

QUIET DIGNITY
ASPECTS OF BUILDING SCHOOLS
IN THE WINNIPEG SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 1
1871 - 1928

BY
GILES BUGAILISKIS

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
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FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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Giles Bugailiskis
7 October 1990

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables	iv
Introduction	1
Chapter	
1. Approaches to the Study of the Built Environment in Canada	5
2. The Early Years in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 - 1871-1890	36
3. McIntyre and Mitchell - 1891-1906	69
4. New Concerns - 1907-1919	89
5. Their Final Years - 1920-1928	127
6. Conclusion	146
Appendix	153
Bibliography	162

LIST OF TABLES

Table

1. Distribution of Winnipeg's Population and Public School Pupils, 1871 - 1890, Inclusive54
2. Distribution of Winnipeg's Public School Pupils and Teachers, 1871 - 1890, Inclusive54
3. Distribution of Winnipeg's Population and Public School Pupils, 1891 - 1906, Inclusive.....71
4. Distribution of Winnipeg's Public School Pupils and Teachers, 1891 - 1906, Inclusive71
5. Distribution of Winnipeg's Population and Public School Pupils, 1907 - 1919, Inclusive90
6. Distribution of Winnipeg's Public School Pupils and Teachers, 1907 - 1919, Inclusive90
7. Distribution of Winnipeg's Population and Public School Pupils, 1920 - 1928, Inclusive129
8. Distribution of Winnipeg's Public School Pupils and Teachers, 1920 - 1928, Inclusive129
9. Distribution of Winnipeg's Population and Public School Pupils, 1929 - 1950, Inclusive145
10. Distribution of Winnipeg's Public School Pupils and Teachers, 1929 - 1950, Inclusive145

Climate and war and the worship of God, trade and the lust of gold, the struggle for power, the struggle for liberty, and fire, these things have all affected the architectural panorama.

Louis La Beaume
Director, American Institute of
Architects, 1929

INTRODUCTION

Canadian historians have generally ignored architectural history in Canada because they have seen very little use in "arcane architectural terms and blurred, grey photographs."¹ Thus architectural history has largely remained the domain of art historians and architects who are trained to focus on the differences between a simple building and architecture. For example, Nikolaus Pevsner, a widely recognized British art historian, has stated that the term architecture can only be applied to buildings that are designed "with a view to aesthetic appeal."² Thus the approach of art historians has been to analyze monumental structures by specific style or changes in style over various time periods. They look into the "roots of a building form or style to attempt to define its characteristics, then examine individual buildings for their conformity or deviation -- their interpretation -- of that form."³ Generally, such studies examine extant buildings in central Canada that can be categorized in the most popular schools of exterior ornamentation.

¹Kenneth McLaughlin, "Reviews - Victorian Architecture in London and Southwestern Ontario," The Canadian Historical Review, LXIX, no. 4 (December 1988), 587.

²Nikolaus Pevsner, An Outline of European Architecture (Harmondsworth, 1979), 15.

³Margaret Carter, "Cities and Buildings: Perspectives on Architecture and Its Place in Urban History," Urban History Review, XIV, no.3 (February 1986), 269.

A second approach in Canadian architectural historiography has been the examination of older buildings for the purpose of preservation. Research and commentary have concentrated on extant, architect-designed structures. A building receives praise because it has managed to survive and the architect is lauded for his skill. However, there is little analysis of the importance of that building in the designer's career or the community's architectural development. As Martin Weaver has observed: "We use architectural history books to enable us to understand our built environment and to discern how and why it looks the way it does."⁴ Again the emphasis is on the visual.

These two approaches generally ignore key contextual questions such as: Why was a specific building erected? What purpose was it to serve? Who decided what was to be built, where and how? As a result, analyses based solely on style, as practised by most architectural historians, become studies in isolation rather than more comprehensive contributions to the social history of architecture.

Buildings are artifacts that require an understanding of the society and the artisan that produced them. Roy Lubove has pointed out that to understand the process of urbanization one

⁴Martin Weaver, "Book Reviews," APT Bulletin - The Journal of Preservation Technology, XXI, no.1 (1989), 61.

must look at "the specific decisions by individuals or institutions which influenced urban form and structure..."⁵

In order to comprehend the process of city building, one must look at how

man interacts with his environment and shapes the city through his beliefs, needs and actions. The vagaries of time and place, events and personalities must be taken into account.⁶

School buildings in urban and rural Canada have not been examined from the perspective of why were they built in a certain way. Was the style of building of prime concern, or were there other considerations? The purpose of this study is to examine the process of building schools in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 from 1871 to 1928 to show that analysis of buildings, whether they be monumental or modest, can contribute both to a better understanding of our past and to the fields of educational and social history. Questions to be addressed include: Who determined the character of a school building? Were there national or international influences? What were the most important considerations in building schoolhouses? What local influences affected how and where schools were built?

⁵Roy Lubove, "The Urbanization Process: An Approach to Historical Research," American Urban History, ed. A.B. Callow (New York, 1973), 661.

⁶A.F.J. Artibise and G.A. Stelter, "The Physical Environment," The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History, ed. A.F.J. Artibise and G.A. Stelter (Toronto, 1979), 161.

In the first part of this study, the approaches to writing about the "built environment" in Canada are reviewed. The second section contains an analysis divided into four distinct phases of school construction in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1. The first phase focuses on the time period just after the Division's formation. The second looks at school building under the direction of a newly-appointed Commissioner of Schools. The third phase examines the planning changes that were prompted by immigration and concern for fire safety. The last phase extends from the end of World War I to the retirement of the Division's first Commissioner of Buildings. In each phase, the types of schools that were built are identified by examining form, site considerations, costs and internal arrangements. The final section of this study contains a summary and conclusions based on the material presented.

CHAPTER ONE: APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT IN CANADA

In an address read before the Royal Institute of British Architects in London in 1924, Percy Nobbs, one of the pioneers in the formal education of architects in Canada and Dean of the School of Architecture at McGill University, noted that a number of important Canadian buildings were left out of his presentation because they were designed by architects outside Canada. Other more common buildings such as houses, churches, offices, stores and mills were also excluded because they did not "rank as works of art."⁷

This bias - that architecture must be art - has prevailed in the literature on buildings in Canada. Architectural history has been, and is now, an adjunct of the Faculties of Architecture or Fine Arts in this country. The result is that the built environment has been analyzed as the study of grand style, based on influences from the United States and Europe. The question that often follows is: Was there a definite Canadian style? Nobbs, who had a long public career addressing this topic, wrote shortly after coming to Canada to teach:

Let us study the old work around us because it is ours, the natural product of this bit of earth on which we live. I assure you there are the germs in the local style of a manner, which if rightly

⁷Percy Nobbs, Architecture in Canada (London, n.d), 1.

developed with loving care, would go far to make a national style possible.⁸

By 1936 Nobbs was disillusioned and wrote that "even in the best of times very little has been built with genius on Canadian soil..."⁹ He concluded:

I wonder if writing about buildings is any use at all. Had time and opportunity offered I would gladly have made a sketch of each of those referred to. In doing so, I should have been making comments on my subjects just as much and far more surely, than in writing of them.¹⁰

Thus the myth continued that architecture could best be explained as a visual experience searching for a national identity.

In a 1972 review of the literature on Canadian architecture, Harold Kalman admitted that architectural history in Canada was in various stages of infancy across the regions. Of greater concern was the negative attitude shown by scholars preoccupied with an apparent lack of greatness, originality

⁸Percy Nobbs, "On the Value of the Study of Old Work," Canadian Architect and Builder, XVIII, no. 209 (May 1905), 75.

⁹Percy Nobbs, "Recent Architecture in Canada," Yearbook of the Arts in Canada, 1936, ed. Bertram Brooker (Toronto, 1936), 228.

¹⁰Ibid., 234. For a biography of Nobbs see Susan Wagg, Percy Erskine Nobbs: Architect, Artist, Craftsman (Kingston-Montreal, 1982).

and true Canadian style in the nation's built environment.¹¹ Little has changed since 1972. It would be useful, however, to highlight a few of the prominent works mentioned in Kalman's article and to update his survey with more recent writings.

The Architecture as Art Approach

Building Canada by Alan Gowans (1966) was the most influential monograph in sparking an interest in Canada's architectural past. It also was the foundation for the modern "architecture as art" approach to studying the built environment.

Gowans continued Nobbs's belief that very few buildings in Canada could be considered good examples of design or even architecture at all. Since Canada had no "works of genius," Gowans argued he could only concentrate on "popular architecture." His monograph was broken down into chronological time periods consistent with Canada's political history: Pioneer Backgrounds, New France, British North America, Confederation to the Second World War, Since 1945, the New Tradition in Canada. Each time period was subdivided by an

¹¹Harold Kalman, "Recent Literature on the History of Canadian Architecture," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 31 (1972), 315.

analysis of the predominant architectural style.¹² Most of the book was a study of the exterior ornamentation of buildings in eastern Canada.

One difficulty with historical works that try to explain a national development of style is that "national" usually means central Canada. For example, Gowans wrote that the whole period from Confederation to the 1890s was one of strong American influence, exerted in two ways: Leading architects from the United States were hired as advisors and "native-born architects trained in the United States began to make an appearance on the Canadian scene for the first time."¹³ However, Western Canada during this period saw architects coming from Great Britain and the eastern provinces who were lured by stories of a great upcoming boom. It was not until after the turn of the century that American architects or eastern architects who had studied in the United States began to change the manner of construction and thus the exterior ornamentation of buildings in the western region.

In the early 1980s Gowans wrote a series of articles on Canadian architecture for the Urban History Review. In his

¹²Alan Gowans, Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life (Toronto, 1966), xvii-xviii.

¹³Ibid., 134. Gowans's views on a national style are in Alan Gowans, "The Canadian National Style," The Shield of Achilles, ed. W.L. Morton (Toronto, 1968), 210-218.

introduction, he pointed out that "architecture is politics in three dimensions." Buildings do more than "reflect prevailing political and social views or economic conditions. They also play a large part in shaping those political and social views."¹⁴ One of the questions that will be addressed in this paper is whether school buildings in Winnipeg were used to convey a message and influence behaviour. If so, how was this done?

Gowans's most recent work examined the styles of suburban houses in North America between 1890 and 1930. This book essentially provided a catalogue of various roof shapes, house forms and porch details sorted into a number of distinct categories-styles. "Styles may be recognized by no more than a hint or two, or even by subliminal references..."¹⁵ Gowans went on to assert that a trained architectural historian recognizes styles just as a doctor is able to diagnose ailments - "by analogy with what has been seen before."¹⁶ The Canadian content of the book was limited to a few illustrations. By omission, one is led to believe that there were no differences between house styles in Canada and the United

¹⁴Alan Gowans, "Canada's Urban History in Architecture, Part Two," Urban History Review, XI, no. 3 (February 1983), 47.

¹⁵Alan Gowans, The Comfortable House: North American Suburban Architecture 1890-1930 (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 70.

¹⁶Ibid., 70.

States. One also gets no impression of the context and setting of the suburban home.

In contrast to Gowans, geographer Walter Abell required only four stylistic stages for his 1947 overview of Canadian architecture: The colonial phase which used medieval influences; the Georgian phase or the English period; the Victorian era, a period of revivals; and the modern period where Canadian architecture was beginning to drop "the imitative and the superfluous elements which descended with it from the Victorian epoch, purifying itself once more in the broad contemporary movement of international functionalism."¹⁷ Abell's article was unique because it was an early survey that examined common or "humbler" buildings. His inquiry into the habitation at Port Royal, Nova Scotia, built in 1605, led to a review of early Quebec house forms. While the discussions revolved around stylistic form, Abell was more concerned with the detailing of buildings than with the symbolism of the form.

In 1970, the Canadian Inventory of Historic Building (CIHB) was established by Parks Canada to record extant structures built in the country before 1914. This architectural archive was created because there had been very little research and

¹⁷Walter Abell, "An Introduction to Canadian Architecture," Canadian Geographical Journal, XXXIV, no. 6 (June 1947), 251.

commemoration of Canada's heritage buildings. The CIHB is a recording and record management system that categorizes buildings by their exterior detailing. Data collection has resulted in the publication of five volumes on style: Gothic Revival, Second Empire, Palladian, Picturesque and Neoclassical.¹⁸ These studies have focused mainly on central and eastern Canada and have featured monumental buildings that are still standing. The CIHB is also an attempt by Parks Canada (now the Canadian Parks Service) to arrive at national standards for style description and labelling. "Georgian," which is commonly used to describe an historic period and an architectural style found between the 1780s and 1860s, is now to be called "British Classicism". Will non-Parks Canada architectural historians change their terminology to comply or will this become another way to confuse the non-practitioner of this art?

¹⁸Mathilde Brousseau, Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture, Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History, No. 25, Parks Canada, 1980.

Christina Cameron and Janet Wright, Second Empire Style in Canadian Architecture, Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History, No. 24, Parks Canada, 1980.

Nathalie Clerk, Palladian Style in Canadian Architecture, Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History, Parks Canada, 1984.

Janet Wright, Architecture of the Picturesque in Canada, Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History, Parks Canada, 1984.

Leslie Maitland, Neoclassical Architecture in Canada, Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History, Parks Canada, 1984.

The shortcomings of these studies are many: Not enough research has been done on structures no longer standing. Only monumental buildings are examined. Debates arise over the appropriate stylistic categorization of buildings. One historian may call a structure Gothic Revival, while another considers it Italianate. Does it even make a difference? Yes it does, to the extent that these problems inadvertently continue the myth that only grand, architect-designed structures are worthy of study and that a stylistic label must be part of the analysis.

Douglas Richardson found that most Canadian buildings in the nineteenth century did not differ from contemporaries in the United States or Britain, although some buildings were "peculiarly of Canada as well." These unique differences included use of wood rather than the prescribed stone for Gothic Revival churches, application of building styles that were out of fashion in Britain, and use of native stone as a building material.¹⁹

Studies of styles are also found on a provincial basis. Early Ontario homes and churches have been examined by Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson in The Ancestral Roof and Hallowed

¹⁹Douglas Richardson, "Canadian Architecture in the Victorian Era: The Spirit of the Place," Canadian Collector, X, no. 5 (September/October 1975), 21-29.

Walls.²⁰ In these two monographs the authors reviewed the exterior ornamentation and interior layout of early Ontario homes and churches within the framework of changing styles. In a specific reference to Marion MacRae, Harold Kalman has pointed out one shortcoming of this approach: "The author is somewhat uncertain about the British and American background, as well as about her terminology..."²¹ Questions remain unanswered as to the differences or similarities from one denomination to another; between rural and urban; and in one denomination's buildings over time.

MacRae, who lectures on the history of design at the Ontario College of Art, and Adamson, a restoration architect, recently collaborated on another theme study: courthouses and town halls of Ontario (1784-1914). The authors presented a descriptive commentary on these civil monuments and a biography of the architects involved within a framework of architectural style. Period categories were based on changes in external ornamentation; to the local politicians the choice

²⁰Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson, The Ancestral Roof: Domestic Architecture of Upper Canada, 1783-1867 (Toronto, 1963).

Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson, Hallowed Walls: Church Architecture of Upper Canada (Toronto, 1975).

²¹Kalman, "Recent Literature" (1972), 318.

of the most up-to-date style was of utmost concern.²² To better round out this work, more study would be required into the developmental context which led to a need for these buildings; the structures that no longer exist; and the urban and rural settings in which the buildings appeared.

The styles of Ontario architecture also have been investigated by John Blumenson who has pointed out that one building may exhibit a variety of architectural detailing and more than one specific style. Thus "objective categorization" becomes "confusing and seemingly impossible."²³ The twenty-seven chapters of his study have provided twenty-seven styles that may be used to decorate a building. His choice of labels, such as "Georgian" rather than Parks Canada's "British Classicism," shows the inconsistency and confusion which persist in defining Canada's various decorative building motifs.

The demolition threat to buildings of more recent vintage has resulted in an Albertan style study featuring "Modern" architecture, i.e. post-1925. Trevor Boddy, a Canadian architectural critic, used existing buildings in Edmonton and Calgary

²²Marion MacRae and Anthony Adamson, Cornerstones of Order: Courthouses and Town Halls of Ontario, 1784-1914 (Toronto, 1983), 157.

²³John Blumenson, Ontario Architecture: A Guide to Styles and Building Terms, 1784 to the Present (Toronto, 1990), 1.

to illustrate the dominance of international ideas on layout, materials and decoration.²⁴ Boddy carried on with Nobbs's torch: "Surely there must be a place in an evolving stylistic pluralism for a local or regional style, an Alberta architecture, and, with it, a Canadian architecture."²⁵

Style in Canadian "monumental" architecture is studied not only on a national or provincial basis, but also on an urban one. In his history of building in Toronto from the early 1700s to 1900, Eric Arthur tried to demonstrate how political and economic factors influenced style. Just as Percy Nobbs had to debate which buildings to highlight in 1924, Arthur had to question "whether to show only buildings of unquestioned merit or to demonstrate the taste of the century more truthfully by showing a great number of buildings of unequal architectural quality."²⁶ Divided into chapters based on the dominant style of the time, his work exhibited an old-fashioned critical approach to what is good and bad detailing. In one description of an 1871 residential building, Arthur pointed out that "the cornice and corbels don't seem right; and the chimneys are small and mean."²⁷ The current approach

²⁴Trevor Boddy, Modern Architecture in Alberta (Regina, 1987), 22.

²⁵Ibid., 111.

²⁶Eric Arthur, Toronto, No Mean City, revised by Stephen A. Otto, 3rd ed. (Toronto, 1986), xvi.

²⁷Ibid., 161.

in architectural analysis is to accept older buildings as products of their own time: judgements on design should be based on accepted standards of the period.

Development of Montreal's architectural and urban environment has been studied by Jean-Claude Marsan, an architect and urban planner. While the author set out to consider social, economic and technological influences on the city, his monograph essentially was a study of changes in style in Montreal building from its early origins to the present. Moreover, this became a chauvinistic piece on the greatness of Marsan's home town. For example, he hoped the legacy of Expo '67 would be as significant in city planning as was the Paris World's Fair (1889) with its Eiffel Tower or the Beaux-Arts Chicago Exhibition (1893) which "gave a new impulse to urban planning in the United States and this brought about some happy results in a number of cities."²⁸

Field guides to identify style have become more specialized with the recent publication of a style guide to houses in Nova Scotia. Architect Allen Penney has written a guide to identify the various bits on a building without one reference to a specific structure. Penney has identified forty stylistic categories for the 1605 to 1980 period that can apply

²⁸Jean-Claude Marsan, Montreal In Evolution (Montreal, 1981), 365.

to residential buildings. The difficulty in putting labels on details of buildings is clearly seen in the passage on Neo-Classical (1749-1830):

Finding an acceptable name for this style in Nova Scotia is difficult. Several names have been used over the years but none is truly satisfactory. Late Baroque is too flamboyant a style, implying Rococo. Classical Revival is usually reserved for the next appearance of the style in the early nineteenth century. Palladian assumes that all the designs are variations on this Italian architect's works, which they are not. In the United Kingdom it is commonly known as Georgian and includes the later subtle refinements of Regency.²⁹

Penney was honest to point out that "the reader must take care to not read too much into what might be an arbitrary categorization. In general, style books can be misleading because individual authors select different criteria as the basis of their style definitions."³⁰

The Building Biography Approach

The second approach to Canadian architectural history is represented by building biographies produced in support of preservation activities. Although there usually is some discussion of style, the main focus of research and commentary

²⁹Allen Penney, Houses of Nova Scotia: An Illustrated Guide to Architectural Style Recognition (Halifax, 1989), 52.

³⁰Ibid., 9.

is the history of a number of individual extant buildings. This approach of studying only buildings that remain results in a limited examination of the context of the time period during which the structure was built. Judgements about the significance of the building are based solely on age, style, architect and occupant biographies. The forces that created the functional need, the significance of the architect and the political economy of the time are considered to be outside the scope of research. Thus statements are made about the importance of a specific structure, not because of its role in a certain time period, but because the building still exists. Certain architects of the past are deemed significant not on the basis of what they accomplished (usually not known), but because a few of their buildings still stand. The questions generally asked are: When was it built? How much did it cost? How high was it? The city becomes a backdrop; how the locale influenced the need for the building is unanswered.

In an essay about Winnipeg John Graham stated that the forces which created this city's major buildings were the railways and "the availability of new building materials and the growing prosperity of the community..." which resulted in "more pretentious styles."³¹ The majority of buildings which he highlighted were built in the 1950s and were used to show

³¹John Graham, Winnipeg Architecture: The Red River Settlement, 1831-1960 (Winnipeg, 1960), 3.

the skill of the local architectural profession. William Thompson added to the list new buildings erected in Winnipeg in the 1960s and early 1970s, but also included humble and monumental buildings from the past.³²

A number of walking tour books of various cities in Canada have appeared. Among the best has been Harold Kalman's Exploring Vancouver 2. Kalman has provided a methodology that is in sharp contrast to the "Architecture as Monumental Art" approach:

Every effort has been made to avoid the twin snob-bisms of placing architect-designed buildings on a special pedestal, and appreciating West Coast work only by how well it measures up against Eastern Canadian or European models. A constructive approach to the architecture of Vancouver has no use for such prejudices.³³

Most of this monograph dealt with extant buildings, but in a section called "In Memoriam" Kalman illustrated a variety of structures now demolished, including several "architect unknown" vernacular buildings that are rarely considered to be significant in a survey of a city's architecture.³⁴

³²William Thompson, Winnipeg Architecture (Winnipeg, 1975).

³³Harold Kalman, Exploring Vancouver 2 (Vancouver, 1978), 17.

³⁴Ibid., 263-271. Other walking tour guides to cities in Canada include Joshua Wolfe and Cecile Grenier, Discover Montreal (Montreal, 1983); Patricia McHugh, Toronto (continued...)

Besides walking tour guides, this second approach to architectural heritage also includes general biographies of a city's buildings such as Peter Stoke's Old Niagara on the Lake where he attempted to tell "the architectural story in contemporary terms of a selection of the early buildings chosen to represent a number of different aspects and periods of the town's social background."³⁵ The overall aim was for general readers to get a better appreciation for the buildings around them.

Also published are thematic inventories which examine biographies of buildings by region³⁶ or by building function in

³⁴(...continued)

Architecture: A City Guide (Toronto, 1985); Barry Lee, Victoria on Foot (Victoria, 1979).

³⁵Peter John Stokes, Old Niagara on the Lake (Toronto, 1971), 5. Other works that follow a similar approach include Margaret Angus, The Old Stones of Kingston (Toronto, 1984); Lillian Gibbons, Stories Houses Tell (Winnipeg, 1978); Pierre S. Guimond and Brian R. Sinclair, Calgary Architecture: The Boom Years 1972-1982 (Calgary, 1984); William Dendy and William Kilbourn, Toronto Observed: Its Architecture, Patrons, and History (Toronto, 1986).

³⁶The Government of Manitoba has produced a number of excellent studies: David K. Butterfield and Edward M. Ledohowski, Architectural Heritage - The Brandon and Area Planning District (Winnipeg, 1983); Architectural Heritage: The Eastern Interlake Planning District (Winnipeg, 1983); Architectural Heritage - The MSTW Planning District (Winnipeg, 1984); David K. Butterfield, Architectural Heritage - The Selkirk and District Planning Area (Winnipeg, 1988).

a region such as churches or houses.³⁷ David Spector has looked at bank architecture in Winnipeg and Edmonton and argued that before World War I bankers and their architects turned to a "national bank architecture." Banks became "neo-classical structures with grand facades, opulent and standardized interiors and modern construction techniques to express their self-importance and to attract clients."³⁸

The architecture as art and building biography approaches have caused considerable dissatisfaction with the state of writing on the architecture of Canada. In a literature review about building history in Atlantic Canada Shane O'Dea pointed out that the majority of writing has been done "with the intent of preserving the buildings, not of analyzing the architecture."³⁹ Many essays have been written which "do not evaluate, do not convey any sense of development."⁴⁰ Peter Ennals has written that in Canada there is "no coherent research methodology, let alone an accepted vocabulary or

³⁷Raymonde Gauthier, Les Manoirs du Quebec (Quebec, 1976); Luc Noppen, Les Eglises du Quebec (Quebec, 1977); France Gagnon Pratte, Country Houses for Montrealers 1892-1924: The Architecture of E. and W.S. Maxwell (Montreal, 1987).

