorized and recited.

COMPOSITION - Brief oral expression in complete sentences of thoughts suggested by pictures, observation lessons, etc.

Narrative of occurrences within pupils' experiences.

Written exercises on the foregoing after oral work has been carefully done.

Oral and written reproduction of the substance of the reading lesson.

WRITING - Copy-books 2 and 3.

Careful attention to penmanship in all written exercises.

ARITHMETIC - Numbers 1 to 100.

Their combinations and separations (oral and written).

Use and meaning of one twenty-first, one twenty-second, etc., to one one-hundredth (no figures).

Addition, Subtraction, Division and Partition of Fractions dealt with in Grade II.

Roman Numerals I to C.

Simple problems, introducing seconds in minute, minutes in hour, hours in day; pounds in bushel, sheets in quire, quires in ream, etc.

OBSERVATION LESSONS

I. Plant Life - Continuation of the work of Grades I and

II.

Study of growth, circulation of sap. etc.

Roots - Fibrous and fleshy, comparing, describing,
naming.

Stems - Erect, climbing, running, manner of growth.

Leaves - Parts; comparisons.

Flowers - Parts; arrangement.

Fruit - Fleshy and dry; comparisons.

II. Animal Life - Insects - Ants, Bees.

Birds - Continuation of work Grade I and II.

SPELLING - From Reader.

Words to be arranged as far as possible in groups according to similarity in form and sound.

Dictation.

Careful attention to spelling of all words used in written exercise.

MUSIC - Same exercises as in Grade II. First Reader, Normal Music Course. Exercises in rhythm. 1st Time Chart.

DRAWING - Continuation of the work of Grade II.

GEOGRAPHY - Development of geographical notions, by reference to geographical features of neighborhood.

Elementary lessons on direction, distance, extent.

GRADE IV.

READING - Third Reader.

Continuation of Exercise of previous Grades.

Exercises to secure projection of tone and distinct articulation.

Memorizing of Poetical Selections.

COMPOSITION - Exercises based on Observation lessons, Reading lessons.

Historical Tales, Geography, Personal Experience, Special attention to:

- (1) Language as an expression of thought.
- (2) Order of thought.
- (3) Correction of common errors in speech. Letter writing.

WRITING - Copy Books 4 and 5.

Careful attention to penmanship in all written exercises.

ARITHMETIC - Numeration and Notation.

Simple Rules.

Addition, Subtraction, Division and Partition of Fractions already known (figures).

Introduction of the terms Numerator, Denominator, etc.

Roman Notation.

Graded problems, introducing remaining Reduction Tables.

Simple problems, introducing the use of dollars and cents.

Daily practice in Simple Rules to secure accuracy and rapidity.

OBSERVATION LESSONS - Grade III continued.

SPELLING - From Reader.

Exercise as in Grade III.

MUSIC - First Reader and reading all Music in Parts II and III
(First Reader). Exercises in rhythm.

DRAWING -

Prang's Drawing Book No. 1, Canadian Series.

Topics - Are the same in all grades.

1. Representation - or all drawing that represents the appearance of objects.
 - (a) Nature Study - Grasses, fruits, vegetables, flowers, drawing from the pose; drawing animals.
 - (b) Appearance of Form - Sight drawing as in Grade I, simple grouping. No study of theory expected; gaidding ideas of foreshortening, of proportion, of room for the bases of objects through seeing and drawing; also the thought of good composition and beauty of form from the selection and arrangement of the simple groups. (All drawing to be freehand).
2. Construction or the study of Facts of Form - Lessons on pattern, study of geometric views not expected; finding and drawing out a few patterns from simple type solids, making a box, an envelope, etc., of practical form - Idea of construction design.
3. Decoration - or Drawing as applied to Ornament.
A few lessons from historic types: unit, border, rosette. Ideas of beauty in spacing and proportion, in use of color. Thought of original design.

GEOGRAPHY - (a) Review of work of Grade III.

Lessons to lead to simple conception of the earth as a great

Daily practice to secure accuracy and rapidity in simple rules.

Graded Problems.

Reading and Writing Decimals.

ELEMENTARY SCIENCE -

1. Plant Life - Relation of plant to soil, light, heat and moisture. Comparisons. Continued study of growth.

Trace the changes in vegetables and selected trees, keeping a record of such changes.

Roots - Primary and secondary; annuals, biennials, and perennials.

Stems - Compare underground stems and stems above ground; compare endogens and exogens.

Buds - Situation and kinds; arrangement.

Leaves - Peculiar forms; arrangement.

Flowers - Position and arrangement; analysis and description of common flowers; this should lead up to that orderly description which is necessary in classification.

Fruit - Kinds; how formed; how distributed, etc.

2. Animal Life - Continuation of work of previous Grades.

SPELLING - From Reader. Exercises as in Grades III and IV.

MUSIC - Chromatic Scale. Second series of Music Charts. Part I, Second Reader. Second Time Chart. Exercises in vowels, humming exercises, breathing exercises.

DRAWING - Prang's Drawing Book No. 2, Canadian Series.

Topics as for Grade IV.

ball, with surface of land and water, surrounded by the air, lighted by the sun, and having two motions.

(b) Lessons on Natural Features, first from observation, afterwards by means of moulding board, pictures and black-board illustrations.

(c) Preparation for and introduction of maps. (Review of lessons in position, distance, direction with representations drawn to scale).

Study of map of vicinity drawn on blackboard. Maps of natural features drawn from moulded forms. Practice in reading conventional map symbols on outline maps.

(d) General study from globe and maps. The hemisphere, continents, oceans and large islands, their relative positions and size.

GRADE V.

READING - Fourth Reader.

Continuation of exercises of previous grades in pronunciation etc.

Memorizing poetical selections.

COMPOSITION - The work of Grade IV continued, with exercises based on the History of this Grade.

WRITING - Copy Books 6 and 7. Careful attention to penmanship in all written exercises.

ARITHMETIC - Notation and Numeration.

Formal Reduction.

Easy Vulgar Fractions.

Denominate Fractions.

Sight Drawing from the single object continued; use of boxes, baskets, etc., and of the simple type forms; more stress on grouping; practice for free, light sketching, and for pleasing rendering in outline.

GEOGRAPHY - Simple study of the important countries in each continent.

The position of the country in the continent; its natural features, climate, productions; its people, their occupations, manners, customs; noted localities, cities, etc.

Manitoba and Canada to be studied first.

Moulding boards and map-drawing to be aids in the study.

HISTORY - Tales and Biography.

A.

Leonidas and Ancient Greece.

Hannibal and the two great nations of his time.

Alfred the Great - or Early England.

Charlemagne or Mediaeval Europe.

Peter the Hermit and the Crusades.

Joan of Arc or the English in France.

Wolsey - His great ambition.

The Armada, or England on the Seas.

John Eliot and the rights of the people.

Wm. Pitt - England's Colonies.

Wilberforce - The Slave Trade.

Stephenson - The Story of Invention.

Havelock - The Indian Empire.

B.

Columbus - Discovery of America.

Magellan - Circumnavigation of the Globe.

Cartier - Early Canadian Discovery.

Champlain - And Early Settlement.

Cortez - The Story of Mexico.

DeSoto and the Mississippi.
 La Salle and Western Exploration.
 Madeleine de Vercheres and Daulac, or Indian Warfare.
 D'Iberville and the Hudson's Bay Co.
 Wolfe and Montcalm - The great struggle.
 Captain Cooke and Vancouver - Our Pacific Coast.
 Lord Selkirk and the Red River Settlement.
 Laura Secord and Canadian Loyalty.

PHYSIOLOGY - Child's Health Primer (Pathfinder No. 1).

GRADE VI.

READING - Fifth Reader to page 228.

COMPOSITION - Same as Grade V, with exercises based on the
 History of this Grade.

WRITING - Copy Book No. 8. Careful attention to penmanship in
 all written exercises.

ARITHMETIC - Factors, Measures and Multiples.

Vulgar Fractions.

Easy application of Decimals.

Easy application of Square and Cubic Measures.

Daily practice to secure accuracy and rapidity in simple
 rules.

Easy application of Percentage.

Graded problems.

ELEMENTARY SCIENCE - As outlined in Course of Agriculture
 Series I.

SPELLING - From Reading matter. Careful attention to spelling
 of all words used in written exercises.

MUSIC - Chromatic scale. Exercises same as in Grade V.

Completion of work found in Second Series of Charts,

and Part II of Second Reader. 2nd Time Chart.

DRAWING - Drawing Book No. 3.

Topics as for Grade IV. The stress is still on the pictorial drawing and free expression; drawing from living things, from nature forms, from familiar objects and groups of type solids, with the thought of progress in the lesson points already defined.