³⁸David Spector, "Edmonton Bank Architecture," Alberta History, 34, no. 1 (Winter 1986), 12. Early Winnipeg bank buildings are discussed in David Spector, Monuments to Finance - Early Bank Architecture in Winnipeg, Vol. II (Winnipeg, 1982).

³⁹Shane O'Dea, "Architecture and Building History in Atlantic Canada," Acadiensis, X, no. 1 (Autumn 1980), 158.

⁴⁰Ibid., 161.

framework for arriving at a full appreciation of these structures."⁴¹

Expanding Perspectives: Buildings as Artifacts

In the mid-1970s a new approach to the study of the built environment in Canada was attempted. The resulting works are neither just an analysis of style nor are they preservationist oriented. They form a part of urban history that Roy Lubove has defined as the study of the process of city-building over time. This new body of work has

not only a concern for what geographers call the urban "site," but for the whole range of city-building mechanisms: architecture and landscape architecture, housing and housing finance, the real estate market and realty institutions... In the general sense, it implies an awareness of the city as an artifact whose form and structure are greatly determined by...concrete decisions over time.⁴²

Francois Bédarida wrote that in France the object of research on architecture

has been not the minute and erudite enumeration of forms empty of their contents whose metamorphoses seem gratuitous and without reason, but an in-depth understanding of society and the power structure since it is they that engender these constructions, these plans, these concepts of a city. Just as society is not a simple juxtaposition of

⁴¹Peter Ennals, "Of Data Sets and Mind Sets - A Critical Review of Recent Writing on Canadian Architectural History," Acadiensis, XVI, no. 2 (Spring 1987), 129.

⁴²Roy Lubove, "The Urbanization Process," (1973), 662.

individuals, so the town is not a diachronic assemblage of buildings.⁴³

Architectural historians are beginning to examine "the total context of architecture." Spiro Kostof outlined four variables that should be addressed:

First, the material aspect of every building should be looked at in its entirety. Second, the building should be thought of in a broader physical framework and not just in terms of itself. Third, all buildings of the past, regardless of size or status or consequence, should ideally be deemed worthy of study. And finally, the extramaterial elements that affect the existence of buildings should be considered indispensable to their appreciation.⁴⁴

In a 1977 paper Susan Bugey outlined a variety of resources, from fire insurance plans to nineteenth century trade journals, for research on the built environment. These materials would "shed light on the historical associations of buildings, their role in the urban community, their architectural significance and their structural history."⁴⁵

⁴³Francois Bédarida, "The French Approach to Urban History: An Assessment of Recent Methodological Trends," The Pursuit of Urban History, ed. Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (London, 1983), 399.

⁴⁴Spiro Kostof, A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals (New York, 1985), 8.

⁴⁵Susan Bugey, "Researching Canadian Buildings: Some Historical Resources," Histoire Sociale - Social History, 10 (November 1977), 410.

Buggey added that a building "should be considered as part of its site rather than as an isolated unit."⁴⁶ Thus street surfaces; the arrangement of sidewalks; ideally, the setting should be included in the research. She used a variety of these resources to examine Halifax's buildings from 1841 to 1871, finding that prosperity and the need to maintain social order resulted in new government and commercial buildings that transformed Halifax from a city of wood to one of brick and stone.⁴⁷ Using newspaper sources and census material, the author showed that as the nature of Halifax changed from a mercantile to a commercial phase, the make-up and characteristics of the built environment changed also.

Leonard K. Eaton examined warehouses in Winnipeg and the American mid-west as true civic monuments in North America. Prestige and stability were important design considerations. The role of the railroad in defining the location of the warehouse district and the physical considerations of warehouse design, from the amount of daylight that was let in to the concern for fire, were among the aspects examined.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Ibid., 413-414.

⁴⁷Susan Buggey, "Building Halifax," Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the Canadian City-Building Process, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise (Ottawa, 1982), 232-235.

⁴⁸Leonard K. Eaton, "Warehouses and Warehouse Districts in Mid-American Cities," Urban History Review, XI, no. 1 (June (continued...))

The "house" has become a topic for a variety of articles; the findings may soon be at a point where some analysis on a national scale may be made. An essay by Deryck Holdsworth pointed out that Vancouver at the turn of century had inexpensive land and reasonably priced shelter,⁴⁹ along with a desire by the civic elite to provide housing as a means of social stability.⁵⁰ He also looked at the styles of housing that predominated. The "California Bungalow" style was popular for the working class because of the influence of "tastemakers" such as newspapers, etc., and because it was a rejection of the forms of the industrial east and mid-west. The dwellings of the rich used a Tudor Revival style for ornamentation that recalled a memory of an England before the Industrial Age.⁵¹

In an essay on housing in Calgary from 1905 to 1914, Bryan Melnyk also pointed out the dichotomy between the mansions of the rich and the bungalows of the labouring class. Unlike Vancouver, those without capital in Calgary, "by far the vast

⁴⁸(...continued)

1982), 17-26; Leonard K. Eaton, "Winnipeg: The Northern Anchor of the Wholesale Trade," Urban History Review, XI, no. 2 (October 1982), 17-30.

⁴⁹Deryck W. Holdsworth, "House and Home in Vancouver: Images of West Coast Urbanism, 1886-1929," The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise (Toronto, 1979), 186.

⁵⁰Ibid., 192-194.

⁵¹Ibid., 203-206.

majority of local residents, were hard hit by the lack of houses...and were forced to live in tents and shacks."⁵² Housing only became affordable when new subdivisions were opened, providing inexpensive land. Melnyk used newspaper sources to examine housing costs (construction and rents), one area where very little study has been done. Designs for workingmen's cottages were available through prefabrication factories in British Columbia as well as from architects who wrote newspaper columns containing easily copied house plans. With an increase in immigration and an economic collapse in 1913, Calgary's ability to provide adequate housing for the workingman was severely limited.⁵³

A paper co-written by John Weaver and Michael Doucet examined how changes in building technology in North America helped satisfy growing desire and demand for single-family detached dwellings.⁵⁴ Using quantitative data based on materials found in assorted building trade journals, the authors pointed out that from 1870 to 1910 the cost per square foot of inexpensive housing remained relatively flat. Cost increases of 30 to 162 per cent in the decade after 1910 could be attributed not only

⁵²Bryan Melnyk, "Residential Buildings in Calgary, 1905-1914," Prairie Forum, 8, no. 1 (1983), 42.

⁵³*Ibid.*, 66-67.

⁵⁴John C. Weaver and Michael Doucet, "Material Culture and the North American House: The Era of the Common Man, 1870-1920," unpublished paper, 1984, 1-3.

to inflation, but also to the "collusive, restrictive, and oligopolistic arrangements for which the building materials industry was becoming notorious."⁵⁵ The authors concluded that in spite of various obstacles, the great dream of the North American masses for the single detached house still came true.⁵⁶

The same authors have also looked at the records of a real estate firm in Hamilton, Ontario from 1860 to 1920 to analyze the role of developers in housing.⁵⁷ Although the aim of the piece was to explore whether change or continuity typified the urban development of Hamilton, the analysis of building practices and landlord-tenant relations will serve as a pattern for the study of other Canadian urban centres.

Skyscrapers in Toronto have been investigated by Gunter Gad and Deryck Holdsworth. Using sources such as city directories assessment rolls and fire insurance plans, they have examined office development in Toronto from 1834 to 1984, tracing the establishment of specific office districts and the

⁵⁵Ibid., 24.

⁵⁶Ibid., 40.

⁵⁷Michael Doucet and John Weaver, "The North American Shelter Business, 1860-1920: A Study of a Canadian Real Estate and Property Management Agency," Business History Review, 58, no. 2 (Summer 1984), 234-262.

rise of a white-collar labour force.⁵⁸ Using the same sources, the authors have tried to understand office buildings from the "inside," i.e. the forces that created them.⁵⁹

Canadian town halls have been discussed in a series of essays published by Parks Canada. The authors spent little time reviewing style. Instead they examined municipal records, such as council minutes, building plans and building journals, to assess the various functions of town halls, the scale of the buildings - simple, intermediate and monumental - and the political, economic and intellectual contexts for these types of buildings.⁶⁰

The "buildings as artifacts" approach includes the study of a prominent firm of architects in London, Ontario - Robinson, Tracy, Durand and Moore - from the mid-1850s to the turn of the century. The authors traced the early history of London, Ontario; the predominant architectural ideals of the time; and

⁵⁸Gunter Gad and Deryck Holdsworth, "Building for City, Region, and Nation: Office Development in Toronto, 1834-1984," in Forging a Consensus: Historical Essays on Toronto, ed. Victor L. Russell (Toronto, 1984), 272-319.

⁵⁹Gunter Gad and Deryck Holdsworth, "Looking Inside the Skyscraper: Size and Occupancy of Toronto Office Buildings, 1890-1950," Urban History Review, XVI, no. 2 (October 1987), 176-189.

⁶⁰Marc de Caraffe, C.A. Hale et al., Town Halls of Canada: A Collection of Essays on Pre-1930 Town Hall Buildings, Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History, Environment Canada-Parks, 1987.

the history of architectural education in Canada to 1900; they also reviewed the major works of the firm within a changing partnership. Extant and demolished buildings were discussed chronologically to allow the reader to understand the concurrent development of London and this architectural firm. Findings were based on architectural drawings, specification books and the firm's daybooks.⁶¹

Educational Architecture

Three approaches to writing on the built environment have been reviewed: the study of architecture as art; the study for preservation - building biographies; and the study of buildings as artifacts. This third theme has emerged from recent work by historians who recognize the need to broaden the scope of inquiry and types of resources consulted in order to more fully analyze the environmental influences and specific decisions symbolized by the buildings under review, whether these be humble or monumental, plain or decorated.

⁶¹Nancy Z. Tausky and Lynne D. DiStefano, Victorian Architecture in London and Southwestern Ontario: Symbols of Aspiration (Toronto, 1986). Other works that are biographies of architects include: Geoffrey Hunt, John M. Lyle: Toward a Canadian Architecture (Kingston, 1982); Ellen James, John Ostell: Architect, Surveyor (Montreal, 1985); Robert C. Tuck, Gothic Dreams: The Life and Times of a Canadian Architect, William Critchlow Harris 1854-1913 (Toronto, 1978).

The discussion so far has not mentioned any literature on school buildings. In North America research on this topic has been neglected by historians and little has been published about educational architecture.⁶² School buildings have been put on the CIHB database, resulting in a number of published research bulletins which "identify major pre-1930 building types" and "investigate purposes and methods of their construction."⁶³ However, scarcity of secondary materials and the "fragmentary nature of available primary source materials" have made the investigation difficult.⁶⁴

These bulletins cover all provinces, some more than once. Ontario has four bulletins which examine rural schools, urban primary, secondary and specialist. Quebec has two bulletins covering convent and public schools. The bulletins concentrate on a review of early school acts, school inspector reports, provincial recommendations on approved building designs and existing photographs. It is pointed out that the ultimate aim is to produce "a cross-country report [which] will consider both origins of designs, their characteristics,

⁶²Ronald E. Butchart, Local Schools: Exploring Their History, The Nearby History Series (Nashville, 1986), 88-98.

⁶³Ivan Saunders, "A Survey of Manitoba School Architecture to 1930," Research Bulletin, No. 222, Parks Canada, November 1984, 1.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 1.

and comparisons and contrasts with school architecture both in other countries and other parts of Canada."⁶⁵

One must assume that schools are not considered monumental or of any artistic value since only one reference to a school building has been found in Canadian architectural history. Alan Gowans (1958), in a caption under a picture of a school in Lang, Saskatchewan, claimed that: "Its architecture represents the 'popular' level of taste at that time and place - a variety of forms faintly reminiscent of the medieval and classical revivals combined into one miscellaneous symbol of 'good educational atmosphere'."⁶⁶

Educational historians have not been afraid to look at school buildings. Charles Phillips described the dismal condition of early educational facilities before Confederation. After numerous battles with ratepayers, civic pride and safety required that schools be commodious, bright and secure.⁶⁷ Susan Houston and Alison Prentice described schools in Ontario in the 1830s as in such poor condition that parents avoided

⁶⁵C.A. Hale, "Publicly Funded Schools in Nova Scotia, Pre-1930: Interim Report," Research Bulletin, No. 211, Parks Canada, December 1983, 9.

⁶⁶Alan Gowans, Looking at Architecture in Canada (Toronto, 1958), 168.

⁶⁷Charles E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada (Toronto, 1957), 275-281.

sending their children to them.⁶⁸ By the 1860s overcrowding became a problem even with an increase in school construction.⁶⁹ Bruce Curtis argued that school buildings were a means to change society: "Architecturally, the school was to facilitate the discipline and government of students."⁷⁰ Moreover, "the sight of the schoolhouse, the knowledge that the fortress was near, would influence the behaviour of the colonized population."⁷¹ The one-room school was reviewed by Jean Cochrane who used fragments of school board and various department of education regulations to describe general principles for school construction.⁷² Her use of numerous photographs to show the humble interiors of rural buildings provided an important and telling contrast to the richness of an urban school interior.

Schools in Manitoba have been studied by Kathleen Leathers whose terms of reference focused on plan, architectural style, material, and hygiene. The buildings were viewed with an emphasis on the description of style. Due to the large scale

⁶⁸Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice, Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto, 1988), 205.

⁶⁹Ibid., 211.

⁷⁰Bruce Curtis, Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871 (London, Ontario, 1988), 226.

⁷¹Ibid., 371.

⁷²Jean Cochrane, The One-Room School in Canada (Toronto, 1981), 20-27.

of the research topic, the telling contrast between urban and rural schools was not examined.⁷³ The research was limited by the scarcity of primary sources and sound secondary sources on schools in Manitoba. J. W. Chafe has written a history of the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 in which biographies for many school buildings and school division officials were provided.⁷⁴ As with much popular writing, however, the lack of footnotes and Chafe's attempt to cover almost one hundred years of history have limited the type of analysis and interpretation that can be attempted from his work.

The leading authority on school building construction in the United States is William W. Cutler III, an Assistant Professor of History and Foundations of Education at Temple University in Philadelphia. He has published two articles which can serve as a guide for investigating schools in other locations. He looked at the writings of early school reformers to see how their ideas were translated into physical reality. He examined the development of early classroom arrangements in urban areas that were decided by school boards who acted unilaterally without the guidance of a school bureaucracy. At times corruption and incompetence affected their arch-

⁷³Kathleen Leathers, "School Architecture in Manitoba," M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1983.

⁷⁴J. W. Chafe, An Apple for the Teacher: A Centennial History of the Winnipeg School Division (Winnipeg, 1967).

itectural decisions.⁷⁵ Specialists in school architecture emerged after 1890, assuming control over the construction and repair of school buildings. Plans then became standardized with only the front doorway expressing any individuality.⁷⁶ School buildings became community centres serving a number of purposes. Cutler observed that the schoolhouse was as important a tool to educate as a textbook for it could strengthen character and elevate the taste of those studying within.⁷⁷ Schools had to be dignified and inviting in appearance in order to attract students.⁷⁸

Cutler has also looked at schools in Philadelphia - their early arrangement; problems of overcrowding; recommended sizes of classrooms; and crises in construction, maintenance and financing. He concluded that schools were built as a long-term investment and "to a degree the attitudes, values and standards of past educators remain standing for us to see."⁷⁹ This point brings us to the present analysis of school

⁷⁵William W. Cutler, III, "Cathedral of Culture: The Schoolhouse in American Educational Thought and Practice Since 1820," History of Education Quarterly, XXIX, no. 1 (Spring 1989), 7.

⁷⁶Ibid., 10-20.

⁷⁷Ibid., 20-35.

⁷⁸Ibid., 36.

⁷⁹William W. Cutler, III. "A Preliminary Look at the Schoolhouse: The Philadelphia Story, 1870-1920," Urban Education, VIII, no. 4 (January 1974), 398.

building and to the question: What were the attitudes, values and standards of the trustees and administration in building schools in Winnipeg?

CHAPTER TWO: THE EARLY YEARS IN THE WINNIPEG SCHOOL DIVISION
NO. 1 - 1871-1890

Prior to Manitoba's entry into Confederation in 1870, individual schools had been established in the Red River Colony by missionaries sent by the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian churches. There also were private schools, such as Miss Davis's school for young ladies. Schools were used to "preserve, somewhat artificially, the 'civilization' of Europe."⁸⁰ Since they were financed by meagre voluntary contributions, the schools were housed in poorly-built and poorly-equipped log cabins.⁸¹

An act to establish a system of public education in Manitoba was passed in May 1871 with provisions for an appointed Board of Education and separate Superintendents for Protestant and Catholic schools.⁸² Each school district was to elect three trustees and determine a method of financing its schools - i.e. by voluntary contributions, tuition fees or property tax. Certain funds were to be provided by the provincial government. Elections for Manitoba's first school trustees took place on July 18, 1871.

⁸⁰Alexander Gregor and Keith Wilson, The Development of Education in Manitoba (Dubuque, 1984), 28.

⁸¹Ibid., 30.

⁸²Statutes of Manitoba, 1871, Chapter 12.

The First Trustees and Schoolhouses

The "Winnipeg Protestant School District No. 10," with a population of 241 people, did not produce a large attendance at the meeting that elected Stewart Mulvey, William Gomez da Fonseca and Archibald Wright. It was decided at this meeting that schools would be funded by voluntary contribution (subscription).⁸³ In contrast, most of the other districts voted to raise money by a general tax.

Winnipeg's first school trustees were all prominent in civic affairs, but only Stewart Mulvey had some experience in education. Archibald Wright (1842-1912) was born in Glasgow, then moved to Fergus, Canada West. He was manufacturing military equipment in the United States during the Civil War. Coming to Winnipeg in 1869, he founded the Winnipeg Saddlery Company of which he was president until his death in 1912. He served as an alderman on City Council for five years just after Winnipeg's incorporation.⁸⁴ William Gomez da Fonseca (1823-1905) was born in the Danish West Indies but spent a large part of his youth in the United States. He arrived in Winnipeg in 1859 from Minnesota to open up a store which was

⁸³F. H. Schofield, "Educational Beginnings in Manitoba: 4. Some of the First Public Schools," The Western School Journal, VII, no. 6 (June 1912), 204-205.

⁸⁴The Manitoba Library Association, Pioneers and Early Citizens of Manitoba (Winnipeg, 1971), 260.

later used as a school facility.⁸⁵ He also made a fortune in real estate transactions.⁸⁶

Stewart Mulvey (1834-1908) became the most influential trustee, ultimately serving as Secretary-Treasurer of the Winnipeg School District for over thirty years. He was born in the County of Sligo, Ireland and educated in Dublin. While in Normal School there he was introduced to Reverend Egerton Ryerson, the father of education in Ontario. Ryerson asked Mulvey whether he would like to come to Canada. "It took the high-spirited young fellow just a few minutes to decide on an affirmative answer so that after a further course of training he crossed the Atlantic."⁸⁷ Mulvey taught in Haldimand County, Ontario for a number of years before coming to Winnipeg in 1870 with the Red River expedition. He was a Winnipeg alderman and member of the Provincial Board of Education. His career with the Winnipeg School District included positions

⁸⁵Ibid., 79-80.

⁸⁶Alan F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914 (Montreal, 1975), 46.

⁸⁷Robert B. Hill, Manitoba: History of its Early Settlement, Development and Resources (Toronto, 1890), 591-592. Stewart Mulvey was appointed the first Grand Master of the Orange Lodge in Winnipeg, a position he held for about ten years. The first lodge room was a log building, north of Euclid Street, rented from William G. Fonseca for \$30 a month. Ibid., 587-590.

as board member 1871-1887; Chairman 1881-1884; and Secretary-Treasurer 1871-1880 and 1885-1907.⁸⁸

All three men lived in Point Douglas which was one of three distinct settlement areas in the Red River Colony. There was the locale around Fort Garry which until 1870 was the headquarters for the Hudson's Bay Company; the "village" where Henry McKenney built at the corner of the Portage Trail and Main Highway; and Point Douglas where the early Selkirk Settlers had located.⁸⁹ Each area had its own promoters, all hoping that their district would see the greatest amount of immediate development. George Bryce described these centres as "three ganglia...placed along Main Street, and in their interests they were very far from responding to the same sympathetic throb."⁹⁰

While most public schools in Manitoba opened on August 28, 1871,⁹¹ Winnipeg's trustees had difficulties finding a school-

⁸⁸Annual Report of the Trustees of the School District of Winnipeg No. 1 (Winnipeg, 1907), n.p. (Hereafter cited as Trustee Report.)

⁸⁹Anne Matheson Henderson, "From Fort Douglas to the Forks," Transactions, Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, no. 23 (1966-67), 24.

⁹⁰George Bryce, "Early Days in Winnipeg," Transaction No. 46, The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba (February 13, 1894), 2.

⁹¹F. H. Schofield, "The Story of the Schools," in The Story of Manitoba, Vol. 1 (Winnipeg, 1913), 419.

house, a teacher and the necessary funding. Stewart Mulvey went out and collected \$118, W.G. Fonseca managed \$46, the government grant was \$75.⁹² Fonseca then offered to lease an empty log building that stood on his property called "Fonseca's Maple Grove" at the foot of Henry Avenue and Maple Street.⁹³ The trustees took out a newspaper advertisement stating that "on and after Monday, October the 30th...a public school will be opened under the tuition of a legally qualified teacher, and instruction given in the branches, usually taught in common schools. The school will be free to all children residents of the section. The school room is the next house to Mr. Fonseca's residence."⁹⁴

Many years later Mulvey recalled that this first school was "a log building 18 by 30, and thatched with straw,"⁹⁵ leased

⁹²"Public School Education in Winnipeg," Souvenir of Winnipeg's Diamond Jubilee, 1874-1924 (Winnipeg, 1924), 58. Another source gives the total amount of money raised as \$418; see Winnipeg Daily Sun, 2 December 1882.

⁹³George Bryce, "Educational Reminiscences of One-Third of a Century in Winnipeg," Manitoba Free Press, 19 November 1904, 15.

⁹⁴The Manitoban, 4 November 1871; see also The Manitoban, 28 October 1871. There has been some confusion about the date that the school opened and the ownership of the building. Fred Lucas states that the school was on land donated by the Hudson's Bay Company and that the building opened on October 31, 1871 in Fred Lucas, An Historical Souvenir Diary of the City of Winnipeg (Winnipeg, 1923), 200. Kathleen Leathers states that Winnipeg's first public school was built in 1871; see Leathers (1983), 52.

⁹⁵Winnipeg Tribune, 30 September 1907. Mulvey also recalled that the first school opened on September 30, 1871.

at a cost of \$16 a month. Lumber for benches and desks was donated by Alexander McArthur who had a saw mill at Broken Head River. The school furniture was arranged around the walls "in old Ontario fashion."⁹⁶ William Fisher Luxton (1844-1907), appointed at a salary of \$500 per year, was the first teacher. Mulvey recalled that Luxton "was about to leaving (sic) for Ontario when the school trustees...prevailed upon him to remain. He proved to be an excellent teacher...",⁹⁷ although he only looked after the thirty pupils for less than a year. Luxton had been a school teacher and a newspaper publisher in Ontario before coming to Manitoba in 1871. He left teaching in Winnipeg to found The Manitoba Free Press with John Kenny and served as its first editor. His concern for education in Winnipeg was evident through the numerous editorials in the newspaper that were highly critical of local apathy and the dreadful conditions in Winnipeg's schools. He served as legislator in both provincial and federal politics and was chairman of the Winnipeg School Board. In 1901 he was appointed Inspector of Public Buildings for the Province of Manitoba.⁹⁸

⁹⁶"Knowledge is Power," The Winnipeg Daily Sun, 2 December 1882. Many thanks to Randy R. Rostecki for pointing out this article.

⁹⁷Winnipeg Tribune, 30 September 1907.

⁹⁸The Manitoba Library Association, Pioneers and Early Citizens (1971), 124.

The building rented from Fonseca did not remain a schoolhouse for long. Before the end of the year another building was leased for \$20 a month on Main Street.⁹⁹ The owner of the building again appears to have been a trustee. "Pater Familias" complained in a letter to a newspaper that the location of the school in Point Douglas was too far a walk in the winter and had been chosen only because the premises belonged to a trustee.¹⁰⁰ Winnipeg was not unique. Circumstances in Ontario common schools were similar: Cold winter conditions; log buildings; poorly ventilated, dirty and overcrowded facilities.¹⁰¹

Attempts by the trustees to promote better conditions for schools were largely ignored by the local population for a number of reasons - the high population of single men; the voluntary nature of contributions for schools; the existence of denominational schools and "a prejudice against the common school."¹⁰²

⁹⁹Winnipeg Daily Sun, 2 December 1882. The newspaper reported that this building was erected by F.S. Grey for use as a drug store by a Mr. Parker and later a grocery store by Mr. F. Ferguson, but this could not be substantiated.

¹⁰⁰The Manitoban, 22 June 1872.

¹⁰¹Houston and Prentice, Schooling and Scholars (1988), 205-206.

¹⁰²Winnipeg Daily Sun, 2 December 1882. Common schools aspired to provide a common or 'English' education (not classical) to all the children of a neighbourhood; see Houston and Prentice, Schooling and Scholars (1988), 44.

In 1872 the Hudson's Bay Company offered the trustees an acre of land for a new schoolhouse. A triangular piece of property was chosen on Notre Dame Avenue near the present King Street.¹⁰³ Notre Dame formed the northern boundary of a large Hudson's Bay Company land reserve in Winnipeg and was to become one of the city's major thoroughfares. By offering the site, the Company ensured that school facilities would be adjacent to their proposed development. However, because the plot of land was close to the "town" at Portage and Main, questions arose over its desirability for school purposes. After much debate, the trustees arranged for a frame school building to go up in the fall of 1873 at a cost of about \$1,600.¹⁰⁴ This building eventually was called Central School.

The Ontario Influence

Winnipeg was incorporated as a city in late 1873 following a period of considerable public agitation in favour of urban status. The legislation, qualifications for aldermen and mayor, and procedures for elections were all based on Ontario examples. Alan Artibise notes that "the remaking of Manitoba

¹⁰³Winnipeg Daily Sun, 2 December 1882.

¹⁰⁴Ibid. Also see Bryce, "Early Days in Winnipeg" (1894), 17; Winnipeg Tribune, 30 September 1907.

in the image of Ontario was begun most markedly in Winnipeg."¹⁰⁵

By the fall of 1874 the city's population had grown to 2,000 with the majority of newcomers coming from Ontario. The increase in students required extra school accommodation, so the trustees leased two rooms in Fonseca's store in Point Douglas.¹⁰⁶

The people from Ontario brought with them the ideals and ambitions of education developed by Stewart Mulvey's acquaintance, Egerton Ryerson, who was Superintendent of Ontario's schools from 1844 to 1876 and "one of the most vocal and effective of Canada's educational missionaries."¹⁰⁷ Ryerson believed that beauty was an important consideration in the design of school buildings. Manners and good taste could only be developed in a setting that provided attractive structures, classrooms and grounds.¹⁰⁸ The physical form and appearance of the school building affected the behaviour and attitudes of children; furthermore, good thoughts could only occur in

¹⁰⁵Alan Artibise, Winnipeg, An Illustrated History (Toronto, 1977), 20.

¹⁰⁶Chafe, An Apple For The Teacher (1967), 16.

¹⁰⁷Alison Prentice, The School Promoters (Toronto, 1984), 13-14.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 69.

beautiful surroundings.¹⁰⁹ Ryerson also believed that it was necessary to prevent children from acquiring adult manners and unreasonable knowledge by placing them in buildings "hived off" from adult society - i.e. as far away as possible from commercial or industrial areas. Physical separation of schools from the community by use of fences was an alternative.¹¹⁰

The educational pioneers from Ontario also brought with them a knowledge of The Journal of Education for Upper Canada, which was edited by Ryerson and contained numerous articles and plans for building schoolhouses.¹¹¹ Many of these plans and drawings could also be found in Henry Barnard's School Architecture, published in the 1840s.¹¹² This was one of a number of American architectural handbooks which provided advice to school districts in the United States on building location, arrangements, light, ventilation and style.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 47.

¹¹⁰Ibid., 39-40; Bruce Curtis, "The Playground in Nineteenth-Century Ontario: Theory and Practice," Material History Bulletin (Fall 1985), 21-29.

¹¹¹See "School Architecture" in Journal for Education for Upper Canada, Vol. no. 2 (February 1857), 17-24; Vol. no. 3 (March 1857), 33-43; Vol. no. 4 (April 1857), 49-56; Vol. no. 5 (May 1857), 65-73.

¹¹²Jean and Robert McClintock, eds., Henry Barnard's School Architecture (New York, 1970), 31-336.

¹¹³Barbara Wriston, "The Use of Architectural Handbooks in the Design of Schoolhouses from 1840-1860," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Vol. XXII, no. 3 (October (continued...))

Early Building Issues and Trustee Responses

Through the mid-1870s, the situation in the renamed Winnipeg School District No. 1 continued to be deplorable. School facilities were unsuitable for teaching, trustees were apathetic about building inspections, while school attendance was rising. An editorial in the Manitoba Free Press concluded that the population wrongly believed there was no need for a common school because private "colleges" existed all around. "The college with all its ologies and all the brilliant staff of book learned professors who know everything, does not meet the peculiar necessities of a practical working people."¹¹⁴

The situation was not too different in Manitoba's Catholic schools. The Catholic Superintendent also expressed concern for the state of school buildings under his jurisdiction:

Until now very little concern has been had or care taken in the construction of schoolhouses answering

¹¹³(...continued)
1963), 155-156. See also Victorian School-house Architecture: A Facsimile of Samuel F. Eveleth's School-house Architecture, a Pattern Book of 1870 (Watkins Glen, 1978).

¹¹⁴Manitoba Free Press, 13 January 1875; see also Manitoba Free Press, 26 April 1875; Manitoba Free Press 6 May 1875; Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools in the Province of Manitoba (1875), 13. (Hereafter cited as Protestant Schools.)

all the requisite conditions of salubrity and hygiene, of comfort, order and cleanliness.¹¹⁵

The Superintendent buttressed his argument by quoting Henry Barnard, "an American writer," who complained that school-houses were poorly located, with poor placement of windows, bad ventilation and poor temperature control. Moreover

in the exterior or the interior of the schoolhouse they have nothing of what is necessary to give notions of order, progress,....of good breeding and elegance of manner.¹¹⁶

On February 22, 1876 the first election of trustees under the newly amended Education Act took place.¹¹⁷ The City of Winnipeg had been divided into four wards at incorporation - North, South, East and West - each of which was to elect three school trustees.¹¹⁸ George Bryce, a trustee for the North Ward, was appointed as School Inspector. The new trustees faced a rising population which would require more school space than existed.

¹¹⁵Report of the Superintendent of Catholic Schools in the Province of Manitoba for the School Year 1875-76, 19. (Hereafter cited as Catholic Schools.)

¹¹⁶Ibid., 20-21.

¹¹⁷Statutes of Manitoba 1876, Chapter 38.

¹¹⁸Manitoba Free Press, 22 February 1876; see Alexander Begg and Walter Nursey, Ten Years in Winnipeg (Winnipeg, 1879), 77.

Bryce's first report was a total condemnation of existing facilities: "Central School is a building unattractive in external appearance, and...not suitable for school purposes."¹¹⁹ He went on to observe that with "the woodwork unpainted and dirty, the plaster broken, the benches cut, injured and disfigured, the teacher's desk unsuitable, a great space about the teacher's desk deluged with water from two unsightly pails, the room decorated with a solitary map and having no apparatus, the effect on any decent nurtured child can only be only (sic) deteriorating." The North Ward School, the rented facility in Point Douglas, had a low ceiling, was dark and was very noisy because it was close to the street. Boys and girls in both schools played together, which could result in the girls becoming "immodest and rough." These conditions had resulted in low school attendance - out of 492 Protestant children, only 124 attended Central School while 70 were in North Ward. Poor building conditions also had a negative effect on the appearance and demeanour of some students, Bryce concluded.

A few months later the trustees decided to advertise for plans for an additional school building, 36' x 25', to be erected on the Central School site.¹²⁰ This structure was put up by

¹¹⁹Manitoba Free Press, 5 May 1876.

¹²⁰Manitoba Free Press, 22 May 1876. There are no descriptions of these early school buildings.

contractors Dodds and Moore,¹²¹ while the older building was cleaned up and painted. Sidewalks were laid from the street to the buildings and the grounds were divided to separate the boys and girls.

These changes did not quell discussion about the need for a new brick schoolhouse which would "not only increase the efficiency of the schools, but be the means of advancing the interests of the city materially."¹²² Secretary-Treasurer Mulvey quickly placed a newspaper ad calling for plans and specifications for two brick-veneered schoolhouses, each two storeys high, one to accommodate 450 pupils and to cost \$8,000, the other to accommodate 150 pupils and costing no more than \$2,500.¹²³ At a subsequent trustee meeting, it was explained that while there were 300 children in school, many others were being turned away. With a \$20,000 debenture for schools, their requirements would be satisfied for at least five years.¹²⁴

Of greater concern to some trustees was the question of where to locate the schools. It was pointed out that the property on Notre Dame was loaned to the School Board for school

¹²¹Manitoba Free Press, 27 May 1876.

¹²²Manitoba Free Press, 9 September 1876.

¹²³Manitoba Free Press, 13 September 1876.

¹²⁴Manitoba Free Press, 27 September 1876.

purposes only. Since the Board did not own the land, should a permanent structure be built on it? This locational debate involved two warring factions - the "North End" and "South End" trustees. The former were considering a site between Bannatyne, William and Ellen streets, while the latter favoured the existing Notre Dame site. Bryce recalls that the debate ended when a South End trustee voted with those from the North End, only to lose his job over his defection.¹²⁵ In the interim, the main floor of the Methodist Wesleyan Institute was leased as the South Ward School.¹²⁶

By November 1876 plans prepared by architect Charles A. Barber for the new Central and North Ward schools had been reviewed and accepted by the trustees. Contractor and sometime trustee Robert D. Patterson received the contract for a price of \$10,200 for both buildings.¹²⁷ The new Central School was a "T" shaped building, two storeys in height, built of brick "in an American style of architecture, having over one hundred large, well proportioned circular-headed windows." There were three classrooms on the main floor (two were 25' x 26', the other 26' x 42'), and three classrooms on the second floor with folding doors so that a large assembly room could be

¹²⁵Manitoba Free Press, 19 November 1904.

¹²⁶Manitoba Free Press, 9 December 1876. It was located on Main and Schultz Street (now Main and Water Avenue).

¹²⁷Manitoba Free Press, 30 November 1876.

provided. The North Ward School was of a similar plan but was only one storey with two classrooms 26' x 28'. With the opening of these two new schools, the former Central School became the South Ward School.¹²⁸ In a map published in 1881 there is an illustration of a "T" shaped Central School with a belfry and weathervane but additional descriptions have not been found. The North Ward School through poor planning was built extremely close to Point Douglas Avenue on which the Canadian Pacific Railway lines were installed. By August of 1881, this school building was closed.¹²⁹

No records have been found from this period to indicate that the Winnipeg School Division and other Protestant schools were operating under a set approach or standards for school design. In contrast, the Catholic Superintendent emphasized that a school building "should be plain and modest in style." Furthermore, a schoolhouse

is not to gratify the professional amour propre of an architect, or to raise a monument. The object should be to realize conditions of convenience and to provide scholastic accommodations.¹³⁰

The location of future schools in Winnipeg continued to perplex the Protestant trustees. The Hudson's Bay Company was

¹²⁸Protestant Schools, 1877, 9.

¹²⁹City of Winnipeg, Plan 160, 1881.

¹³⁰Catholic Schools, 1877-78, 9-11.

unhappy that Central School had been moved from its reserve and that the site was now used for a ward school. Charles J. Brydges, the Company's Land Commissioner, pointed out that a new location for a ward school was available on York Avenue between Edmonton and Carlton streets.¹³¹ Meanwhile, the trustees of Grace Church offered to buy the site of the South Ward School from the Company.¹³² It was resolved that a new, two-storey South Ward School would be built on Graham Avenue, between Hargrave and Carlton streets, again based on the design of Charles A. Barber.¹³³

Before 1880 the trustees had been conservative in their plans to build schools. After Winnipeg agreed to the CPR's conditions for the railroad to come through the city, the trustees began a building program in earnest to meet expected needs.¹³⁴ James H. Stewart was appointed as a full-time School Inspector; Central School was doubled in size; two two-room schools were built in the North End; and another school was installed in a house leased from Rev. James Robertson on

¹³¹Manitoba Free Press, 26 November 1879.

¹³²Manitoba Free Press, 14 November 1879.

¹³³Manitoba Free Press, 12 May 1880; for the tender see Manitoba Free Press, 30 March 1880.

¹³⁴While the population in Winnipeg only rose from 6,178 in 1880 to 6,245 in 1881, the number of pupils rose from 482 to 807. (See Appendix A.)

Louise Street.¹³⁵ Stewart, who wanted Winnipeg's Protestant school buildings to be "compared favourably with those of any city in the Eastern Provinces," ensured that there were ample blackboards; that seating was arranged so light fell over the pupils' left shoulders; and that trees were planted in playgrounds.¹³⁶

In 1882 the city's population doubled and the number of pupils went up from 807 to 1,484 (see Tables 1 and 2). Numerous students were still turned away as existing facilities were being expanded.¹³⁷ Another two-storey Central School, designed by architect James Chisholm, was built adjacent to Central I at a cost of \$15,000.¹³⁸ The older building was to be a boys' school, the new one was for girls.¹³⁹

The tremendous growth of the city's student population and a rapid turnover of the School Board's inspectors¹⁴⁰ combined with unscrupulous practices by the building industry at that time to result in shoddy construction and dishonest tendering of work. The situation was further aggravated by lack of

¹³⁵Winnipeg Daily Sun, 2 December 1882.

¹³⁶Protestant Schools, 1881-82, 14-15.

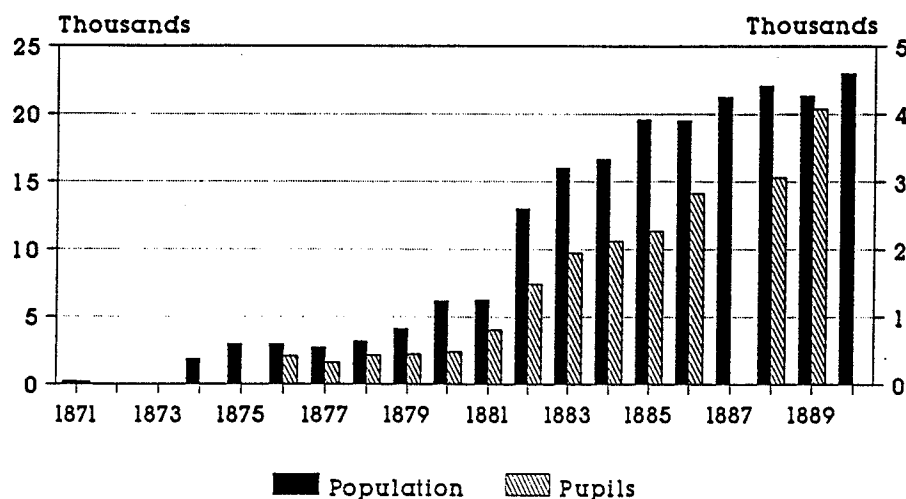
¹³⁷Manitoba Free Press, 4 November 1882.

¹³⁸Winnipeg Sun, 23 September 1882.

¹³⁹Trustee Report, 1882, n.p.

¹⁴⁰Chafe, An Apple For The Teacher (1967), 16.

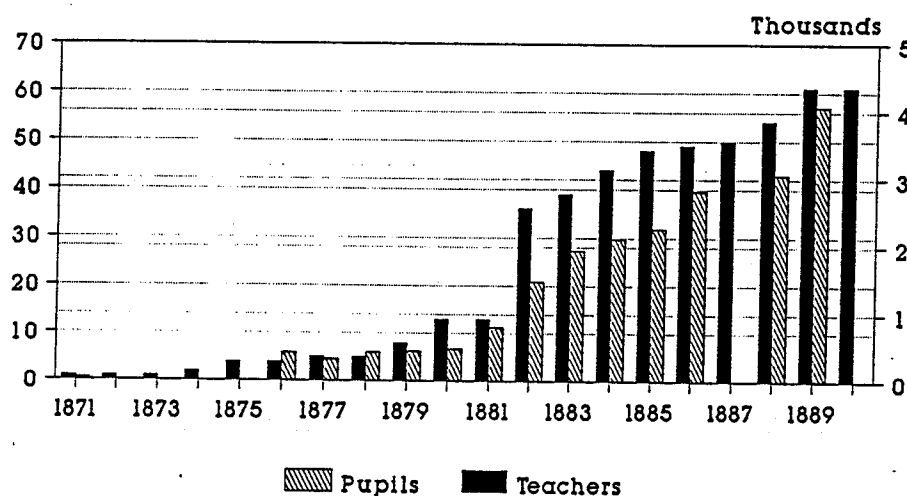
TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF WINNIPEG'S POPULATION AND
PUBLIC SCHOOL PUPILS, 1871-1890, INCLUSIVE

Source: Trustee Reports, City of Winnipeg Municipal Manuals

Note: Missing Values indicate no data is available.

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF WINNIPEG'S PUBLIC SCHOOL
PUPILS AND TEACHERS, 1871-1890, INCLUSIVE

Source: Trustee Reports, City of Winnipeg Municipal Manuals

Note: Missing Values indicate no data is available.

direction from the Provincial Board of Education on acceptable standards for school buildings.

In July 1883 the trustees offered to pay architects \$100 for a prototype plan of a school that was to become their property and to be used for all new school buildings. Plans by architects William T. Dalton, James Chisholm and Charles A. Barber were reviewed, but none were acceptable and no payment was made.¹⁴¹ When shortly thereafter Pinkham School was tendered out, both Chisholm and Barber charged that their plans had been used.¹⁴²

The dispute continued in the summer of 1884 after trustees tendered a set of drawings for Mulvey School to be built on Boundary Street (now Maryland) and named in Stewart Mulvey's honour. The tenders came in close to \$5,000 while the trustees had expected that the cost would be approximately \$4,000. Contractor Augustine Ponton and Co. stated that they could build a less expensive school if it were based on the Pinkham School plan. The trustees agreed to this procedure but soon discovered that the new school was not being built as approved. The foundations were only 18" when they should have been 20" as at Pinkham. Further inspection revealed that

¹⁴¹Protestant Board of School Trustees, Winnipeg School Division No. 1, Minute Book, 10 July 1883 - 22 July 1883, 127-135. (Hereafter cited as School Board Minutes.)

¹⁴²Ibid., 165-175.

joists were 2" x 10", not 2" x 12" and on 16" not 20" centres as required. To ensure that the building was constructed in plan similar to Pinkham, Joshua Callaway, a city alderman and trustee, was hired as the School District's Building Inspector at \$3.00 a day. Callaway had to report to the trustees that the plans for the school had been lost. A letter was sent by the trustees to the firm of Barber and Barber asking if they were the architects. Charles A. Barber claimed that if this school was being built like Pinkham, then they were the architects. The trustees spent some time debating whether to hire another architect to prepare a set of plans. The records are scanty but the matter was apparently concluded when the Board agreed to pay the Barbers \$100 for modified plans of Pinkham School.¹⁴³

Initial Steps Towards Formal School Planning and Building Standards

In 1885 two events changed the course of school building in Winnipeg. First, on January 5th, 1885 the Province of Manitoba adopted a set of regulations for urban and rural schools under the Protestant section of the Board of Education

¹⁴³Ibid., 233-265. The Barbers were involved in a scandal over construction of Winnipeg's City Hall at this same time; see R.R. Rostecki, "Barber and Barber, Architects Extraordinaire," Bulletin, Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada, VII, no. 3-4 (December 1981), 9-13. For a biography of Joshua Callaway see "Joshua Callaway is Eighty-Three," Manitoba Free Press, 17 June 1913.

that dealt with school grounds, schoolhouses, outhouses and school furnishings.¹⁴⁴ These rules were formulated by John Beaufort Somerset (1843-1901), Superintendent of Education for Protestant Schools in Manitoba.

Somerset was Irish-born and educated. After coming to Canada in 1861, he taught public school in Ontario, then was appointed Inspector of Schools for the County of Lincoln in 1871.¹⁴⁵ Somerset came to Winnipeg in 1882 at the urging of Rev. William Cyprian Pinkham, the previous Superintendent of Education who had gone to Ontario to investigate potential models for teacher training and high schools in Manitoba. Pinkham was a friend of Somerset's and on this trip went to St. Catherines to visit his friend and the local schools.¹⁴⁶ Somerset was appointed Inspector by the Winnipeg trustees in February 1882 and assumed Pinkham's position as Protestant Superintendent the following year. His brief experience with schools in Winnipeg resulted in provincial regulations that ensured control of school buildings was held by the Board of Education rather than local trustees. Under the new rules, trustees were required to obtain a title to their school site; if it could not be immediately obtained, then approval to

¹⁴⁴Protestant Schools, 1885, 61-65.

¹⁴⁵Manitoba Library Association, Pioneers and Early Citizens (1971), 222. In 1891 when the separate school system was abolished, J. B. Somerset became the Secretary-Treasurer of the Manitoba Free Press.

¹⁴⁶Protestant Schools, 1881-82, 20.

build had to be granted by the Superintendent. City schools were to have one-quarter acre of land and the grounds were to be enclosed by a substantial fence. Trustees had to have school plans and an architect's estimate or a bona fide tender approved by the Provincial Board. The local inspector was to report to the Superintendent any variation from the approved plans. Among the specific provisions for buildings was the requirement that each pupil was to have 150 cubic feet of air space. Entrance doors were to open outward and be protected by a weather-tight porch or were to open from an inner vestibule. The chimney, of brick or cement, had to contain two flues - one for smoke, one for foul air - with two vents in each school room to clean the air. Windows were to light the rooms from the sides and were to open at the top and bottom. Separate privies for boys and girls were required at the rear of the school.¹⁴⁷

The second major factor that influenced how schools in Winnipeg were to be built was the appointment of Daniel McIntyre (1852-1946) as Inspector and Superintendent of the Winnipeg School District on August 18, 1885. The beginnings of a working bureaucracy were now firmly established.¹⁴⁸ McIntyre was the foundation on which the District rested for 43 years.

¹⁴⁷Protestant Schools, 1885, 61-64.

¹⁴⁸William J. Wilson, Daniel McIntyre and the Winnipeg Schools, Monographs in Education VI (Winnipeg, 1981), 7.

He was educated in New Brunswick where he obtained a teaching licence in 1872. Promoted to Superintendent of Schools in Portland, N.B. in 1878, he resigned two years later to study law. He was admitted to the bar in 1882.¹⁴⁹ When Winnipeg was looking in 1883 for fourteen teachers to keep up with the growing number of schools, Daniel McIntyre was appointed as Principal of Carlton School. After becoming Inspector, McIntyre clearly defined the responsibilities of the Secretary-Treasurer and the trustees' various committees: Finance, School Management, Buildings, and Printing and Supplies. For the Committee on Buildings, the duties were as follows:

- 1) The Committee on Buildings shall have the general supervision of the school buildings. They shall, from time to time, report to the Board upon the expediency of building, altering, or improving any of the buildings or grounds.
- 2) Whenever any new building is wanted they shall suggest a plan and mode therefor (sic); have charge of all buildings during their erection, and generally study the most economical as well as the most desirable changes that may be necessary for the comfort and welfare of all schools under their jurisdiction.
- 3) They shall, at the first regular meeting in each year, make a detailed report in writing of the character and extent of the repairs and improvements (and building, if any,) to be made to the schools during the current year; and recommend such as they may deem necessary or expedient.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., 25.