Under Topic 2 - Study of geometric view introduced. It is desirable that the pupils of Senior VI learn how to read a simple working drawing and understand how to express, freehand, any two or three "views" of a single model or a very simple object placed simply.

GEOGRAPHY - (a) The earth as a globe. Simple illustrations and statements with reference to form, size, meridians, parallels, with their use; motions and effects, as day and night, seasons; zones, with their characteristics, as winds and ocean currents; climate as affecting the life of man.

(b) Physical features and conditions of North America, South America and Europe studied and compared - position on the globe, position relative to other grand divisions, size, form, surface, drainage, animal and vegetable life, resources, causes determining growth of cities, inhabitants, ants, their occupations and social condition; important localities, cities and towns.

(c) Observation to accompany the study of Geography - apparent movement of the sun, moon and stars, and varying

time of their rising and setting; difference in heat of the sun's rays at different hours of the day; change in the direction of the sun's rays coming through a school room window at the same hour during the year; varying length of noon-day shadows; changes of the weather; wind and seasons.

HISTORY - English History, Creighton, chap. 1 to 9.

Canadian History, Clement, chap. 1 to 15.

PHYSIOLOGY - Physiology for Young People (New Pathfinder No. 2, chap. 1 to 9).

GRADE VII.

READING - Fifth Reader, page 228 to end.

COMPOSITION - Oral and written exercises as in previous Grades.

Making of abstracts; expansion of narrative sentences into paragraphs; topical analysis; proportion in the paragraph.

WRITING - Careful attention to penmanship in all written exercises.

ARITHMETIC - Decimals.

Percentage without time.

Easy Problems in Interest.

Application of Square and Cubic Measures.
Problems.

ELEMENTARY SCIENCE - As outlined in Course of Agriculture
Series II, pages 1-124.

SPELLING - As in Grade VI.

MUSIC - Introductory Third Reader. Normal Music Course.

Minor Scales. Third Time Chart. Modulation through the

different keys. Chromatic Scale. Same exercises as in Grade VI.

DRAWING - Drawing Book No. 4.

Topic I. In the nature work: More stress on rapid sketching; noticing the masses of form and color - trees, flowers, bits of landscape: guidance as to the use of copying.

1. Study of appearances. Some lessons on Theory; drawing from the rectangular object below the eye, above the eye; observing convergence, finding vanishing points, etc.; books, chairs, tables, simple school room objects thoughtfully drawn, brightly rendered. (Freehand work throughout). Some pose drawing.
2. Under construction: The work of Grade VI with greater accuracy; use of rule and compass; practice in applying the common "conventions."
3. Study from Illustrations, Readings, etc.: historic ornament; modern uses of ornament. Decorative treatment of flower or spray.

Read note to Grade VIII.

GEOGRAPHY - Physical and Political Geography of the countries in Europe and North America.

General review of the physical features of the grand divisions; position of the countries in the grand divisions; surroundings, surface, climate; animal and vegetable life; resources, inhabitants, their occupations and social condition; important localities, cities and towns.

HISTORY - English History. Creighton, chap. 10 to 19. Canadian History, Clement, chap. 16 to 31.

PHYSIOLOGY - Physiology for Young People (New Pathfinder No. 2), Chap. 10 to 17.

GRAMMAR - Inductive study of the sentence, with results put in clear and concise language.

1. Examination and ecomparison of easy sentences leading to classification into declarative, interrogative, etc.
2. Division of compound sentences into independent propositions.
3. Division of easy sentences into subject and predicate.
4. Division of: (a) Complete subject into bare subject and modifiers; (b) Complete predicate into bare predicate and modifiers.
5. Comparison of word group leading to the distinction between (a) Phrases and clauses; (b) Principal clauses and subordinate clauses.
6. Examination and comparison of words, phrases and dependent clauses with regard to their use in the sentence.
7. Analysis of compound sentences; easy complex sentences and continuous prose.

GRADE VIII.

READING - Fifth Reader (Selections see Circular).

COMPOSITION - Continuation of exercises of previous Grades.

Direct instruction in choice of words, arrangement of words in sentences, structure of paragraphs, narration,

description, common figures of speech.

WRITING - Careful attention to penmanship in all written exercises.