- 4) They shall recommend to the Board suitable sites for school buildings.
- 5) They shall present, at the regular meeting in January in each year, a report setting forth the character and value of all school buildings, grounds, etc., in the city.¹⁵⁰

McIntyre's responsibilities as Inspector were outlined in provincial regulations adopted in 1886. Among them, the school inspector was to ensure that all new schools were built and furnished according to the provincial regulations of 1885. Rooms were to be clean, repaired and ventilated in order to preserve the health and promote the comfort of the pupil.¹⁵¹

Proper ventilation as a means of promoting good health had been a guiding principle in school building for many years, but it became of greater concern with educators at this time. At the eleventh assembly of the Manitoba Teachers' Association held in July 1886, two speakers dealt with health issues. Mrs. John F. McIntyre, of McIntyre Brothers, Book and Job Printers, and former assistant teacher at the Normal School, read a paper on "System and Cleanliness in the School Room" for which Daniel McIntyre led a discussion. Later in the session Dr. John Mark King, Dean of the Faculty of Manitoba College, read a paper on "School Hygiene," arguing

¹⁵⁰Trustee Report, 1886, 34-35.

¹⁵¹Protestant Schools, 1886, 36.

that health as well as the education of the pupils should be looked after. He discussed ventilation, heating and lighting of schoolhouses, site, interior arrangement, and "the duty of the teachers to be ever vigilant in the matter of contagion or causes that lead to it."¹⁵² Similar concerns were also being discussed in Ontario¹⁵³ as a result of the continued acceptance of the theory of bacteria in the 1880s and the subsequent development of bacteriology.¹⁵⁴ Up to this time, the miasmatic theory of disease had prevailed - i.e. that disease was caused by poisonous gases coming from swamps, marshes and even human breath. Gases produced by the lungs, if not properly ventilated, formed a "solid, thick glutinous mass, having a strong odour of animal matter." Teachers had been warned that when this matter was injected into a dog, a death similar to that caused by typhus fever occurred.¹⁵⁵

McIntyre's concerns for the health of Winnipeg's school children were heightened by a decrease in attendance in 1887

¹⁵²The Education Weekly, IV, no. 79 (22 July 1886), 429-430. This source wrongly identifies a Dr. Kerr as giving the paper.

¹⁵³Ibid., IV, no. 87 (16 September 1886), 549-50.

¹⁵⁴Norman R. Ball, ed., Building Canada: A History of Public Works (Toronto, 1988), 196-197. See also Neil Sutherland, "To Create A Strong and Healthy Race: School Children in the Public Health Movement, 1880-1914," Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past, ed. Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly (New York, 1975), 133-139.

¹⁵⁵"Ventilation - Air Poison," Journal of Education for Upper Canada, X, no. 2 (February 1857), 28.

due to illness. By the second term only sixty-five per cent of the students were in attendance, while whole families were absent because of measles, scarlet fever or diphtheria.¹⁵⁶ McIntyre soon had an ally who supported him and later assumed much of the responsibility for all matters pertaining to school buildings. This ally was James Bertram Mitchell who was elected in February 1888 as a trustee for Ward Five¹⁵⁷ and by May of that year was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Buildings.

Born in Gananoque, Ontario in 1852, Mitchell spent his lifetime involved with the military. At the age of fourteen he served as a bugler with the Gananoque Artillery at Prescott during the Fenian raid of 1866. As a corporal he went with the battery to Cornwall in 1870 at the time of the second Fenian raid, receiving a medal and two clasps for service.¹⁵⁸ It is uncertain what his career was for the next two years. Some sources say he studied at the School of Gunnery in Toronto in 1871, then attended military school in 1872 in Montreal.¹⁵⁹ Others claim he studied architecture at

¹⁵⁶Trustee Report, 1887, 5.

¹⁵⁷School Board Minutes, 7 February 1888, 512-539.

¹⁵⁸Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg Grenadiers Collection, MA6 C5-2, File 11, 1-5.

¹⁵⁹Winnipeg Telegram, 30 November 1912.

the Montreal Art Institute at this time.¹⁶⁰ He subsequently was at the Battery School of Gunnery in Kingston and in 1874 joined the North-West Mounted Police as one of the original three hundred members. He was appointed troop sergeant-major of E troop and came west to be present at the signing of Treaty No. 6 at Fort Carlton in 1876.¹⁶¹ He was discharged in 1877 and came to Winnipeg in 1878¹⁶² where he worked for a number of years as a carpenter.¹⁶³ Mitchell's first duty as Committee Chairman was to assist McIntyre in improving sanitary conditions in the schools.

Canada's main architectural journal, The Canadian Architect and Builder, was publishing numerous articles at this time about the necessity of proper hygiene in schools in Toronto, the need for efficient ventilation systems in schools, the development of new plumbing by-laws in the United States and Canada, all pointing out this new concern for health.¹⁶⁴ It was finally decided among Winnipeg school trustees that Daniel McIntyre should visit a number of cities in the United

¹⁶⁰Winnipeg Free Press, 2 October 1956.

¹⁶¹Winnipeg Grenadiers, 4.

¹⁶²Winnipeg Telegram, 30 November 1912.

¹⁶³James Henderson, compiler, Henderson's Directory of the City of Winnipeg and Towns of Manitoba (Winnipeg: The Compilers), 1880-1888.

¹⁶⁴The Canadian Architect and Builder, 1, no. 3 (March 1888) 9-11; April 1888, 9; April 1889, 46. (Hereafter cited as CAB.)

States and Ontario to examine their systems of heating, ventilation and latrine accommodation and to observe school work. The trustees had complained that in winter temperatures in local classrooms were difficult to regulate - the floors were very cold, while six feet up the air was very warm. It was also discovered that ventilators installed in the new schools were "dummies" or practically useless. Water-closets¹⁶⁵ which had been unsatisfactory for years also had become a major concern. Under Mitchell's keen eye defective construction was found in most schools and repaired; drafts were sealed and leaking roofs fixed.¹⁶⁶

McIntyre returned from his investigative tour and recommended that the Smead-Dowd System of heating, ventilation and dry closets be placed in the schools. In the United States this particular system of furnaces and flues to conduct warmed air into the classroom and to draw stale air out of the room was called the Smead System. In Canada it was sold under the name the Smead-Dowd System to reflect the Canadian president

¹⁶⁵Winnipeg's early schools had privies which were usually poorly built and outdoors so that the child was subjected to the cold and stormy weather. Water-closets were inside the school building and relied on a large tank of water, usually in the attic, to flush the waste away to a cesspool. See Warren R. Briggs, Modern American School Buildings: Being a Treatise Upon, and Designs For, the Construction of School Buildings (New York, 1912), 288-307.

¹⁶⁶Trustee Report, 1888, 14-26.

of the firm, John W. Dowd.¹⁶⁷ Through an issue of debentures and a government grant, the trustees raised the funds required to hire architect Charles H. Wheeler to superintend the installation of this system in Central No. 1, No. 2, Carlton and Euclid schools. Little did school trustees in North America know that the dry-closet system of disposing of sewage matter resulted in contagious diseases being spread throughout buildings through fecal dust. Under this system, warm air was circulated through a tunnel to dehydrate solid wastes on the tunnel floor. Foul air came up the closet seat into the room. At year end, kerosene was poured on the deposits and ignited. Dust then entered the room and school building.¹⁶⁸

Another Toronto debate of interest to Winnipeg trustees during this period concerned what sort of school building superintendent to hire - someone who was an architect, or someone to be a superintendent or a building inspector.¹⁶⁹ In Winnipeg the Finance Committee recommended

¹⁶⁷"The Smead-Dowd System," Winnipeg Tribune, 1 April 1893. For a description of the development of central heating and ventilation systems, see Robert Brueggemann, "Central Heating and Forced Ventilation: Origins and Effects on Architectural Design," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, XXXVII, no. 3 (October 1978), 143-160.

¹⁶⁸International Correspondence Schools, An Elementary Treatise on Heating and Ventilation (Scranton, 1898), 766-767.

¹⁶⁹CAB, 1, no. 6 (June 1888), 4.

the appointment of an efficient and reliable man who will devote all his time in the services of the Board and whose duties will be to exercise a general oversight over all School Buildings and grounds, do the repairs and improvements necessary and measure and inspect wood at the different schools.¹⁷⁰

Unfortunately this discussion was postponed when the provincial government introduced legislation that caused six years of controversy - the Public Schools Act and the Department of Education Act.¹⁷¹ Protestant and Roman Catholic schools were abolished in favour of non-sectarian public schools and a dual provincial education administration was established. The Department of Education was instituted as part of the civil service of Manitoba which controlled school inspectors and appointed an Advisory Board which authorized texts, determined qualifications for teachers, and advised on matters of hygiene and health.¹⁷²

The trustees had received three applications for the position of Superintendent of Buildings - one was from J. B. Mitchell.¹⁷³ During these uncertain times it was decided that monies be made available to Mitchell to go to Ontario to

¹⁷⁰School Board Minutes, 17 March 1890, 704-705.

¹⁷¹Statutes of Manitoba, 1890, Chapters 8 and 38.

¹⁷²William H. Lucow, "The Origin and Growth of the Public School System in Winnipeg," unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1951, 9; Gregor and Wilson, Development of Education in Manitoba (1984), 49-52.

¹⁷³School Board Minutes, 8 April 1890, 711.

gather information on school construction and provide suggestions that should be implemented in Winnipeg.¹⁷⁴

Summary

Winnipeg's early common schools were products of an educational system characterized by a lack of support from the community. Private schools that had been in existence for a long time satisfied the needs of the wealthier population, while the inexperience of the trustees and their own self interests resulted in inadequate facilities in poor locations. As Winnipeg's future was being promoted, the influx of Ontarians with a tradition of common school education required a great amount of additional classroom space in a very short period of time. It was only through the importation of experienced bureaucrats from other Canadian jurisdictions that the Protestant school system in Manitoba established regulations that set a direction for urban and rural schools. While it is known that the form of the schools was based on Ontario and U.S. models, their specifics have yet to be identified. Nothing is known about interior arrangement; concern for site was minimal; outside ornamentation was not discussed; yet heating, ventilation and sanitary arrangements became very important through time, based on similar concerns

¹⁷⁴The Canadian Contract Record, 1, no. 46 (27 December 1890), 11.

in other cities. By 1890 an organization was established for schools in Winnipeg to be contemporary with those in other older cities in Canada.

CHAPTER THREE: MCINTYRE AND MITCHELL - 1891-1906

When Daniel McIntyre was interviewed about education in Winnipeg after 1890, he said that "The new community consisted of men and women who had come from the older provinces, particularly Ontario, which had set the standard of education for the rest of Canada, and from the British Isles, where the ferment of educational reform...was making itself strongly felt. It was inevitable that a community so constituted should think progressively."¹⁷⁵ This advanced reasoning was manifest in the next sixteen years by increased administrative control over school building; standardization of the school plan; continued concern for hygiene; and a new interest in landscape. This was also the time when "the city of Winnipeg enjoyed a level of growth and prosperity...unequalled in the history of Canadian urban development."¹⁷⁶ Federal policy which established tariffs to discourage trade with the United States meant that Winnipeg would become the gateway for East-West trade.¹⁷⁷

From 1891 to 1906, Winnipeg's population quadrupled from 24,068 to 101,057.¹⁷⁸ This increase in population tripled the number of students who were attending schools from 4,189 to

¹⁷⁵Souvenir of Winnipeg's Diamond Jubilee (1924), 61.

¹⁷⁶Artibise, Winnipeg: An Illustrated History (1977), 30.

¹⁷⁷Ibid.

¹⁷⁸See Appendix A.

13,445.¹⁷⁹ The number of teachers increased in the same proportion, from 66 to 220 (see Tables 3 and 4).¹⁸⁰ Also during this period eighteen schools were built.¹⁸¹ These buildings were much larger, now three storeys high with up to ten classrooms each. However, the increase in number and scale of facilities cannot be attributed to population alone. By the beginning of the 20th century, the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 had also introduced a number of new subjects in the curriculum - music, art, manual training, sewing and cooking - which required specialized rooms for teaching.¹⁸²

Administrative Developments

The trustees, including J.B. Mitchell, did not forget that a decision had not been made regarding the office of agent of buildings and supplies. In New York in 1891 architect Charles B.J. Snyder was appointed that city's Superintendent of Building, having control over the construction and repair of all schools.¹⁸³ In Winnipeg the trustees finally passed a motion on January 10, 1893 that a Building and Supply Agent be appointed:

¹⁷⁹Ibid.

¹⁸⁰Ibid.

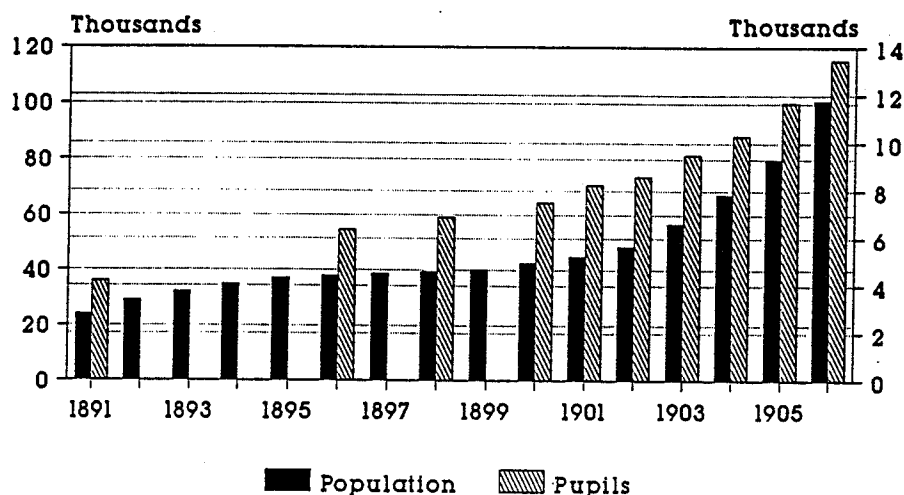
¹⁸¹Ibid.

¹⁸²Souvenir of Winnipeg's Diamond Jubilee (1924), 63.

¹⁸³Cutler, "Cathedral of Culture" (1989), 8.

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF WINNIPEG'S POPULATION AND PUBLIC SCHOOL PUPILS, 1891-1906, INCLUSIVE

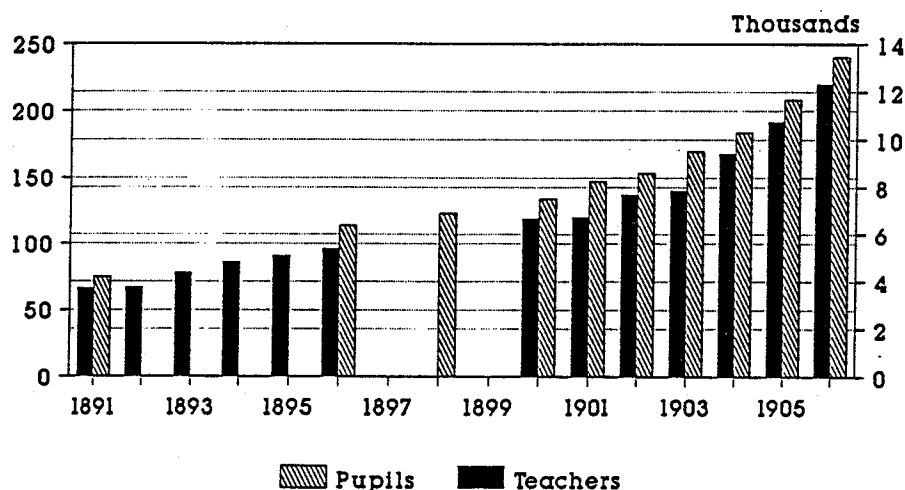


Source: Trustee Reports, City of Winnipeg Municipal Manuals

Note: Missing Values indicate no data is available.

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF WINNIPEG'S PUBLIC SCHOOL PUPILS AND TEACHERS, 1891-1906, INCLUSIVE



Source: Trustee Reports, City of Winnipeg Municipal Manuals

Note: Missing Values indicate no data is available.

Who shall have the oversight of the matters enumerated, who shall devote his whole time to the performance of said duties and that the appointment be tendered to Mr. J.B. Mitchell at a salary of \$1,500 per year.¹⁸⁴

Mitchell's duties included directing repairs to all existing buildings, supervising the erection of new buildings, and supervising the selection, distribution and consumption of fuel and supplies.¹⁸⁵ It is important to note that the actual design of new schools was not included in his responsibilities. From the School Board Minutes it is evident that school plans were not tendered out but that trustees passed motions on which architect was to prepare plans.¹⁸⁶ Mitchell resigned his seat as trustee and started his new appointment on February 1, 1893.¹⁸⁷ Two years later Trustee John O'Donohue wanted to have Mitchell's position eliminated, stating that "the office is not at all requisite and that the efficiency of the schools can be maintained without it and the \$1,500 salary per annum thus saved [can be] appropriated to

¹⁸⁴School Board Minutes, 10 January 1893, 228-233.

¹⁸⁵Ibid.

¹⁸⁶Ibid., 8 March 1892, 141; 24 January 1893, 234.

¹⁸⁷Ibid., 10 January 1893, 233.

absolutely necessary school expenditures."¹⁸⁸ The motion was lost with only O'Donohue voting for it.¹⁸⁹

Standardization of Building Plans

Throughout the 1890s schools were being designed by a variety of local architects but certain planning principles became evident. With the building of Winnipeg's first high school - the Collegiate Institute - in 1892, schools subsequently were to be three storeys high. The buildings were almost square in plan with symmetrical facades and a projecting front tower entrance. The exterior ornamentation was relatively plain and restrained. A local journal pointed out that:

Many of the buildings are models of convenience and adaptation to the needs of school work, these being the ends sought in their construction rather than architectural elegance.¹⁹⁰

North Central School,¹⁹¹ redesigned by local architect George Browne in 1892, set the Division's standard in classroom layout and form. Built at a cost of \$25,000, this three-

¹⁸⁸School Board Minutes, 12 February 1895, 504.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., 9 April 1895, 556.

¹⁹⁰Western World, III, no. 29 (July 1892), 169.

¹⁹¹Also known as Euclid School. Burnt down in January 1892 due to overheating of its Smead-Dowd heating furnace; see Manitoba Free Press, 15 January 1892.

storey solid brick school had a stone foundation.¹⁹² Measuring 31' x 71', the school was on Euclid Street, easily visible from Main Street because of its tall front tower and belfry. The basement contained the Smead-Dowd furnace and separate playrooms for boys and girls. The ground and second floors were divided by a 13-foot-wide central corridor that ran from the front entrance-way to the rear. Two six-foot-wide staircases were located at the ends of the corridor. Classrooms lined both sides, each containing a clothes-closet for the pupils. The principal's office was on the landing over the main stair at the front entrance, while "lady teachers" were in a similar room over the rear entrance. The third floor had two classrooms and a large assembly hall. The school was designed to have large windows arranged so that daylight would fall from the left side. It was reported that "this is the first time that an educational building has been designed in the west with this advantage."¹⁹³

Schools continued to be built along this plan throughout the next decade. This pattern seems to have been part of an international trend to standardize plan and room layout while allowing variety in exterior ornamentation. For example, New York's Superintendent of School Buildings, Charles Snyder,

¹⁹²Manitoba Free Press, 8 October 1892.

¹⁹³Ibid. Inspector James Stewart was proposing this in 1881 (see page 53). It is not known if his objectives were ever realized.

observed that look-alike facades detracted from "dignity" but that floor plans were duplicated again and again.¹⁹⁴ In Winnipeg building interiors were also finished in a standard way. Pine wainscotting was used on the lower portion of the classroom while blackboards covered the majority of the room.¹⁹⁵ Plaster was used above the blackboards. Ceilings were of embossed tin while the floors were hardwood. Classrooms were approximately 25' x 32', each with arched openings to a 3.5-foot-wide cloakroom running the width of the room.¹⁹⁶

By 1900 the plan for individual classrooms had been further refined.¹⁹⁷ The door was to be located in such a manner that persons entering the room did so in front of the pupils; daylight from the windows was to come from the left and the rear of the pupils; light from the rear was not to fall in the face of the teacher; each room was to have an average of fifteen feet of floor space per pupil; ventilating devices were to provide from twenty-five to thirty cubic feet of air per minute to each pupil; basement playrooms were to be

¹⁹⁴Cutler, "Cathedral of Culture" (1989), 10.

¹⁹⁵Winnipeg Tribune, 3 September 1898.

¹⁹⁶Trustee Report, 1896, 40-41. In 1903 architect Samuel Hooper prepared plans and specifications for rural schools that became the rural standard across the province. See Report of the Department of Education (1903), 17-30. (Hereafter cited as Department of Education.)

¹⁹⁷Department of Education, 1900, 22.

divided by sex; and classrooms were to be furnished with the Andrew's desk - one that was adjustable to the size of the student.

The trustees felt secure in the model that had been arrived at for their new schools. Plans were kept the same while some variety was expressed on the exterior. With Mitchell's growing expertise the Buildings Committee was able to make improvements in each new building, continuing to promote the notion that "the chief essentials in modern school rooms are good ventilation and plenty of light supplied from the proper direction."¹⁹⁸ The Manitoba Free Press described the laying of the cornerstone of Somerset School in the following way:

The Somerset School scarcely requires a description: it is in plan and size, materials of construction, solid brick or native limestone foundation of excellent quality and appearance, almost an exact reproduction of the modern buildings which it has been the policy of the school board for several years to erect, namely, the Machray, the Isbister, the Gladstone, the Mulvey, the Dufferin and the Argyle schools.¹⁹⁹

In 1905 there was a slight change in the main facade of the newly built John M. King School on Ellice Street. Designed

¹⁹⁸Trustee Report, 1898, 47.

¹⁹⁹Manitoba Free Press, 28 August 1901.

by Mitchell,²⁰⁰ the three-storey, ten-classroom building with an assembly room no longer had gables and a front tower. A plain stone balustrade was used for a parapet and a delicate one-storey stone porch was attached to the main entrance. The interior also changed - burlap was used as a wall covering instead of pine wainscotting; this fabric was painted different colours in different rooms.²⁰¹ The metal ceilings were painted to match. No reason has been found to explain the new exterior detailing that not only cost more²⁰² but also made the building look plain,²⁰³ nor has the source for this design variation been found.

The decoration of classrooms and halls can only be surmised from scant information. One article from 1906 states:

The same principles which govern the decoration of the home should underlie the decorations of the schoolroom, viz: simplicity and fitness.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰Various Winnipeg architects designed the Division's schools until 1901. - From J.B. Somerset School on, Mitchell is credited as architect until the early 1920s.

²⁰¹The Western School Journal, 1, no. 1 (January 1906), 20.

²⁰²Trustee Report, 1905, 57.

²⁰³The Western School Journal, 1, no. 1 (January 1906), 20.

²⁰⁴B.F. Stewart, "Schoolroom Decorations," The Western School Journal, 1, no. 4 (April 1906), 11.

The use of natural woods and "soft invisible green" blackboards in the classroom were the basic necessities. "Good pictures" hung in the halls and classrooms could be used as illustrations in teaching history, geography and art.²⁰⁵ Classical statues were also popular items found in classrooms and halls. Venus de Milo, Hermes, Apollo and Medusa were on display for students to better acquaint themselves with the classics and to "cultivate a taste for good literature."²⁰⁶

Evolution of Mechanical and Sanitation Systems

Heating, ventilation and closet accommodation continued to be major topics of debate. Shortly after Mitchell was appointed Building and Supply Agent, the School Board was confronted by a number of individuals who expressed concern that the costs of new schools had doubled from \$10,000 to \$20,000;²⁰⁷ fuel consumption had increased; and there was a danger of fire in the Smead-Dowd System of heating, ventilating and dry-

²⁰⁵Ibid., 12. There has been no mention made of a clock, flag or picture of a sovereign.

²⁰⁶Ibid. See also an illustration of a corridor in Somerset School in Trustee Report, 1905, 62. For an approach to the study of school room artifacts see: Norris B. Johnson, "The Material Culture of Public School Classrooms: The Symbolic Integration of Local Schools and National Society," Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 11, no. 3 (Fall 1980), 173-190.

²⁰⁷See Appendix B.

closets.²⁰⁸ Both architect Charles A. Barber, who was involved in the school plan controversy in 1884, and former trustee Joshua Callaway, who had been hired as a temporary school building inspector during that debate,²⁰⁹ expressed grave concerns about the safety and cost of operation of the Smead-Dowd System of heating, ventilation and dry-closets.²¹⁰ John Dowd, the company president, was puzzled by the criticism and explained that Joshua Callaway had recently written a letter to his company (which was reprinted in full in the Winnipeg Tribune) praising the Smead-Dowd System.²¹¹ Callaway explained in his letter that his recent election as city councillor was challenged in the courts - a situation that was not only annoying but also was taxing his financial resources.²¹² The letter inferred that he wanted a financial donation in return for continued support of their product. Debate over the system carried on for days. The Tribune printed numerous letters from School Superintendents across North America praising the Smead-Dowd dry-closet.²¹³ Because of this

²⁰⁸School Board Minutes, 3 April 1893, 248-249.

²⁰⁹See pages 55-56 of this study.

²¹⁰"The Smead-Dowd System," Winnipeg Tribune, 1 April 1893.

²¹¹Ibid.

²¹²Ibid.

²¹³"The Smead Dry Closet: What Superintendents Say - It Meets All Sanitary Requirements," Winnipeg Tribune, 3 April 1893.

controversy, the Province of Manitoba appointed a Board of Health to investigate the Smead-Dowd System.²¹⁴ The board members found that the Smead-Dowd System was the cheapest method of heating a school building; they could not determine if it was more prone to fire but insurance rates were lower on schools using the system. As well, if properly installed the system was not injurious to health.²¹⁵

In 1890 the City of Winnipeg had passed a by-law requiring all new buildings to have plumbing installed. Artibise points out that this was not an effective ordinance for only ten per cent of Winnipeg had sewers and waterworks.²¹⁶ In 1893 the new Aberdeen School on Salter Street was the first school in Winnipeg with flush toilets.²¹⁷

In 1894 local architect Charles H. Wheeler had his drawings for a three-storey Argyle School accepted by the trustees.²¹⁸ It is not known on what basis he was requested to prepare

²¹⁴"Inadvisable Publication," Winnipeg Tribune, 12 April 1893.

²¹⁵Ibid., 8 May 1893, 263.

²¹⁶Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History (1975), 226.

²¹⁷City of Winnipeg, Office of the City Engineer, Plumbing Permit, 14 November 1893, no. 495. (Hereafter cited as Plumbing Permits.)

²¹⁸School Board Minutes, 12 June 1894, 411.

drawings but work did not commence until June 1895.²¹⁹ To save costs the trustees decided that the same plans should be used for Dufferin School to be located on Logan Avenue. A source of conflict in putting up both schools was the question of the type of heating, ventilation and closet accommodation to be installed.²²⁰ Up to this time schools were being heated either by stoves in individual rooms or by the Smead-Dowd heated air system. Due to the limited area of waterworks in Winnipeg, dry-closets mainly had been used, but both Argyle and Dufferin schools were to have flush toilets. Because this technology was relatively new it was difficult for the trustees to evaluate how well the flush closets were working in Aberdeen School compared to other flush closet systems that were available. Thus a special committee was appointed and advertisements were placed in a number of journals, including the Chicago Tribune, American Contractor and the Toronto Globe, requesting information on heating and sanitary equipment. Numerous replies were received from companies in the United States and Canada and it was determined based on tender costs to install the Smead-Dowd flush closet system from Toronto in Argyle School and the Fuller and Warren system from Chicago in Dufferin School.²²¹ Minor fires and numerous repairs

²¹⁹Winnipeg Tribune, 22 June 1895.

²²⁰Ibid., 27 July 1895; School Board Minutes, 1 July 1895, 602.

²²¹The detail differences between these two systems are not known. The Winnipeg School Division contributed to the
(continued...)

plagued the Fuller and Warren system.²²² The Smead-Dowd ventilation, heating and flush-closet system continued to be used until 1901 when the W.F. Rutley warming, ventilating and automatic flush closet system from Toronto was introduced into the new J.B. Somerset School.²²³

Improving School Grounds

While Mitchell took on additional responsibilities for management of school buildings, McIntyre placed new emphasis on the school site and playground as an area for moral and physical activity. He encouraged the trustees to provide large lots for:

The playground, under wise supervision that is not meddlesome and vexatious, but gently regulative and directive, is one of the best fields for moral as well as physical training. A thousand varying activities there find scope; a thousand diverse interests clash. In endeavouring to adjust himself to his complex surroundings, his rights and desires to the rights and desires of his fellows, the school-boy learns the lesson of self-control, and grasps the principle of mutual concession and agreement on which society is based.²²⁴

²²¹(...continued)

Winnipeg Water Works Company to have water brought into Argyle School, while water was supplied to Dufferin School by an artesian well; Trustee Report, 1896, 42.

²²²Winnipeg Tribune, 13 October 1896; 13 February 1897; 16 February 1897.

²²³Trustee Report, 1901, 34.

²²⁴Department of Education, 1891, 12.

While these basics were being provided for, McIntyre was quick to point out that the costs of putting up so many new facilities limited the monies available to beautify school grounds and building exteriors. Although a school "building and grounds are educative in their effect in a right or wrong direction," they were "but accessories" to the influence of the teacher.²²⁵ One way that the trustees could have grounds that were decorated without incurring a major expense was by growing their own trees. In 1890 two pounds of Red River Maple seed were planted at Central No. 1 School. The following year the saplings were thinned out and some were transplanted to other schools.²²⁶ In addition school grounds were fenced in and grass was sown at the front of the buildings in order to "awaken interest in arbor culture, and demonstrate the possibility of beautifying the treeless province in which we live."²²⁷

The idea of planting trees was certainly another tradition brought in by the Ontarians who were influenced by the American Arbor Day movement. This event was first celebrated in Ontario schools on May 3, 1885 for it was believed that the

²²⁵Ibid.

²²⁶Ibid.

²²⁷Department of Education, 1892, 12. See also Western World, III, no. 29 (July 1892), 169.

growing of trees was a necessity to the material wealth of the province; "to the salubrity of its climate;" and since Ontario "has been largely denuded of its once magnificent arboreal investment, and that this waste may be redeemed, our children must be indoctrinated with a fondness for trees and forests..."²²⁸ In Winnipeg Arbor Day was first celebrated on May 12, 1893.²²⁹ After a number of poems and recitations dealing with the importance of trees, all Winnipeg schools planted a number of trees in their yards. Saplings were transplanted from the Central School grounds; as well, 300 trees were obtained from the Charles City Nurseries.²³⁰ The varieties included pine, maple, ash, poplar, "Balm of Gilead", linden, hackberry, and weeping birch.²³¹ Mitchell urged the trustees to:

take steps to have Arbor Day something more than just a mere name. A proper celebration of the day would yield large results not alone (sic) in the improvement of the school grounds, but in the

²²⁸The Educational Weekly, II, no. 42 (15 October 1885), 659. See also "Planting in School Grounds," The Educational Weekly, III, no. 69 (29 April 1886), 264; Pleasance Crawford, "Of Grounds Tastefully Laid Out: The Landscaping of Public Buildings in 19th Century Ontario," Bulletin, Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada, II, no. 3 (September 1986), 3-7, 13.

²²⁹Department of Education, 1893, 16. The date had originally been picked to be May 11, 1893 but this was in conflict with the Roman Catholic Ascension Day; "Arbor Day On May 12," Winnipeg Tribune, 6 April 1893. See also "Preparing for Arbor Day," Winnipeg Tribune, 7 April 1893.

²³⁰Trustee Report, 1893, 34-35.

²³¹Ibid.

education of the children and in increasing the interest of our citizens in tree planting.²³²

By the end of the year 1,184 trees had been planted on school grounds under Mitchell's watchful eye.²³³

It was not only school children who were encouraged to plant trees but all Manitobans. Trees would increase the rainfall; provide fuel, lumber and shelter from summer frosts; and would make new settlers feel at home, having come from regions where trees were plentiful. "It is a public duty to make our broad land attractive to the strangers who come to us. Every one should feel bound to plant a tree a year. If this were done Manitoba would soon become a well wooded province."²³⁴ The following year another 1,800 trees were planted²³⁵ by the School Board which pointed out that:

This feature of the work is now recognized to be a valuable aid along the line of educative influences in forming correct taste among the pupils, a matter of no slight moment, and it adds so greatly to the

²³²"Improving The Schools," Manitoba Free Press, 16 March 1893. Many thanks to Murray Peterson for pointing out this article.

²³³Ibid.; School Board Minutes, 28 December 1893, 360.

²³⁴C. Blackett Robinson, Our Canadian Prairies: Being a Description of the Most Notable Plants of Manitoba; The Chief Noxious Weeds and How to Destroy Them; The Trees and Wild Fruit, Along With Arbor Day Exercises and Poems (Toronto, 1895), 102-103; see also George W. Ross, Patriotic Recitations and Arbor Day Exercises (Toronto, 1893), 319-374.

²³⁵Trustee Report, 1894, 29.

appearance of the grounds as to meet with the approval of the general public.²³⁶

Within a very short time, however, concern for landscaping of the school site was no longer expressed. There was some debate among the trustees regarding the sort of fences that should be used - i.e. wood or iron or none at all²³⁷ - but no conclusion was reached. This lack of emphasis on planting trees in school yards may have been due to a program of boulevarding and tree-planting undertaken in 1896 by the city's Parks Board (created in 1893) which resulted in over 12,072 trees being planted by 1905.²³⁸ Another reason for the change in attitude may simply have been that the playground took on more significance than that of creating an ideal pastoral setting. Among Mitchell's papers was found the following reflection:

Art in its highest sense consists in making everything look in accordance with the purpose to which it owes its being. School grounds are essentially spots in which the children are supposed and expected to play and if beautified after the nature of a park there will be a departure from true art with the result that they will neither be places of beauty nor serve the useful purpose for which they are intended. A flower garden and a boy playing

²³⁶Trustee Report, 1896, 55.

²³⁷Trustee Report, 1904, 33. For a description of suggested rural school grounds, see "Arbor Day Number," Educational Journal of Western Canada, IV, No. 2 (April 1902), 41-54.

²³⁸Artibise, Winnipeg, A Social History (1975), 268.

lacrosse are two antagonistic features and should hardly be considered in the same relation.²³⁹

Whether McIntyre agreed with this attitude is unknown but certainly public discussion of tree planting diminished.

Fire Safety: An Emerging Issue

Winnipeg's steadily increasing population meant that there was a chronic lack of sufficient accommodation for the number of pupils attending public schools. To keep up, a number of rooms were rented throughout the district to serve as temporary schools.²⁴⁰ In early December 1906 the trustees agreed with a recommendation of the Committee of Sites and Buildings that because of the ever increasing need for additional accommodation, particularly a new collegiate building, McIntyre and Mitchell should visit school facilities in Canada and the United States "to personally inspect... modern improvements and methods, as to construction, heating, sanitation, equipment of school buildings..."²⁴¹ While it was not stated as an objective of the tour, a concern for fire safety brought about by the San Francisco earthquake and resulting fire in April

²³⁹Provincial Archives of Manitoba, James Bertram Mitchell Correspondence and Newspaper Clipping Scrapbook, 1906-1915, MG 14 BP, 51.

²⁴⁰Ibid., 1906, 34.

²⁴¹School Board Minutes, 6 December 1906, 199.

1906 was to influence the thinking of the trustees for the next decade.

Summary

During the years from 1891 to 1906 the Winnipeg Division built eighteen schools based on a square plan, three storeys high, with wide central corridors and up to ten classrooms with an assembly hall in the top floor. In the early years various architectural firms were hired to produce drawings under the guidance of the Building and Supply Agent. The Board's Buildings Committee had developed a standard room layout so the only area of individual design provided to local architects was how they ornamented exterior doorways, windows and cornices. By 1901 Mitchell had taken over the responsibility for producing construction drawings from local architects and was supervising draftsmen in this task.²⁴²

²⁴²Architect David W. Bellhouse was hired to work as a draftsman to prepare plans for J.B. Somerset School. Trustee Report, 1901, 76.

CHAPTER FOUR: NEW CONCERNS - 1907-1919

The prosperity and rapid economic expansion that were evident at the turn of the century had a minor set-back in 1907 as rising interest rates and reports of an impending depression slowed down economic activity.²⁴³ By the end of 1908 a brief era of prosperity began which saw Winnipeg grow as an important administrative, cultural and retail centre.²⁴⁴ Ruben Bellan writes:

Prosperity and confidence in the future encouraged the construction of more permanent and more imposing business buildings and homes, while high fire insurance rates by underwriters on flimsy structures gave further impetus to high quality construction.²⁴⁵

While this prosperity was arrested in 1913 with the return of high interest rates and the start of the 1914 War, Winnipeg's student population throughout the period steadily increased, requiring the construction of many new school buildings. By 1919 the city's population had almost doubled, going from 101,057 in 1906 to 183,378 in 1919 (see Tables 5 and 6).²⁴⁶ The number of pupils enrolled also doubled with no decrease during the time that the city's population was

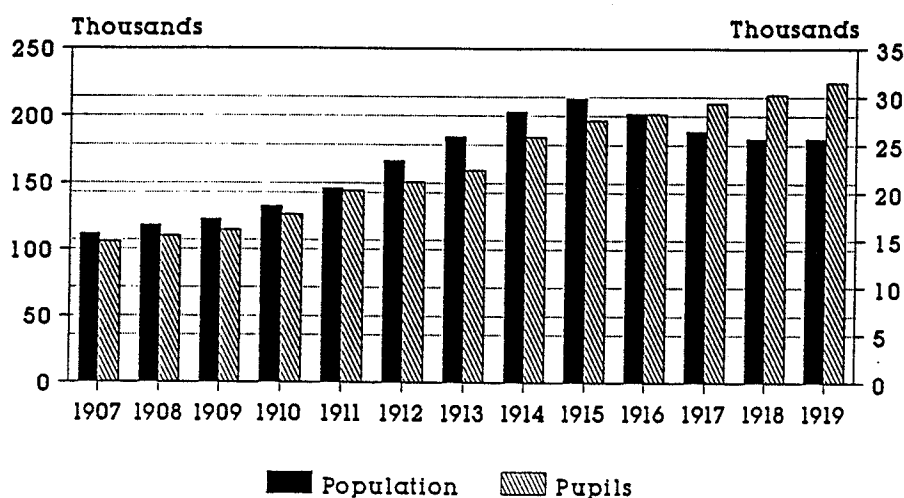
²⁴³Ruben Bellan, Winnipeg First Century: An Economic History (Winnipeg, 1978), 88-90.

²⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 94, 104.

²⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 105.

²⁴⁶The city's population had risen to 212,880 in 1915 only to fall to 183,378 in 1919 (see Appendix A).

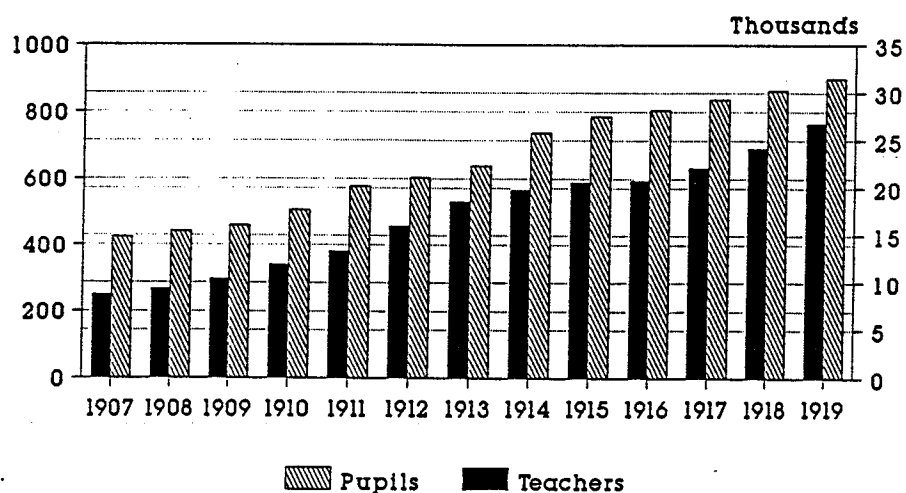
TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF WINNIPEG'S POPULATION AND
PUBLIC SCHOOL PUPILS, 1907-1919, INCLUSIVE

Source: Trustee Reports, City of Winnipeg Municipal Manuals

Note: Missing Values indicate no data is available.

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF WINNIPEG'S PUBLIC SCHOOL
PUPILS AND TEACHERS, 1907-1919, INCLUSIVE

Source: Trustee Reports, City of Winnipeg Municipal Manuals

Note: Missing Values indicate no data is available.

declining. The number of teachers employed increased by 3½ times going from 220 in 1906 to 766 in 1919. The demand for more classroom space led to construction of more than thirty new buildings, while existing schools were enlarged.²⁴⁷ Saunders describes the schools built during this time as "large, massively proportioned and extremely expensive."²⁴⁸ Furthermore he states that they shared a common plan but differed in their exterior architectural detailing.²⁴⁹

The Fire Safety Challenge

Two external factors also greatly influenced the form of Winnipeg's schools. The first was the San Francisco earthquake on April 18, 1906 when 310 lives were lost. Over 28,000 buildings were destroyed by fires that started from broken gas mains and could not be put out since numerous water mains were broken too. In Winnipeg, the Canadian Fire Underwriters Association reacted with alarm at the state of the water supply system and threatened immediately to raise fire insurance rates drastically if the Assiniboine pumping

²⁴⁷See Appendix B.

²⁴⁸Saunders, "A Survey of Manitoba School Architecture," (1984), 9.

²⁴⁹Ibid.

station were not fully manned and kept in readiness at all times.²⁵⁰

The second event occurred while Mitchell and McIntyre were touring the United States. Seventeen children died from asphyxiation when the two-storey brick Hochelaga School burnt down in Montreal.²⁵¹ The fire started around the furnace and quickly spread. A kindergarten class located on the second floor would not go down the smoke-filled interior stairway, and since there was no exterior staircase, the pupils and their principal were overcome. Exterior fire escapes had been ordered installed on the building the previous year.²⁵²

The outcome of these events on schools was dealt with by McIntyre and Mitchell on their return from the United States on 2 March 1907.²⁵³ The City had passed a by-law requiring that outside fire escapes be placed on all schools three storeys in height. At its meeting on 19 March 1907 the School Board authorized the Buildings Committee to award a contract to Northern Iron Works to install stair-type fire escapes on

²⁵⁰Winnipeg Telegram, 24 August 1906. By 1909 the James Avenue Pumping Station was completed but only served the downtown precinct; Bellan, Winnipeg First Century (1978), 106. See also Artibise, Winnipeg, A Social History (1975), 216-222.

²⁵¹The New York Times, 27 February 1907.

²⁵²Ibid.

²⁵³Trustee Report, 1907, 48. They had been away since 14 January 1907.

two sides of sixteen schools at a cost of \$12,284.00.²⁵⁴ The Board also approved a motion to request City Council to place fire alarms in all larger school buildings in order that no loss of time may occur in giving an alarm.²⁵⁵ Mitchell had to work quickly to prepare his investigative report, which was presented to the School Board on 14 May 1907.²⁵⁶ He pointed out that Americans regarded their schools with pride and viewed them:

as a medium through which those who in a few years are to guide the destiny and shape the future of their country will be trained even to a higher degree than those who preceded them to use to the best advantage the physical, mental, and moral gifts with which Providence has endowed them.²⁵⁷

Mitchell then went on to argue that because of these beliefs, Americans cheerfully and willingly spent the dollars required to have first-class buildings in regard to style, character, appearance and convenience.²⁵⁸

In terms of style, Mitchell concluded that the school building "should set an example in taste, simplicity, and quiet dignity

²⁵⁴Ibid., 46.

²⁵⁵School Board Minutes, 19 March 1907, 231.

²⁵⁶The Winnipeg Telegram, 15 May 1907.

²⁵⁷Trustee Report, 1907, 49.

²⁵⁸Ibid.

of form and design, and the amount of money required to produce this effect is considered to have been well spent."²⁵⁹ Moreover, school buildings in the United States were planned with adequate rooms for the principal, supervisors, teachers and a "restroom in the event of a pupil being taken suddenly ill."²⁶⁰ Rooms were also provided to teach children how to do things - domestic sciences for girls and manual and technical training for boys. For appropriate fenestration, windows were located so that daylight would fall over the left side of the student. It also was noted that the majority of lavatories were placed in the basements of U.S. schools.

Mitchell found that safety measures included buildings of either slow-burning or fireproof construction. In particular, stairs and exits should be of fireproof construction and wide enough to allow a building to be quickly emptied. Exterior fire escapes were deplored by Charles Snyder, the Superintendent for School Buildings in New York, since their use was not familiar to the child and a child would not go down an open stairway out of fear. Mitchell reported that the height of schools in the United States varied - some cities allowed a maximum of two storeys only; New York allowed up to six.

²⁵⁹Ibid., 50.

²⁶⁰Ibid.

Heating and ventilation were areas of much attention. Mitchell noted that air in a classroom should be heated to sixty-eight or seventy degrees Fahrenheit and fresh air should be provided to each child at the rate of thirty cubic feet per minute. He recommended indirect steam heating as the most appropriate method since it provided warm and ventilated air to each classroom. As well, radiators should be placed throughout buildings to supplement heated air from the basement. Mitchell also recommended that temperature control devices be installed in every classroom at approximately \$100.00 per room. In the U.S. this measure was considered to be a necessity.

Mitchell concluded his report by stating that:

There is nothing too good for the children, and it should be known, appreciated and remembered by every parent in this Dominion that education is more important than good streets, roads or sidewalks, and more public money should be spent to thoroughly equip the children for the battle of life, than is now being devoted to that purpose.²⁶¹

No time was wasted in applying what Mitchell had learned. Although the School Board was in a difficult financial situation and a number of temporary facilities had to be leased to keep up with the ever increasing school population, a site was purchased on Polson and Athole Avenue to erect

²⁶¹Ibid., 59.

Luxton School in memory of the late William F. Luxton, the city's first public school teacher.²⁶² Built at a cost of over \$75,000 based on a design by Mitchell, this building featured a new concern for fire safety. Its raised basement was covered in Tyndall stone, while the two-storey rectangular superstructure was of buff-coloured Manitoba pressed brick. The asymmetrical main facade was highlighted by a staircase with a projecting portico. A stone balustrade, similar to John M. King School, crowned the building. The main staircase led through two foyers with outward swinging doors into a main hall that was twenty feet wide by 120 feet long and used for physical exercises by the students.²⁶³ The ground floor featured six classrooms (approximately 26' by 28') on both sides of the hall; the principal's room and teachers' room were off the entrance hall.²⁶⁴ The second floor featured six classrooms, a teachers' room, restroom, and a supply room. The basement housed two classrooms, a manual training room, lavatories, boiler and fan room. Besides the reduction to two storeys and the wide hallways, new features included updated stairways at each end of the building, which were separated from the main halls by fireproof doors, and entrance

²⁶²Ibid., 43. Regulations for Ontario schools at this time can be found in J. George Hodgins, "School House Architecture and School House Accommodation," Historical and Other Papers and Documents Illustrative of the Educational System of Ontario, 1856-1872 (Toronto, 1911), 145-153.

²⁶³Ibid., 44.

²⁶⁴Building Permit No. 1729/1907, City of Winnipeg.

halls and stairways of fireproof construction, i.e. masonry walls covered in plaster. The heating and ventilation system, including "automatic temperature regulation," was based on Mitchell's observations in the United States and Eastern Canada.²⁶⁵

In March 1908 there was another devastating school fire that renewed concern about fire safety across North America. In Collingwood, Ohio, a suburb of Cleveland, the Lakeview School caught on fire March 4th, resulting in the death of 174 children and two teachers.²⁶⁶ The cause of the fire was determined to be overheated steam pipes in close proximity to wood joists that ignited.²⁶⁷ The high mortality rate was the result of inadequate fire protection in the construction of the building. The three-storey school had only one fire escape at the rear of the building; both main exit doors on the main floor opened inward; the rear door was locked; and the hallways were narrow and not fireproof.²⁶⁸

Shortly after this tragic event, the School Board went to the citizens of Winnipeg to seek approval for the issue of deben-

²⁶⁵Trustee Report, 1907, 44-45.

²⁶⁶The New York Times, 5 March 1908.

²⁶⁷Ibid., 11 March 1908.