ARITHMETIC - Percentage, Insurance, Commission and Brokerage, Profit and Loss, Duties, Interest and Discount, Measurement of surfaces of Rectangular Solids and of Cylinders, Square Root with easy applications.

ELEMENTARY SCIENCE - As outlined in Prairie Agriculture Series II.

SPELLING - As in Grade VII.

MUSIC - Completing Introductory Third Reader. Chromatic Scale. Minor Scales. Third Time Chart. Modulation. Same exercises as in Grade VII.

DRAWING - Drawing Book No. 4 and 5.

Topic 1. Sketches from Nature and of Appearances as in Grade VII. Use of objects and models; readiness in arranging a group; practice for freedom in getting an outline drawing or "study." (Blackboard work; time sketches, home studies).

Principles before the pupil:

In the drawing - Foreshortening, proportion, convergence.

In the arrangement and the rendering - Simplicity, grace.

Thoughtful selection for the book pages.

Topic 2 - First steps in instrumental drawing; use of a few geometric problems (see 1 to 9); ability to show, from a simple object, two or three views figured.

Optional; Study of pattern making; accurate developments

from the types, prism, cylinder, cone.

Topic 3 - As in Grade VII.

Note - Special features in the book work, as the lessons under Composition and Design, the studies in Light and Shade and Color, etc., to be met or adapted according to the local conditions. See page 16 of this pamphlet.

GEOGRAPHY - Physical Geography.

General review of the continents with special reference to British possessions.

Topics as in Grade VII.

HISTORY - English History. Creighton reviewed. Canadian.

Clement, chap. 32 to 52.

ALGEBRA - Simple rules; simple equations; problems; easy exercises in factoring.

GEOMETRY - Euclid, Book 1, Propositions I-XXVI.

GRAMMAR - Exercises similar to those in Grade VII, but on more difficult sentences, and on continuous prose.

1. Classification of words into parts of speech, following the order suggested by the work of Grade VII.
2. Distinguishing between -
 - (a) The different naming words.
 - (b) The different modifying words.
 - (c) The different connecting words.
3. Parts of speech accurately defined.
4. Inflection.
5. Analysis and parsing.

GRADE IX (Optional).

In cities and towns Boards of School Trustees may establish a new Grade, to be known as Grade IX.

The programme of studies for this Grade is now under the consideration of the Advisory Board.

SUPPLEMENTARY MUSIC

Schools requiring Supplementary Music will find the following suitable:

Grade	I	-	"The Cecilian Series,"	Part I.
"	II	-	"The Child Life in Song."	
"	III	-	"Kindergarten and Primary Songs,"	by Elnor Smith.
"	IV	-	"The Cecilian Series,"	Part II.
"	V	-	"	"
"	VI	-	"	"
"	VII	-	"	"
"	VIII	-	"The Becon Series."	

High School - High School Collection.

DRAWING - GENERAL NOTES

1. From the Preface to the Editions of 1898.

"If we should wait until the pupils were equal to producing drawings which would compare not unfavorably with the examples in the books, even would not be appropriate for young children. We must put aside the that ability to draw well can come as any immediate result of studying good examples or of drawing from objects. There may be art feeling in the crudest effort, while it may be a poor drawing from the adult or standpoint. These books with their beautiful illustrations will fail in the inspiration they might otherwise give if the children are forced beyond their nature."

(There is sight drawing, memory drawing, imaginative drawing in all lines of drawing).

Power to construct a lesson or lessons in Representative; Constructive, and Decorative Drawing in any grade: to plan a series of short lessons for primary grades: to secure some degree of artistic expression, of art feeling, in handiwork from any grade.

Candidates will be required to send in full work in each of the topics - Representative, Constructive and Decorative Drawing, as well as to give evidence of knowledge, skill and teaching power at time of examination.

The texts suggested are as follows:

Drawing Books I to V (Inclusive) - Prang's Graded Course, Canadian Edition.

Teacher's Manual, Part I, or any of the succeeding parts, called 4th, 5th, or 6th year books. Prang's Elementary Course in Art Instruction.

Art Instruction in Primary Schools - 1st year books, 2nd year books. Prang.

Art and Formation of Taste: (A short outline of Art History). Lucy Crane.

Freehand Drawing,) by Anson Cross.
Light and Shade,	
Mechanical Drawing	

With Brush and Pen, by James H. Hall.

Composition, by Arthur W. Dow.

How to Enjoy Pictures, by Mabel S. Emery.