²⁶⁸Ibid., 5 March 1908; 6 March 1908.

tures to a value of \$600,000.²⁶⁹ They pointed out that seventeen schoolrooms were rented throughout the city and twenty other classes were being held in halls, private houses, and above workrooms. The Weston and Elmwood areas were expanding and in need of facilities. Duncan Sinclair, the Chairman of the Buildings Committee, explained that to ensure that schools were safe from fire the cost of construction had to be increased, "but the greater value will have been received for the sum expended."²⁷⁰ Winnipeggers approved the expenditure, causing a Toronto-based journal to remark that "These figures will undoubtedly stagger our worthy taxpayers in the East, who are plainly of the opinion that such an expenditure on school structures is nothing short of wanton extravagance."²⁷¹

Mitchell now had sufficient monies to try alternatives to the unsatisfactory fire-escape stairs that were to be installed in all three-storey schools and to expand on fireproofing new schools as they were built. Although a contract had been awarded to Northern Iron Works to install two fire escapes at each school, this was not seen as a safe and effective solution.²⁷² The School Board experimented with an exterior

²⁶⁹Manitoba Free Press, 13 March 1908.

²⁷⁰Ibid.

²⁷¹Construction, I, no. 7 (May 1908), 25.

²⁷²Trustee Report, 1908, 45.

spiral fire escape that was being used by schools, hospitals, hotels and theatres in various American cities. Called the Kirker Bender Spiral Fire Escape, its slogan was "No Stampeding, No Stumbling, No Falling, Everybody Slides."²⁷³ A sample of this fire escape was manufactured in Winnipeg and placed at Carlton School.²⁷⁴ It was a perpendicular steel cylinder, thirty feet high and eight feet in diameter with a spiral slide on the interior. The cylinders were placed six feet from the wall and were accessible through an iron platform leading from the upper windows.²⁷⁵ This escape system satisfied the Board, the Provincial Fire Department, the City's building inspector, and most children - "The majority consider it [an] amusement and are anxious to come down the escape at every opportunity."²⁷⁶ The existing contract for the stairs was cancelled and the spiral fire escapes, manufactured in Winnipeg by Vulcan Iron Works, were installed at all three-storey schools at a total cost of \$30,000.²⁷⁷ Criticism of this system later came from the Toronto School Board which in 1909 was in the midst of controversy over fire safety in its buildings. The editor of Construction accused the Toronto

²⁷³The Western School Journal, VI, no. 2 (February 1911), n.p.

²⁷⁴School Board Minutes, 6 February 1908, 320.

²⁷⁵For an illustration see The Western School Journal, VI, no. 2 (February 1911), n.p.

²⁷⁶Trustee Report, 1908, 45.

²⁷⁷Ibid.

School Board of putting up poorly constructed three-storey buildings without any fireproof stairways, entrances or fire escapes because of insufficient funds to provide schools that were safe and properly equipped.²⁷⁸ The School Board replied that their schools were safe, and with proper and regular fire drills, there would not be any loss of life in the event of a fire.²⁷⁹ They rejected spiral fire escapes arguing that "children would be crushed to death in them."²⁸⁰ Mitchell quickly responded, pointing out that "under no circumstances which may arise, would there ever be a possibility of any children being crushed or even seriously injured, no matter how they came down."²⁸¹

With sufficient dollars for additional school buildings in Winnipeg, the Buildings Committee approved the hiring of two draftsmen to assist Mitchell to prepare plans for five schools built in 1908.²⁸² Riverview and Clifton schools were two-storey wood frame buildings, built for over \$8,000 each.²⁸³

²⁷⁸"Toronto's Shame," Construction, II, no. 12 (October 1909), 37.

²⁷⁹*Ibid.*, III, no. 1 (November 1909), 49.

²⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 45.

²⁸¹*Ibid.*, III, no. 2 (December 1909), 53.

²⁸²Ralph L. Smith and Charles R. Oldershaw prepared plans for a number of schools. School Board Minutes, 9 June 1908, 368.

²⁸³Manitoba Free Press, 9 November 1908; Trustee Report, 1908, 43.

They could accommodate 200 students in four classrooms and solved some of the overcrowding conditions.²⁸⁴ But it was Cecil Rhodes, Lord Selkirk and King Edward schools that featured the most up-to-date fireproof construction methods. These two-storey schools, each costing over \$60,000,²⁸⁵ had concrete foundations with rusticated stone bases on the ground floor and brick above. The layout of the buildings was the "Luxton plan" which featured a rectangular-shaped plan with classrooms on both sides of a well-lit, approximately nineteen-foot-wide main corridor. There were three exits out of the building with outward swinging fireproof doors. To reduce the risk of flames spreading through the school during a fire, the Buildings Committee pointed out:

The walls are lined with hollow tile on which the plaster is put, which prevents the possibility of fire following up the walls should one occur in the basement. The floors over the boiler room, fan room, and the manual training rooms, which are in the basement, are of reinforced concrete. The floors of stairways and landings throughout are reinforced concrete, and the stair iron. The electric wires are laid in conduits, the roof covered with metal, and every precaution which experience can suggest has been taken to lessen the danger from fire and make the schools as safe as possible. In connection with each lavatory in basement, the floors of which are tiled, shower baths are being installed for the convenience of the pupils, an idea which coming from Europe is fast gaining ground in America as a recognized necessity.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴Ibid.

²⁸⁵Appendix B.

²⁸⁶Trustee Report, 1908, 44.

For variety the three school buildings differed in the exterior detailing of their entrance porches and cornice treatment. King Edward School's main corridor was not as long as the others and formed a "U" shape to accommodate a smaller site.²⁸⁷

While Winnipeg was up-to-date in how it built safe schools, the rest of the country was just starting to bring in new safety measures. Construction, Canada's leading journal for architects, wrote that:

We have not only failed to make our school buildings fireproof, but either neglected or refused to make them safe in the least degree, through proper equipment in the matter of fire escapes, exits or fire-fighting apparatus.²⁸⁸

The periodical hired internationally known school architect William B. Ittner (1864-1936), the Commissioner of School Buildings in St. Louis, to prepare an article to enlighten Canadian architects on fireproof construction of schools.²⁸⁹ He had designed schools throughout the United States and had

²⁸⁷Building Permit No. 984/1908, City of Winnipeg.

²⁸⁸Construction, I, no. 8 (June 1908), 43.

²⁸⁹William B. Ittner, "Fireproof School Buildings," Construction, I, no. 8 (June 1908), 43-51. In January 1908 Mitchell's title was changed from Building and Supply Agent to Commissioner of Buildings and Supplies, School Board Minutes, 9 January 1908, 313.

gained renown for school architecture that combined beauty of design with plan efficiency.²⁹⁰ Ittner's article recommended construction techniques and layout that were already being used in Winnipeg, such as well-lighted, wide corridors, classrooms 24' x 32', two-storey buildings, fireproof construction (i.e. masonry interior walls, not timber), and thirty cubic feet per minute of fresh air per student.²⁹¹ On the exterior, he pointed out that in St. Louis schools "the effort has been to avoid the use of extravagant material and ornamentation and the straining for effect not justified by the function expressed in the plan."²⁹² This provided additional support for the types of plans approved by Winnipeg's Buildings Committee - i.e. for schools "with quiet dignity." Ittner also had an article published in Canada's Western School Journal which outlined many of the points already mentioned.²⁹³ Construction severely criticized Toronto's school buildings which were practically:

all three-storey structures, of what we might call simply cheap joist construction, and there is not one in the whole city that is equipped with fireproof stairways, fireproof entrances, or fire escapes of any kind whatever. Such a deplorable,

²⁹⁰Henry Withey and Elsie Rathburn Withey, Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased) (Los Angeles, 1956), 316-317.

²⁹¹Ittner, "Fireproof School Buildings" (1908), 43-48.

²⁹²Ibid., 46.

²⁹³William B. Ittner, "School Administration," The Western School Journal, III, no. 8 (October 1908), 277-280.

yes, almost criminal condition, obtains in no other city of its size on the American continent.²⁹⁴

Winnipeg schools received not only favourable consideration but also a feature article on J.B. Mitchell and his buildings. The editor pointed out that while being "impressed with the superior character of public school buildings being erected in Western Canada...Winnipeg is especially to be congratulated in the liberal, vigorous and wholesome manner in which they have undertaken to teach and house their school children."²⁹⁵ Winnipeg was praised for being a city that was a leader in North America in providing "the best possible accommodation in public school training."²⁹⁶ While the costs to the public were large:

The citizens of Winnipeg have shouldered their responsibilities with that true Western spirit...(and) have today,...the best constructed and the best equipped school buildings of any large city of Canada.²⁹⁷

The article reviewed Mitchell's findings in the United States and featured plans and elevations of a number

²⁹⁴"Toronto's Shame" (1909), 37.

²⁹⁵Ibid., 38.

²⁹⁶"Winnipeg School Building," Construction, III, no. 1 (November 1909), 65; see also "Schools of the West," The Western School Journal, IV, no. 11 (December 1909), 353.

²⁹⁷"Winnipeg School Building" (1909), 65.

of his schools. The latter were described architecturally as being:

very simple and unpretentious, the idea having been to eliminate everything in the way of useless and meaningless expenditures in superfluous decorative effects, but to give to the structure a quiet, simple dignity with an impressive appearance of massiveness and solidity.²⁹⁸

Mitchell was praised for his untiring efforts to provide Winnipeg with the best possible school buildings - "There is no official in Winnipeg who holds, to a greater extent, the esteem and confidence of the taxpayers, than does Mr. Mitchell."²⁹⁹

While there was praise from outside Winnipeg for the accomplishments in school design, within the city there were a few dissatisfied voices who felt that the buildings should

²⁹⁸Ibid., 69.

²⁹⁹Ibid., 70. The article then outlines his popularity in the city's commercial and social circles. He was past president of the Canadian Club of Winnipeg and vice-president of the Associated Canadian Clubs. "He is one of the many men you find in the West, who will stoutly put their shoulder to the wheel, in shaping the destiny of the 'West that is to be'." Mitchell's significance within the School Board bureaucracy can best be understood by looking at the salaries paid to the administration in 1914: Superintendent Daniel McIntyre - \$7,000; Commissioner of Buildings and Supplies J.B. Mitchell - \$5,000; Secretary-Treasurer R.H. Smith - \$4,500; Assistant-Superintendent D.M. Duncan - \$3,600. Trustee Report, 1914, 101.

be completely fireproof (i.e. with no wood construction).³⁰⁰ Mitchell was quick to reassure that all schools were safe and much safer than those in many other cities of North America.³⁰¹

The Evolution of School Design

Schools built in the following years continued in the "Luxton" plan but were larger, more massive and costly. La Verendrye School with fourteen classrooms cost \$83,000 to build;³⁰² Greenway No. 1, the largest school built up to 1909 with twenty classrooms, cost \$90,000.³⁰³ In addition to Ralph L. Smith and Charles R. Oldershaw who prepared drawings for Mitchell, Francis Henry Portnall, a British-trained architect, was hired to work in the office during 1909 and 1910 before moving to Regina.³⁰⁴ The increasing work-load resulted in Miss

³⁰⁰"City Officials Talk of Danger of Fire in the Schools," Winnipeg Telegram, 8 April 1910.

³⁰¹Ibid.

³⁰²"Schools System Growing Apace," Manitoba Free Press, 8 July 1909; "Winnipeg Schools - No. 23 La Verendrye," Manitoba Free Press, 10 November 1922.

³⁰³"Contract Let for Big New School," Manitoba Free Press, 28 July 1909.

³⁰⁴Trustee Report, 1909, 134-135; Ibid., 1910, 147-150. For his biography see Betty Barootes, Early Domestic Architecture in Regina: Presentation Drawings and Plans (Regina, 1982), 35-36.

M.J. Booth being promoted to the position of Office Assistant to Mitchell.³⁰⁵

The largest undertaking by the Building Commissioner's Office was the design and construction of western Canada's first technical schools. While the original intent had been to build a central technical school, after considerable debate it was determined to build two identical schools, one in the North End, the other in the South End.³⁰⁶ Portnall started preparing drawings for Kelvin Technical High School in February 1910, while the plans for St. John's were done in May with Oldershaw assisting.³⁰⁷ Tenders were quickly called and construction of St. John's was awarded to John Saul at \$299,750 for erection; C.L. Young Co., plumbing, \$15,545; and Standard Plumbing and Heating, heating and ventilation, \$35,650.³⁰⁸ Kelvin was to cost a little more - J.H. Tremblay Co., \$299,849 for erection; C.L. Young, plumbing, - \$15,914; and Cotter Bros., heating, \$35,497.³⁰⁹ Construction started in 1910, with the schools officially opening in the spring of

³⁰⁵Trustee Report, 1910, 56.

³⁰⁶"Winnipeg Schools: Kelvin Technical High," Manitoba Free Press, 11 December 1922; "Winnipeg Schools - St. John's Technical School," Manitoba Free Press, 12 December 1922; Trustee Report, 1910, 56.

³⁰⁷Trustee Report, 1910, 150.

³⁰⁸Ibid., 56.

³⁰⁹Ibid., 57.

1912.³¹⁰ With an enrolment of over 1,000 students each, the three-storey buildings were constructed of red brick with Tyndall stone accents (a marked contrast from the local yellow and greyish sand-lime brick used for schools up to this point).

The detailing of the main facade was similar in design to the schools built in 1909 such as La Verendrye and Aberdeen except for the return of a projecting central tower which was last seen on Somerset School (1901) and Alexandra School (1902). The 100-foot tower would remain a local landmark in the neighbourhood for many years. Each building contained the following rooms when built: in the basement there were two rooms, each 40' by 80', for use as a forge and machine shop; there were also three rooms, 40' by 80', for woodworking machinery, pattern shop and electrical shop; two rooms, 27' by 33', for mechanical drafting and plumbing work; dressing rooms for the gymnasium; a boiler room; four washrooms; and two offices for teachers.³¹¹ The ground floor contained an auditorium, gymnasium, eight classrooms (28' x 34'), science room, and four washrooms. The second floor held the balcony area of the auditorium, a running track over the gymnasium, five classrooms, a library, commercial classroom, a typing classroom, two teachers' restrooms, and washrooms. The third

³¹⁰Manitoba Free Press, 11 December 1922.

³¹¹Trustee Report, 1910, 57-58.

floor contained eight classrooms, a chemical laboratory, a physics laboratory, a museum, and two washrooms for the pupils. The buildings were erected to be as fireproof as possible with concrete floors, iron stairways and several fire escapes.³¹²

The change in the external appearance of these schools in the use of red brick indicates a departure from the visual image conveyed by a school building in the past. No longer a neighbourhood landmark, these two buildings were intended to convey a different message: one that showed a more international concern in the image of a school building. This notion was reflected in the remarks of George R. Coldwell, the Minister of Education, at the cornerstone laying of Kelvin School:

I believe that the educational system of Winnipeg and of the province compares favourably with any on the continent. The day is past when Manitoba looked to Ontario and the older eastern provinces for inspiration.³¹³

Laura Secord School, built in the West End in 1912 at a cost of over \$215,000, followed similar exterior design features as seen in the technical schools but was two storeys high and faced with sand-lime brick. The building contained twenty-

³¹²"School News: The Lord Kelvin High School," The Western School Journal, VII, no. 4 (April 1912), 145-146.

³¹³Manitoba Free Press, 5 October 1910.

six classrooms and an assembly hall. In plan it is nearly a square built around a large interior courtyard. The richness of Winnipeg's schools at this time can be seen in the attention to small details in this school - small plaques with the school's initials in the iron balustrades on the stairways; stained glass transom windows whose tradition goes back to schools of the 1890s; and the various uses of the school crest done in stained glass.

Four additional schools were started in 1912 and 1913, the largest being Isaac Brock School on Barratt Avenue, built for \$248,786 with thirty-two classrooms.³¹⁴ Their configuration and massing were consistent with the earlier schools, while the central tower, brought back with the technical schools, became a dominant motif.

A sudden depression in 1913 and the outbreak of World War I in August 1914 decreased but did not diminish the school building process. The pupil population was continuously rising during this time and the demand for additional classrooms usually necessitated new buildings as opposed to additions to existing structures.³¹⁵ Schools such as William Whyte, Earl Grey and King Edward No. 2, all built in 1914,

³¹⁴"Winnipeg Schools-No. 30 Isaac Brock," Manitoba Free Press, 20 November 1922; Manitoba Free Press, 26 July 1913.

³¹⁵Trustee Report, 1914, 67.

ranged in cost from \$120,000 to \$150,000. They were similar to existing schools in plan and construction, but differed from each other in exterior ornamentation.³¹⁶ King Edward School featured two distinct entranceways with matching towers on the ground floor, complemented by an interior staircase and exit doorways on the other side of the main corridor.³¹⁷

While there was a reluctance by school officials to build during the war "the attendance at the schools had largely increased, due...to the number of pupils enrolling who, under ordinary conditions, would have sought employment."³¹⁸ Additional space was also being leased.³¹⁹ Although it was School Board policy to keep all capital work at a minimum,³²⁰ local architect John D. Atchison was hired³²¹ to prepare plans for a building to be named "The Lord Nelson" that would contain six rooms immediately but would allow for a further addition to provide twenty-four.³²² Atchison, better known for his work on numerous commercial buildings in Winnipeg's central business district, was needed because Mitchell had

³¹⁶Ibid., 69.

³¹⁷Building Permit No. 591/1914, City of Winnipeg.

³¹⁸Trustee Report, 1915, 68.

³¹⁹Ibid., 71.

³²⁰Ibid., 1917, 87.

³²¹Building Permit No. 789/1917, City of Winnipeg.

³²²Department of Education, 1917-1918, 103.

become entangled in the war effort. In 1912 Mitchell was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in command of the 100th Winnipeg Grenadiers.³²³ When the war broke he took the 100th Battalion to Valcartier, then returned to Winnipeg to recruit more men. His dream was to lead a Grenadier Battalion in the Canadian Expeditionary Force. He was told that if he raised a battalion of one thousand men, he could lead them to France as a unit. Within three weeks his force was ready but he was informed he could not go. He reluctantly turned over the troops and proceeded again to raise another battalion which he did take overseas. At the end of the war he was appointed Brigadier of the 20th Infantry Brigade.³²⁴

While Lord Nelson School was under construction, the number of students kept increasing and overcrowding occurred in all schools. In an investigation of Winnipeg's schools, the Women's Civic League found a number of classes being held in dimly lit school basements; lack of proper egress from many of these rooms; and poor lighting conditions - all due to the lack of sufficient space.³²⁵ The League recommended that an additional number of schools be built to remedy the overcrowding in the lower grades, and that more

³²³Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg Grenadiers Collection, MAG C6-2, File 11, 1.

³²⁴Ibid., 2.

³²⁵"Winnipeg Has Few Show Schools," Manitoba Free Press, 5 October 1917.

attention be paid to the general upkeep of the buildings to eliminate unclean, dusty and unsafe conditions.³²⁶ To deal with the overcrowding, the Manitoba Free Press suggested that since it was "war time temporary, removable buildings might...be erected and utilized."³²⁷ With this kind of pressure the trustees went to the public in November 1917 and got approval to issue debentures of \$500,000 to provide new school buildings.³²⁸ The thirty-eight classrooms that were required could be placed in three new buildings and an addition to one school.³²⁹ Three local architectural firms - Herbert E. Mathews, Pratt and Ross, and Jordan and Over - were asked to prepare plans for an individual school. Tenders for the buildings were received totalling \$353,952.³³⁰ The Buildings Committee found the cost exorbitant and recommended that the "Building Commissioner's Department"³³¹ prepare plans for temporary one-storey buildings.³³² In July 1918 plans were

³²⁶"School Board Will Remedy Conditions," Manitoba Free Press, 18 October 1917; "Winnipeg Public Schools," The Winnipeg Telegram, 13 October 1917. Mitchell's whereabouts are not known at this time. In 1918 fifteen schools had all classrooms and halls painted by outside painters in order to catch up with the work, Trustee Report, 1918, 70.

³²⁷Manitoba Free Press, 10 October 1917.

³²⁸Department of Education, 1917-1918, 103.

³²⁹Trustee Report, 1918, 68.

³³⁰Ibid., 69.

³³¹Ibid.

³³²Ibid.

prepared for two temporary schools under Mitchell's architect's stamp.³³³ The schools cost \$26,000-\$37,000 to build. Ralph Brown and Cecil Rhodes No. 2 were erected as free-standing buildings with Winnipeg brick exterior walls resting on concrete footings which supported large reinforced concrete beams. Classrooms were on both sides of a 218-foot corridor that was seven feet wide.³³⁴ Heating was provided by steam (from a boiler room on the main floor); ventilation was provided by outside windows, transom windows into the hall, and through special ventilating shafts that connected to ventilators in the roof. The exterior was devoid of any ornamentation except for a small gable over the front doorway. Classrooms were 29' by 23'.³³⁵

In 1919 five more temporary schools containing six to eight rooms were quickly drawn up and construction started.³³⁶ These were similar to the 1918 temporary schools but had slight modifications.³³⁷ McIntyre boasted that they have "proved excellently suited for their purpose, and the cost of construction is below that of the more stately edifice of the

³³³Building Permit No. 880/1918, City of Winnipeg.

³³⁴Ibid.

³³⁵Ibid.

³³⁶Trustee Report, 1919, 60-61.

³³⁷Department of Education, 1918-1919, 108.

pre-war period."³³⁸ In plan, the one-storey schools were either rectangular with classrooms around a central corridor or "L" shaped with an entrance off the two wings. River Heights School (now called Robert H. Smith) on Oak Street presents itself as a neighbourhood structure of reddish brick with four classical columns pinpointing the main entrance. The building is of wood frame on reinforced concrete beams and footings. Heating was by a steam boiler in a small basement boiler room. To keep the costs down for the schools built in 1919, Sutherland Construction Company supervised their erection by day labour hired on a temporary basis.³³⁹

No records have been located that significantly expand our understanding of the approach to interior decoration in this era. Experts recommended that large amounts of sunlight should enter the classroom.³⁴⁰ Grey was recommended as the best colour for any classroom, while ceilings were to be white.³⁴¹ The schools in early 1920s continued to have

³³⁸Ibid.

³³⁹"Winnipeg Schools - No. 37 - River Heights," Manitoba Free Press, 28 November 1922; a local daily also pointed out that anarchy and discontent by returning soldiers could be prevented by providing new homes and jobs. Schoolhouses whose construction was delayed by the war should now be immediately built to provide jobs; see "U.S. Government Urges Construction," Manitoba Free Press, 8 March 1919.

³⁴⁰"School Administration," The Western School Journal, III, no. 3 (March 1903), 89.

³⁴¹Ibid.

embossed tin ceilings and burlap running 2'8" around the classroom with painted plaster above.³⁴² Framed prints and magazine illustrations not only improved the appearance of a room but could also be used to teach history and geography.³⁴³ This exposure to art was how teachers were "to try to cultivate in the child a taste for the beautiful, the cultured, and refined."³⁴⁴ Felice Hryniewiecki recommended that pictures, pressed leaves and flowers fill the room - "Exert your utmost powers to surround the children with the best and most appealing things in Nature, and the results will be indeed gratifying."³⁴⁵ As was described earlier, Laura Secord School with its attention to detail was certainly an attempt to surround the child with beauty. Isaac Brock School, built in 1913 just after Laura Secord, had framed pictures hung in the main corridor and classical statuary located against the walls.³⁴⁶

³⁴²Building Permit No. 809/1908; No. 499/1910, City of Winnipeg.

³⁴³N.A. Card, "Art Applied to Home and School," The Western School Journal, VII, no. 1 (January 1912), 5.

³⁴⁴Ibid., 7.

³⁴⁵Felice Hryniewiecki, "School Decoration in a Rural School," The Western School Journal, XII, no. 10 (December 1917), 403-404.

³⁴⁶Trustee Report, 1917, 55.

School Sites: Gardens, Playgrounds and Aesthetics

Although Mitchell was responsible for the physical plant and its furnishings, it was McIntyre who expressed his considerations about the school site. On his return from their investigative trip to the United States and Canada in 1907, McIntyre indicated that playgrounds were a topic of discussion in larger communities; the Philadelphia city council, for example, agreed to provide large sites for new schools if, in turn, part of the area could be used as a public playground.³⁴⁷

In 1911 the trustees granted permission to a variety of sporting clubs, such as tennis, football and lacrosse, to use the school grounds in the evening.³⁴⁸ In the summers the "Playgrounds Association" used the school grounds up to 6 p.m.³⁴⁹ In time not only were school grounds available for various public uses but the actual buildings themselves became centres for the local community for it was "The desire of the Board to keep fully abreast of the times."³⁵⁰ Boy scouts, teachers' associations, public meetings for elections, and

³⁴⁷"Superintendent Tells of American Schools," The Winnipeg Telegram, 12 June 1907.

³⁴⁸Trustee Report, 1911, 53.

³⁴⁹Ibid.

³⁵⁰Ibid., 1913, 59.

free public instruction were all given permission to use school buildings.³⁵¹

Within a short time there were questions about the use of grounds in the summer by adults.³⁵² Tensions occurred between the "Playgrounds Commission" and the various tennis clubs. It was the School Board's position that the greatest damage occurred to buildings that did not have any responsible organization assigned to a site, thus the tennis clubs were allowed to continue using the vacant grounds.³⁵³ Cutler points out that public use of school facilities gained popularity in the United States in the 1890s and by 1910 activities similar to those in Winnipeg were being organized.³⁵⁴ It was generally accepted that the "great social values" of democracy could be learned around a schoolhouse and thus help children become better citizens.³⁵⁵

School gardens were introduced to Winnipeg by William J. Sisler, the principal of Strathcona School, in about 1906.³⁵⁶

³⁵¹See Ibid., 59-60; 1914, 71-72; 1915, 72.

³⁵²Ibid., 1915, 70.

³⁵³Ibid., 71.

³⁵⁴Cutler, "Cathedral of Culture" (1989), 27-30.

³⁵⁵Ibid., 17-20.

³⁵⁶W.J. Sisler, "School Gardens," The Western School Journal, VII, no. 4 (April 1912), 113.

His efforts were based on a movement from central Canada whose "philosophy was towards bettering rural society through an improved rural schooling beginning at the primary level."³⁵⁷ Montreal philanthropist Sir William Macdonald, concerned over the quality of rural life, financially supported a limited program to establish school gardening and nature study.³⁵⁸ By 1907 in Ontario, this program along with the civic beautification movement resulted in the Ontario Department of Education "regularizing the school garden movement" in rural schools.³⁵⁹ Von Baeyer explains that school gardens taught citizenship, responsibility of ownership, respect for public property, consideration of the rights of others, and co-operation for the common good.³⁶⁰ Strathcona School (1904), located at McGregor, Burrows and Alfred streets, was attended by many non-English-speaking children.³⁶¹ They were not only taught to speak English, but also how to raise flowers and vegetables at home. The home gardens were inspected and marks assigned.³⁶² McIntyre firmly believed in the program:

³⁵⁷Edwinna von Baeyer, Rhetoric and Roses: A History of Canadian Gardening (Markham, 1984), 34.

³⁵⁸Ibid., 40.

³⁵⁹Ibid., 45.

³⁶⁰Ibid., 46.

³⁶¹"Winnipeg Schools-No. 17 Strathcona," Manitoba Free Press, 3 November 1922.

³⁶²Department of Education, 1908, 40.

The knowledge that it requires labour to produce wealth or to produce the necessities of life is of itself a valuable lesson, which, if learned early in life, through doing things, would bring about a more honest generation of men and women. Knowledge of nature is gained at first hand, and the thoughts are turned in the direction of useful work.³⁶³

Land for a school garden adjacent to Strathcona School was purchased in 1912.³⁶⁴ Here flowers, vegetables and shrubs were grown. The children also maintained the grounds around the school building which were "the most beautiful of any school in the city."³⁶⁵ No other school with a garden program has yet been found in Winnipeg.

Trustee interest in school grounds was also revived in 1912. Trees for planting were purchased from the Parks Board for \$2.00 each.³⁶⁶ A permanent gardener was hired and work was started to improve a number of grounds. In some country schools money prizes were awarded to the most beautiful site.³⁶⁷ The Winnipeg School Board formed "the Special Committee on Improvement of Grounds" in 1913 to ensure that

³⁶³Ibid., 41.

³⁶⁴"Winnipeg Schools-No. 17 Strathcona," Manitoba Free Press, 3 November 1922.

³⁶⁵Ibid.; see also W.J. Sisler, Peaceful Invasion (Winnipeg, 1944).

³⁶⁶Trustee Report, 1912, 47.

³⁶⁷"The Improvement of School Premises," The Western School Journal, VII, no. 7 (September 1912), 260.

sites were grassed and ornamental shrubs were planted along foundations and in selected planting beds.³⁶⁸ Trees were available from the Agricultural College in Winnipeg.³⁶⁹ Arthur A. Stoughton, an American architect who was the sole member of the Department of Architecture at the University of Manitoba in 1919, delivered a speech to the Manitoba school trustees about the necessity of art and beauty in education.³⁷⁰ He stated that young children should be surrounded by beauty in order that they:

may be led to recognize charm and grace and become responsive to the appeal of beauty in every aspect, form, colour, motion, music, whether in nature or art, that their taste may be cultivated to choose the lovely and turn from the unlovely.³⁷¹

Furthermore, he pointed out that the school building and its grounds "should be a training place in the manners and conduct appropriate to the stage of a child's growth, which will thus flower later in proper manners and conduct for the adult."³⁷²

³⁶⁸Trustee Report, 1913, 60; Ibid., 1914, 70; see illustrations of grounds of Kelvin Technical School and Greenway School in Ibid., 1915, 31, 33.

³⁶⁹"Improving School Grounds," The Western School Journal, XII, no. 10 (December, 1917), 393.

³⁷⁰Arthur Alexander Stoughton, "The Larger View of Art in Education," Report of the Manitoba School Trustees (February 1919), 20-23.

³⁷¹Ibid., 20.

³⁷²Ibid., 212. See also Edwinna von Baeyer, "The Battle Against Disfiguring Things: An Overview of The Response By Non-Professionals to The City Beautiful Movement in Ontario (continued...)"

"Canadianizing the Foreigner"

The large number of eastern European immigrants that came to western Canada after 1897 caused great concern to British-Ontarians who had worked hard to establish Winnipeg as city with English traditions.³⁷³ The city's leaders realized that the public school system would be the most important tool in assimilating the children of the "foreigner" to grow up to be model British subjects.³⁷⁴ Mitchell, as president of the Winnipeg Canadian Club in 1908, expressed his British sentiments:

Hail to the day when the Britons came over,
And planted their standard with sea-foam still wet,
Around and above us their spirits still hover,
Rejoicing to mark how we honour it yet,
We'll honour it yet, we'll honour it yet,
The flag of Old England! we'll honour it yet!

Hon. Joseph Howe³⁷⁵

³⁷²(...continued)
From 1880 to 1920," Bulletin, Society For The Study of Architecture in Canada, XI, no. 4 (December 1986), 3-9.

³⁷³See Artibise, Chapter 11, "The Immigrant Problem: Education and Assimilation," Winnipeg, A Social History (1975), 195-206.

³⁷⁴Artibise, Winnipeg: An Illustrated History (1977), 46.

³⁷⁵Provincial Archives of Manitoba, James Bertram Mitchell Correspondence and Newspaper Clipping Scrapbook, 1906-1915, MG 14 BP, n.p. Mitchell was elected vice-president of the Lord's Day Alliance held in Toronto in 1911 and stated that the best way to Canadianize foreigners was to make them keep the Sabbath, Montreal Witness, 17 January 1911.

Sisler wrote that the presence of the foreigner "creates new problems of national importance, in which...the school must play a leading part in converting these people into British subjects."³⁷⁶ Thus when the Winnipeg School Board went to the electorate in 1908 asking for \$600,000 to expand some schools and also build new ones, the request was easily approved. James A. McKerchar, Board Chairman, described how the trustees spent many evenings debating how to deal with the growing school population. He added: "Winnipeg is now the third city in the Dominion, more than any other, she has before her the problem of Canadianizing the pupils' diverse traditions and ideals, and I am confident that the public spirit of her citizens will be equal to her opportunity and obligations."³⁷⁷ Thus along with a concern for fire, beauty and health, and before compulsory education was introduced in Manitoba in 1916, it was believed that "Canadianizing the foreigner" was just as important a concern and one that could be assisted by the school building itself. Attracting children to the public school by having a building that was "commodious...well warmed, well lighted and ventilated and properly equipped" became an important consideration.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁶W.J. Sisler, "The Immigrant Child," The Western School Journal, I, no. 3 (March 1906), 4.

³⁷⁷"School Needs Put Before The Public," Manitoba Free Press, 13 March 1908.

³⁷⁸School Management Committee Report (1914), quoted in "Public School Education in Winnipeg," Souvenir of Winnipeg's Diamond Jubilee (1924), 65.

That the most dignified and most substantial building in the neighbourhood should exist for the purpose of caring for their children and educating them in the elements of useful knowledge free of direct charge, is outstanding evidence to the newcomer that the country to which they have come means well by them.³⁷⁹

While Mitchell was designing school buildings that were "dignified" and "inviting", the Liberal government of Manitoba passed the School Attendance Act in 1916 which required compulsory education for all children between the ages of seven and fourteen.³⁸⁰ A review of the number of pupils reveals that enrolment steadily grew till 1931 without any major increases in population after 1917.³⁸¹ It may be that other factors besides dignified schools and compulsory education may have made a difference in school attendance in Winnipeg. Hryniuk and McDonald point out that many Ukrainian immigrants to Manitoba came with a tradition of public education³⁸² and their language press encouraged adults and children to learn the English language and a trade.³⁸³

³⁷⁹Ibid.

³⁸⁰Statutes of Manitoba, 1916, Chapter 97.

³⁸¹Appendix A.

³⁸²Stella M. Hryniuk and Neil G. McDonald, "The Schooling Experience of Ukrainians in Manitoba, 1896-1916," Schools In The West: Essays in Canadian Educational History, ed. Nancy M. Sheehan, J. Donald Wilson, David C. Jones (Calgary, 1986), 156.

³⁸³Ibid., 160.

Accurate figures establishing the number of attending Ukrainian school children are not known. Overall, however, the number of children enrolling as 1919 drew to a close was steadily increasing, creating even greater demand for new facilities.

Summary

In essence, this era was the most challenging for Mitchell and McIntyre. They had to respond to a rapidly growing school population, the threat of increasing fire insurance rates, the growing concern over the vast numbers of eastern European immigrants, and the new ideals of the city beautiful movement.

Their response was based on the willingness of Winnipeg's citizens to gamble on a prosperous future, a future that would have the city as one of the top three urban centres of Canada. Large, prestigious schools with the most modern features and construction methods were consistent with this goal. Using standards based in the United States, the School Board administration broke away from its eastern Canadian roots and emulated larger American cities in school construction. The attitude of the trustees seems best illustrated by William A. McIntyre's closing remarks at the laying of the cornerstone of the St. John's Technical School:

When a certain school in Massachussetts was being opened for moral delinquents this great speaker, (Horace Mann) in referring to it, said that though the cost was great, not less than a quarter of a million dollars, it would be justified if it meant the salvation of one soul from sin and crime. When called to task for extravagance of statement and if that were not a high price to place upon the soul of any one boy, he made the most significant remark, "It is not extravagant, if it were my boy."³⁸⁴

³⁸⁴W.A. McIntyre, "The Technical High School," The Western School Journal, V, no. 9 (November 1910), 298. William McIntyre was the principal of the Provincial Normal School.

CHAPTER FIVE: THEIR FINAL YEARS - 1920-1928

The early 1920s was a time of agricultural depression: Winnipeg's dominance over the western Canadian economy was weakened for a number of reasons - an increase in Vancouver's status as a distribution centre after completion of the Panama Canal; loss of the city's freight rate privileges; and the rise of national mail order houses.³⁸⁵ Unemployment increased in the city. Matters became worse as a new provincial income tax was introduced by the newly elected Bracken government; the gasoline tax was also increased to pay for the deficits incurred by the former Norris government.³⁸⁶ Winnipeggers were uneasy about the future, and were "worn down by a long period of discouragement."³⁸⁷ In 1925 there was an increase in prosperity and a renewed optimism about the future. Even Premier Bracken predicted that Winnipeg's population would grow by 100,000 people in the next five years.³⁸⁸

For the Winnipeg School Division, this was a period of juggling continued demand for new facilities with pressures for financial restraint. From 1920 to 1928, the city's population rose by only 2.7% but the number of students

³⁸⁵Bellan, Winnipeg First Century (1978), 153-158.

³⁸⁶W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto, 1967), 381-386.

³⁸⁷Margaret McWilliams, Manitoba Milestones (Toronto, 1928), 211.

³⁸⁸Bellan, Winnipeg First Century (1978), 185.

enrolled increased by 17% and the number of teachers went up by 12% (see Tables 7 and 8).³⁸⁹ Sixteen schools were built and a number of other facilities were expanded as a result - structures that reflected both the challenges of the time and the Division's own transition. Schools began to show a different face to the community as new people and ideas came to the fore.

A New Architectural Influence

In 1920 the trustees were still faced with an insufficient number of classrooms. To overcome the demand for space, classes were held in auditoriums, in corridors, and in rented rooms of buildings close to existing schools.³⁹⁰ The sale of \$1,500,000 in Division debentures was authorized by Winnipeggers to ensure that sufficient elementary classrooms would be provided and that the design of a new Central Collegiate would be started.³⁹¹ Colonel John N. Semmens (1880-1961) was hired as a consulting architect to the Department of Buildings and Supplies to quickly provide drawings for the seven schools to be built in 1920.³⁹² Semmens was born in 1880 in Toronto, the son of Rev. John Semmens, a pioneer Methodist minister and

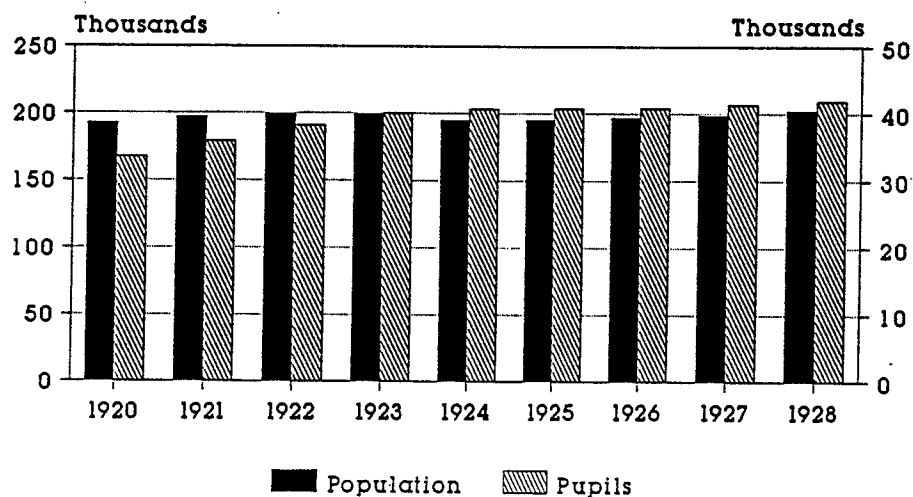
³⁸⁹Appendix A.

³⁹⁰Department of Education, 1920-1921, 120.

³⁹¹Trustee Report, 1920, 33.

³⁹²Ibid., 60-61.

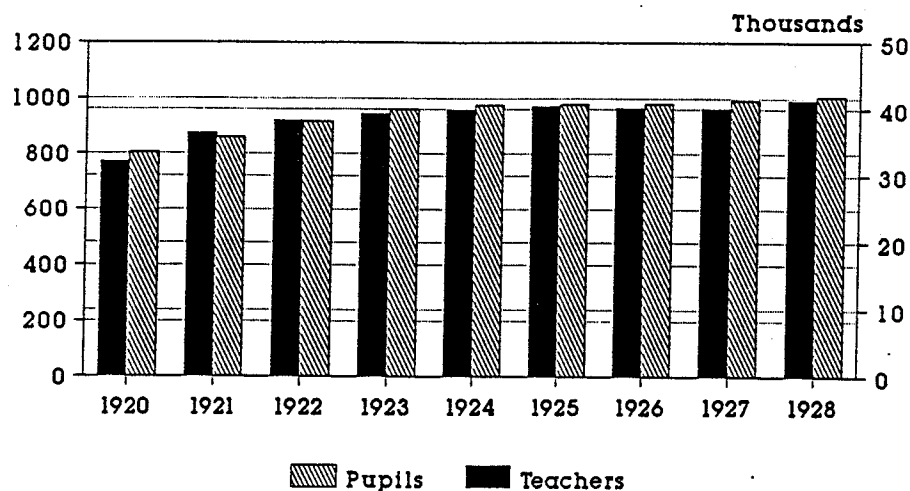
TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF WINNIPEG'S POPULATION AND
PUBLIC SCHOOL PUPILS, 1920-1928, INCLUSIVE

Source: Trustee Reports, City of Winnipeg Municipal Manuals

Note: Missing Values indicate no data is available.

TABLE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF WINNIPEG'S PUBLIC SCHOOL
PUPILS AND TEACHERS, 1920-1928, INCLUSIVE

Source: Trustee Reports, City of Winnipeg Municipal Manuals

Note: Missing Values indicate no data is available.

Indian missionary in Manitoba. J.N. Semmens graduated from Wesley College, then received an architectural degree from the University of Pennsylvania.³⁹³ He was practising architecture in Winnipeg by 1910, designing a number of large residences and modest warehouses.³⁹⁴ In 1912 Semmens was given the rank of Lieutenant in the 100th Regiment, Winnipeg Grenadiers, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel J.B. Mitchell.³⁹⁵ In 1915 Semmens went overseas as Second-in-Command of the 78th Battalion and became its Commanding Officer in 1917.³⁹⁶ On his return from the war it seems fairly natural that Mitchell, who was getting on in years (being 68 years old in 1920), would recommend Semmens as a temporary assistant.

Within a year the seven schools were designed, built and opened. They were called a "bungalow type" since they were all one storey with a raised second-storey portion to hold an assembly hall and visually "to set up the building and relieve the squatty appearance."³⁹⁷ The structures were similar in plan to Mitchell's temporary schools of 1918 and 1919 but the latter facilities were very plain and finished in a light

³⁹³Winnipeg Free Press, 5 November 1961.

³⁹⁴Permit Records, City of Winnipeg, 1910-1914.

³⁹⁵Winnipeg Tribune, 30 November 1912.

³⁹⁶Winnipeg Free Press, 5 November 1961.

³⁹⁷"Winnipeg Schools-No. 40-General Wolfe," Manitoba Free Press, 1 December 1922.

coloured brick, while Semmens as a trained architect brought with him the knowledge of exterior ornamentation. Flemish gables, arcades, classical porticos, and cupolas became part of a new vocabulary as the Division pursued its architectural mission - to ensure its buildings looked like schools. The exterior coloration also changed. Throughout his design career Mitchell had used buff-coloured clay brick or a grey-coloured sand-lime brick to clad the external walls of many of the schools. Made of sand and lime, these bricks were hardened through the action of steam and pressure, becoming a warm grey tone that allowed the city's schools to visually fit into the stucco and wood-frame neighbourhoods of Winnipeg.³⁹⁸ Semmens used an imported red tapestry brick from Ontario, applying the local sand-lime brick as backing.

The schools of 1920 were permanent, built to last, and built with less concern for cost. They were all erected by day labour, with the school division supplying the material and hiring a contractor to manage the construction.³⁹⁹ The vast majority of schools built between 1910 and 1919 cost between 17.6 cents and 23 cents per cubic foot.⁴⁰⁰ Semmens's schools

³⁹⁸"The Texture And General Qualities of Sand-Lime Brick," Construction, III, no. 12 (November 1910), 85-92.

³⁹⁹Trustee Report, 1920, 60.

⁴⁰⁰This includes Laura Secord built for over \$208,000 and Isaac Brock built for \$240,000. William Reavis, Report of the Directed Self Survey: Winnipeg Public Schools, Vol. II, Chapter 4 (September 1948), 2-4.

cost considerably more - between 30 cents and 47.6 cents per cubic foot,⁴⁰¹ reflecting their smaller size and post-war increases in building material costs.⁴⁰²

In 1921 four more new schools were opened. Three were a bungalow style but their exteriors were much more severe and, for the first time, all the schools looked the same on the inside and the outside. Semmens explained that as an architect he was frustrated by the limited dollars available and had to take into account the functions of a school building, including as a community centre. "Against his better judgement, the architect is forced to condense plans and build types that in his heart he loathes."⁴⁰³ To deal with all this Semmens had to "assume respect for common materials - form, colour, shadow."⁴⁰⁴ In plan the one-storey schools built in 1921 were similar to Mitchell's rectangular schools with a wide central corridor flanked by classrooms. To further reduce cost Semmens developed his own system for the foundations of concrete posts and beams.⁴⁰⁵ All these schools were of red brick with Tyndall stone trim. Although the roof was

⁴⁰¹Ibid.

⁴⁰²Bellam, Winnipeg First Century (1978), 158.

⁴⁰³J.N. Semmens, "Typical Schools of Western Canada," The Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, IV, no. 11 (November 1927), 401.

⁴⁰⁴Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵Ibid., 406.

flat, a parapet with small gables defined the doorways and pointed Tyndall stone arches over the entrance doors gave the buildings a studied ornamentation - simplified Collegiate Gothic, a style that was understood by architects to mean educational structure.⁴⁰⁶ At this time no mention was made of construction techniques to reduce fire. Cost of the schools ranged between 31 cents and 33.79 cents per cubic foot.⁴⁰⁷ The Western Canada Contractor and Builder in describing one of these schools reported that J.B. Mitchell, Commissioner of School Buildings, "is the supervisor of construction."⁴⁰⁸

Semmens favoured these long narrow one-storey schools as long as they held less than eight classrooms.⁴⁰⁹ If they were to be larger he designed them to be two storeys in height, still using a Collegiate Gothic style but with much more ornament on the exterior. Isaac Newton Junior High School (1921) and Daniel McIntyre Collegiate Institute (1922) typify Semmens's

⁴⁰⁶For background on Gothic in educational buildings, see Marcus Whiffen and Frederick Koeper, American Architecture Volume 2, 1860-1976 (Cambridge, Mass., 1983) 286-291; R.A. Cram, "The Philosophy of The Gothic Restoration, 1913," America Builds: Source Documents in American Architecture and Planning, ed. Leland M. Roth (New York, 1983), 454-465.

⁴⁰⁷Reavis, Directed Self Survey (1948), 2-4. The price of lumber in Winnipeg declined by 40% by November 1921 from May 1920; Bellan, Winnipeg First Century (1978), 162.

⁴⁰⁸"One of Winnipeg's New One-Storey Schools," Western Canada Contractor and Builder, XVIII, no. 12 (December 1921), 20.

⁴⁰⁹Semmens, "Typical Schools" (1927), 406.

approach to school architecture. Stylistically they show his academic knowledge of ornament that cloaked Winnipeg's new schools in the same attire as most schools across North America. They were not like Mitchell's schools that showed a local response to local ideals.

Isaac Newton was built to accept junior high students in the North End. Seventy-five per cent of the students entering the school were of non-English speaking parents.⁴¹⁰ William J. Sisler, formerly at Strathcona School, was appointed principal.⁴¹¹ A wealth of ornament greets the eye on the exterior of the building. The symmetrical facade features entrances that contain staircases leading to the upper floors. A thirteen-foot-wide corridor has 24' by 28' classrooms on both sides. The plan of the building is a "C" shape.⁴¹² Semmens pointed out:

It is constructed of a semi-fireproof type with fireproof corridors and outside walls - the balance of the building being of frame construction. The outside is treated with tapestry brick and Tyndall limestone, and the roof is covered with variegated coloured slate.

⁴¹⁰"Winnipeg Schools-No. 42 Isaac Newton," Manitoba Free Press, 4 December 1922.

⁴¹¹Ibid.

⁴¹²Building Permit No. 783/1921, City of Winnipeg.

Modestly Semmens added:

An attempt is always made in any of the schools which I have designed to get outside light into the main corridors, and you will notice how this has been done successfully in connection with this school.⁴¹³

In the spring of 1922 work finally started on Daniel McIntyre Collegiate, a building that Semmens was hired to design in 1920. Calling it "probably the most important school construction in the West,"⁴¹⁴ Semmens explained that the original structure was to be four storeys "built somewhat after the layout of some of the larger schools in the south."⁴¹⁵ As it was being designed, however, there was public outcry over Winnipeg's taxes. The School Board reacted quickly - less costly local suppliers were found to produce school desks that previously were manufactured in eastern Canada,⁴¹⁶ school attendance was better monitored to ensure that "educational facilities are not wasted through the carelessness and indifference of parents,"⁴¹⁷ numerous statistics were presented that showed that Winnipeg's schools cost less per classroom than other cities in the United States and Canada, and the plans

⁴¹³Semmens, "Typical Schools" (1927), 411.

⁴¹⁴Ibid., 406.

⁴¹⁵Ibid.

⁴¹⁶Trustee Report, 1922, 8.

⁴¹⁷Ibid., 5-6, 8.

for the Collegiate were scaled down. To Semmens it was "rather pleasing in its simplicity of design."⁴¹⁸

The scaled-down plans presented the school as a series of buildings around a central quadrangle. These various attached structures were to be connected by a wide corridor. The buildings were to be: an Academical Building with twenty-two classrooms; a Science Building; a gymnasium; an assembly hall; and a technical training building.⁴¹⁹ The main facade was to feature an elaborate English Gothic tower with a crenellated parapet.⁴²⁰ When the tender prices come in, the trustees were shocked. The lowest tender was \$788,279.⁴²¹ It was decided to only build the Academical Building, Science Building and half the technical training building for about \$484,000.⁴²² By the time the facility was nearing completion in December 1922, its cost had escalated to \$525,000.⁴²³

Three new schools were built in 1922 - Faraday and Grosvenor were designed by Semmens, while David Livingstone School may

⁴¹⁸Semmens, "Typical Schools" (1927), 408.

⁴¹⁹"Something New In School Construction," The Contract Record and Engineering Review, XXXVII, no. 1 (January 1923) 18-19.

⁴²⁰Building Permit No. 287/1922, City of Winnipeg.

⁴²¹"Something New" (1923), 19.

⁴²²Ibid.

⁴²³Trustee Report, 1922, 8.

have been Mitchell's last school design. Two storeys in height, all were ornamented in a restrained manner with Collegiate Gothic detailing and a small gable to identify the entranceway. Faraday School had classrooms on both sides of a fourteen-foot-wide main corridor that turned to become an "L" shape.⁴²⁴ To keep costs down, Semmens did not provide full basements but instead used concrete footings and beams. Only the furnace area was excavated. Semmens recalled:

Health, economy and efficiency were the main factors...All occupied space was above grade and only sufficient basement was provided for mechanical equipment. Toilets were as well lighted as classrooms, and the plumbing beneath them was accessible at all times...I found that...the most expensive accommodation was that in the basement, and, by developing a system of construction on concrete post and beams, I found a remarkable decrease in the cost of construction per classroom.⁴²⁵

These cost-cutting measures were not enough. In 1923 Travers Sweatman wrote a series of articles in which it was asserted that School Board's expenses were too high - the cost per pupil in 1913 was \$46.50 while in 1921 it had climbed to \$89.65.⁴²⁶ Travers also explained the administrative staffing

⁴²⁴Building Permit No. 1572/1922, City of Winnipeg.

⁴²⁵Semmens, "Typical Schools" (1927), 406.

⁴²⁶Travers Sweatman, "Saving on Education Possible If Present System Is Improved," Winnipeg Tribune, 3 March 1923. Sweatman also provided reasons for the increasing school attendance, while there was a decreasing population: Many people who left did not have families; the city had many young couples who were raising families; and compulsory education (continued...)

of the Division, including the Department of Buildings and Supplies which had a commissioner, chief clerk, supervisor of repairs, clerk of supplies, two stenographers, and an additional clerk costing a total of \$16,500 in 1922.⁴²⁷ Arthur Congdon, Chairman of the Board, countered that the trustees had been extremely prudent in the expenditure for new school construction which stood between \$6,000 and \$7,000 per classroom while other cities in Canada were spending \$8,000 to \$15,000.⁴²⁸

In 1925 the continuing increase in school population required that Faraday School, just built in 1922, be expanded by ten rooms and that a new school, the "Gordon Bell Junior High" (now called Mulvey School), be constructed.⁴²⁹ Local architect Cyril W.U. Chivers was hired to design an "L" shaped school to accommodate a lot that had an apartment block in one corner.⁴³⁰ Chivers followed the prototype established by Semmens: a two-storey building of red tapestry brick and Tyndall stone, with a foundation of reinforced concrete posts

⁴²⁶(...continued)
was being better enforced. Scarcity of jobs may have been another reason.

⁴²⁷Travers Sweatman, "Sweatman Shows Cost of Auxiliary Services in Winnipeg Schools," Winnipeg Tribune, 8 March 1923.

⁴²⁸Trustee Report, 1923, 9.

⁴²⁹Western School Journal, XX, no. 7 (September 1925), 464.

⁴³⁰Semmens, "Typical Schools" (1927), 412.

and beams. It contained twenty classrooms, two domestic science rooms and a laboratory. A combination auditorium and gymnasium were located on the main floor.⁴³¹ The exterior was much more subdued; there was little surface decoration except for a Gothic doorway and a simple crenellation where a gable motif would have been on Semmens's schools. This form would eventually be called "Modern Gothic".

No additional schools were built in the next four years. Semmens's work with the division had suddenly ended in 1922 and Mitchell was looking forward to shortly retiring.

The colour finishes of school interiors are not known but white ceilings and tinted walls in pale shades of blue or green were highly recommended.⁴³² Decorative calendars, pictures from magazines and a tidy teacher's desk would make the classroom "as a home beautiful for the pupils..." which should "...not only attract them but it should influence their acts and turn their thoughts toward an appreciation of the beauties of art and nature."⁴³³ In the United States it became fashionable to have classrooms designed in themes such as an English room done up to look like a room at the time of

⁴³¹Ibid.

⁴³²B. Wood, "The School Room Beautiful," The Western School Journal, XV, no. 5 (May 1920), 187-188.

⁴³³Ibid.

Shakespeare or a foreign language room to look like the Roman Forum,⁴³⁴ but this was never done in Winnipeg.

Support for Beautification Wanes

In 1921 the Special Committee on Improvement of Grounds that was established by the School Board in 1913 explained that because the city was "an unnatural existence for mankind and tends to decrease man's physical and mental wellbeing", city parks were established along with beautiful school grounds to exercise

an unconscious influence throughout the neighbourhood in fixing tastes and standards, which find expression in the greater regard given by the individual citizen to the improvement of the grounds surrounding his home.⁴³⁵

Under the committee's direction and the general supervision of the Superintendent of City Parks, numerous school grounds were levelled and seeded; flower beds were planted; ampelopsis vines were planted at the front and ends of some schools; and

⁴³⁴John A. McNamara, "Building Requirements for Modern Schools," American Builder, XCVIII, no. 2 (November 1929), 79. The author also points out that the cost of schools being built in the United States was averaging 62½ cents per cubic foot (page 75) while Gordon Bell Junior High was built for 31.18 cents per cubic foot (Reavis, Directed Self Survey (1948), 3).

⁴³⁵Trustee Report, 1921, 93. This Committee operated until the outbreak of the war, then resumed in 1919. (Ibid., 1922, 9.)

trees were planted around schools and fields.⁴³⁶ For example, Wolseley School was built on land that had a creek running through it and whose banks were used as a garbage dump. After the grounds were improved, a local paper reported:

Magnificent beds of old fashioned flowers chosen with an eye to the blending of colours and the wealth of blossoms, patterns the emerald lawn, which spreads itself beneath the windows of the Wolseley School. A dozen varieties and a hundred hues commingle there and the rusty red of the one-storey school serves as a colourful background.⁴³⁷

The increasing amount of lawns, flower beds and shrubs that were placed around each school meant that at some time the School Board's gardener and his men would have to receive additional funds to keep up with the beautification program. As this era was one of financial accountability and restraint, the maintenance of the grounds and gardens was turned over to the school janitor, while the gardener looked after new plantings and general supervision.⁴³⁸ Slowly interest in beautiful school grounds waned and by 1930 it was reported that "maintenance of school grounds and buildings has been carried on by a staff of carpenters, electricians, painters

⁴³⁶For illustrations of schools before and after beautification, see Ibid., 92 and 97.

⁴³⁷Trustee Report, 1924, 4.

⁴³⁸Ibid., 13.

and sundry workmen."⁴³⁹ There was no mention of gardeners, no mention of flower beds, only the increasing repairs required to some aging buildings.

Close of An Era

James W. Chafe observed that:

The year 1928 might well be regarded as a high point, the end of an era, in the story of the school system. Within a year the intensive building program practically ended: there were fewer schools erected in the next 20 years than in many a single year since 1913. The enrolment in 1928 was nearly 42,000, the highest (except for 1931) until 1956, and the teaching staff numbered 993, nearly double that of 1913.⁴⁴⁰

It was also the end of an era because the "master architect of the system, Dr. McIntyre,"⁴⁴¹ and the architect of its schools, J.B. Mitchell, retired. McIntyre had spent fifty-five years in educational work, forty-three as Superintendent of Education in Winnipeg.⁴⁴² Mitchell had spent thirty-six years as Commissioner of Buildings and Supplies. P. Bruce Scott, the Assistant Commissioner of Buildings, assumed Mitchell's position until February 1929 when William A.

⁴³⁹Ibid., 1930, 64.

⁴⁴⁰Chafe, An Apple For The Teacher (1967), 110.

⁴⁴¹Ibid., 112.

⁴⁴²Department of Education, 1928-1929, 103.

Martin, a teacher at Kelvin High School, was given the Building Commissioner's duties. Scott was appointed Commissioner of Supplies but left the School Division in September.⁴⁴³

Summary

In essence this period was one of economic turmoil and rising prices and taxes. As despair spread through the province, Winnipeggers began to question the cost of education, including the number of new schools and their costs.

The school population kept rising due to a number of factors - lack of jobs; compulsory education; and attractive school buildings - which meant that there was a constant struggle to keep up with the demand for additional space. The challenge to design prudent yet beautiful buildings was given to John N. Semmens, a local architect and military acquaintance of James B. Mitchell. Semmens adapted Mitchell's temporary bungalows to be permanent structures using concrete footings and reinforced concrete beams to support the building with no basement. Semmens was an architect trained in the United States and was familiar with the language of architecture where certain types of buildings required certain exterior motifs to identify their use. Thus the city's schools changed

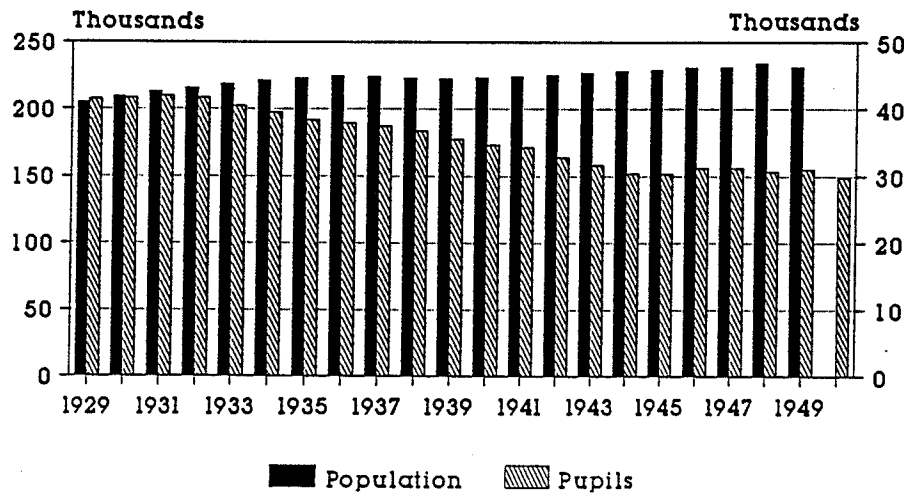
⁴⁴³Trustee Report, 1929, 63.

from massive but compatible neighbourhood structures to buildings which were Gothic fortresses - the "cathedral of learning".⁴⁴⁴

Standards for fireproof school construction had already been established and there was less concern over the quality of the interior space due to limited budgets. This time of financial restraint also frustrated the program for school ground beautification as monies were not available to properly maintain large flower beds, shrubs and lawns. Thus it was an appropriate time for Winnipeg's educational pioneers to initiate their leave and allow new directions and philosophies to add to the solid foundations that they had established.

⁴⁴⁴Gowans, The Comfortable House (1986), 183-184.

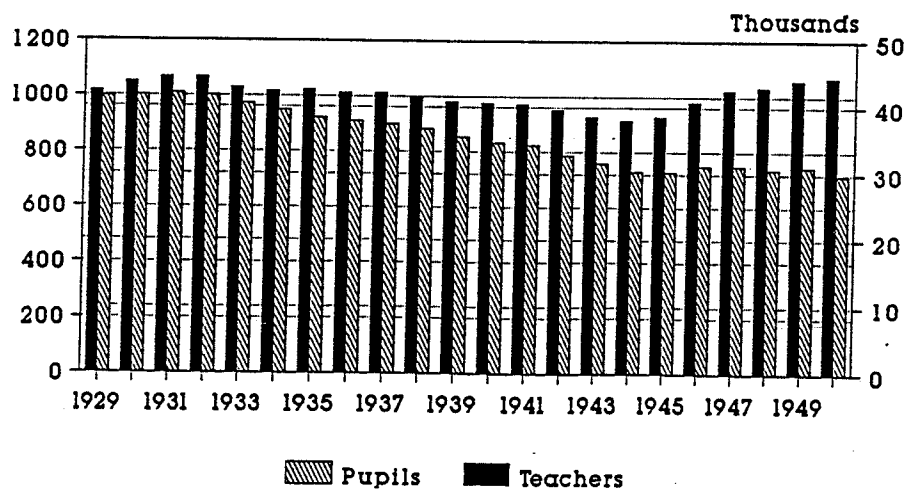
TABLE 9

DISTRIBUTION OF WINNIPEG'S POPULATION AND
PUBLIC SCHOOL PUPILS, 1929-1950, INCLUSIVE

Source: Trustee Reports, City of Winnipeg Municipal Manuals

Note: Missing Values indicate no data is available.

TABLE 10

DISTRIBUTION OF WINNIPEG'S PUBLIC SCHOOL
PUPILS AND TEACHERS, 1929-1950, INCLUSIVE

Source: Trustee Reports, City of Winnipeg Municipal Manuals

Note: Missing Values indicate no data is available.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

This examination of schools in Winnipeg School Division No. 1 has been approached as a study of buildings as artifacts - an approach that requires an understanding of the society and the individuals that produced the facilities. Throughout the analysis an attempt has been made to discover not only the process of building but also the nature of the decision-makers and their search for newer and better techniques. National and local concerns about school buildings were considered by trying to put the local situation into a broader context. The buildings in each era were examined by going beyond an attempt to classify style or exterior ornamentation to review site, costs, internal arrangements, and health and safety issues. Population statistics showing the city's growth, number of pupils and number of teachers were used to provide a background to each era.

Little previously had been known about the public schools in Winnipeg beyond an appreciation of the large cost incurred in their construction, and certainly no one had asked questions regarding the attitudes, values and ambitions of the trustees and administration. School buildings are not only institutions for instruction but also are symbols and artifacts of the educational values, beliefs and concerns of the time.

Winnipeg's early school trustees, in the era 1871-1890, were all prominent in civic affairs and initially relied on Trustee Stewart Mulvey to share his experience in education in Ontario as the model for early schooling in the village. The trustees themselves provided the first temporary facilities amid a lack of interest and financial support from the small populace. As the city's population grew with the arrival of larger numbers of Ontarians, the ideals and ambitions of education developed by Rev. Egerton Ryerson came more strongly to the fore. The appointment of George Bryce as School Inspector was the first step in ensuring that early facilities would follow some standards: there would be separation by sex; the school-house was required to be clean and attractive and to give Winnipeg a more positive image. The location of new schools proved to be a contentious issue as various interests saw these structures as a means of improving their real estate development potential. The forms of the schools were described as American and certainly early architectural guidebooks would have been used as sources of design information.

Tremendous population growth, combined with a lack of formal provincial standards for school buildings, contributed to shoddy construction and incompetent practices by the trustees. Change came about when the Province passed regulations in 1885 that clearly set design criteria for school construction.

Secondly, the appointment of Daniel McIntyre as Superintendent of the Winnipeg School District led to a further refinement of regulations and responsibilities for schools. The growing concern for health in Canada was evident in investigations by McIntyre and Trustee J.B. Mitchell into heating, ventilation and sewage disposal in schools. Unfortunately, their initial solutions contributed to the unhealthy situation of early structures. No sources were found that described the interior arrangements of the buildings. Concern for site was minimal and exterior style was ignored.

The era from 1891 to 1906 was a time of progressive thinking by Winnipeggers, according to McIntyre. There was a population explosion and an increased demand for schools. The trustees, aware that permanent administrative positions for building supervisors had been established in major cities in North America, appointed Trustee Mitchell as the District's first full-time Building and Supply Agent. It was Mitchell who continued to control school planning for the next twenty-five years. Among the first things he did was to follow the lead of other school boards and standardize the plan and height of all new schools. By 1905 even the interior plan was standardized. The exterior, usually designed by various local architects, remained plain to about 1905 when a balustrade treatment was added to the cornice-line.

Heating, ventilation and the type of toilet facilities to use were of major concern to the Buildings Committee which authorized McIntyre and Mitchell to go on a fact-finding tour of eastern Canada and the United States. The playground and school grounds took on a new emphasis as Arbor Day was institutionalized, based on American and Ontarian precedents. Trees were seen not only as positive influences on school children, but also as means to make the city more acceptable to newcomers. By 1901 Mitchell had taken over the responsibility for producing construction drawings from local architects and was supervising draftsmen in this task.

The third era (1907-1919) saw a doubling in population and the construction of over thirty schools. Even so, by the end of 1919 the demand for new facilities continued to increase. The fear of loss of life due to fire, and a concern for maintaining low fire insurance rates, resulted in Winnipeg taking a major lead in North America in attempting to provide up-to-date means of fire egress from existing facilities and new buildings that could be quickly emptied in case of fire. Schools were reduced to two storeys and were to be of either slow-burning or fireproof construction. They also were to be examples of "taste, simplicity, and quiet dignity of form and design." The construction of western Canada's first technical schools in 1912 also saw a new international influence in the message that the buildings conveyed through the use of red

brick, a foreign material in Winnipeg. The outbreak of World War I did not result in a decrease in demand for schools. Mitchell's involvement with the military meant that a local architect was hired to design a new building. The Women's Civic League pointed out to the public that overcrowding had resulted in students using basement rooms that were totally inadequate. To remedy this situation the "Building Commissioner's Department" came up with an alternative to the large, two-storey buildings which were the standard. Seven temporary one-storey schools were built by day labour hired on temporary basis.

The attitude towards school grounds changed. No longer was the school to be isolated from the community; in order to gain public approval for high school costs, sites were made available for use as public playgrounds for a number of sporting clubs. William J. Sisler introduced gardens to Strathcona School, based on a movement from central Canada that was aimed at rural children but in Winnipeg was for the "foreigner". In 1912 interest was revived in tree planting and the beautification of school grounds but the program was cut short by the outbreak of the war. Lastly this era saw new expressions to deal with the "foreigner". Besides school gardens, the building itself was to be designed so that it would be perceived as inviting and non-threatening to the immigrant parent.

By 1920 Winnipeg's position in western Canada had weakened and taxpayers demanded greater accountability from the School Board. As new facilities were required to accommodate a growing number of students, John N. Semmens, a local architect who had trained in the United States, was hired as consulting architect to the Board. Semmens was no stranger having served with the Winnipeg Grenadiers under Mitchell's command.

While Semmens reluctantly accepted the necessity of designing one-storey bungalow schools, his formal training required that his buildings look like schools with ornamentation and material that fit an international language of acceptable symbols for educational structures. This was a major change from what had been done before. Winnipeg's early schools followed a standard plan and classroom layout but the exterior detailing was left up to the architect. Now even the exteriors were to be standardized to fit an accepted international appearance. To keep costs down Semmens developed a structural system of concrete footings and reinforced beams that saved the cost of digging a basement.

School grounds were again seeded, flower beds were planted, and ivy was grown to cover the fronts of buildings. However, financial restraint eventually won out and the beautification ideal withered.

The retirement of Mitchell and McIntyre in 1928 marked the end of a long and formative chapter in the history of Winnipeg's public schools. It is hoped that this review of the School Board's building record may tempt others to compare and contrast urban versus rural issues, and to examine the relationship of school buildings between Winnipeg and other cities in Canada.

It is also hoped that the Winnipeg School Division may learn from its past and attempt to provide some beauty and greenery to its new facilities and to preserve its scant records from the days gone by.

Thus, from very small beginnings, there has been built up a great school system worthy of a great city, and one of which Winnipeg citizens may justly be proud. In no better way can the continued prosperity of the City be assured than by the continuance of the generous support of the citizens which has made this great achievement possible.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁵Souvenir of Winnipeg's Diamond Jubilee (1924), 69.

Appendix A
Data on Winnipeg's Population and Pupils, Teachers and School Buildings to 1950

Year	City Population	Pupils	Teachers	School Buildings
1871	241	35	1	1
1872	-	-	1	1
1873	-	-	1	1
1874	1,869	-	2	2
1875	2,961	-	4	2
1876	3,000	423	4	2
1877	2,722	322	5	3
1878	3,184	433	5	3
1879	4,113	447	8	3
1880	6,178	482	13	3
1881	6,245	807	13	3
1882	13,000	1,484	36	8
1883	16,000	1,952	39	9
1884	16,694	2,125	44	10
1885	19,574	2,266	48	11
1886	19,525	2,831	49	11
1887	21,257	-	50	11
1888	22,095	3,062	54	11
1889	21,328	4,073	61	13
1890	23,000	-	61	13
1891	24,068	4,189	66	14
1892	29,182	-	67	14
1893	32,119	-	78	16
1894	34,954	-	86	16
1895	37,124	-	91	17
1896	37,983	6,374	96	14
1897	38,733	-	-	14
1898	39,384	6,878	-	-
1899	40,112	-	-	16
1900	42,534	7,500	119	16
1901	44,778	8,246	120	-
1902	48,411	8,586	137	-
1903	56,741	9,500	140	18
1904	67,265	10,308	168	19
1905	79,975	11,675	192	21
1906	101,057	13,445	220	26
1907	111,729	14,802	248	30
1908	118,252	15,449	266	34
1909	122,390	16,070	297	33
1910	132,720	17,738	340	33
1911	145,958	20,167	381	37
1912	166,553	21,112	456	40
1913	184,730	22,364	531	40

(Appendix A continued)

Year	City Population	Pupils	Teachers	School Buildings
1914	203,255	25,814	566	44
1915	212,880	27,514	589	45
1916	201,981	28,192	594	45
1917	188,848	29,310	634	45
1918	183,595	30,225	692	45
1919	183,378	31,505	766	49
1920	192,571	33,506	771	56
1921	196,947	35,766	874	62
1922	199,129	38,198	920	66
1923	199,300	40,004	945	66
1924	194,859	40,627	959	66
1925	195,148	40,767	972	67
1926	197,125	40,862	966	67
1927	198,932	41,332	964	67
1928	202,377	41,850	993	67
1929	205,083	41,510	1,016	68
1930	209,286	41,748	1,050	67
1931	212,815	41,980	1,066	68
1932	215,768	41,717	1,067	68
1933	218,545	40,465	1,029	67
1934	221,242	39,477	1,015	67
1935	223,017	38,347	1,022	66
1936	224,998	37,956	1,012	66
1937	224,533	37,465	1,012	66
1938	223,103	36,751	998	66
1939	222,454	35,541	980	66
1940	223,735	34,660	975	66
1941	224,252	34,296	972	66
1942	225,437	32,833	953	66
1943	227,004	31,692	926	66
1944	228,548	30,453	915	65
1945	229,208	30,363	927	64
1946	231,203	31,238	981	64
1947	231,414	31,179	1,023	65
1948	234,201	30,733	1,033	68
1949	231,491	31,072	1,059	70
1950	-	29,785	1,069	71

Sources: Trustee Reports; and William Lucow, "The Origin and Growth of the Public School System in Winnipeg," unpublished MEd. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1950, 97-99.

Appendix B
Schools Inventory System
Summary of Schools Leased, Built and Altered 1871-1949

Permit Number	Permit Date	Ward	Street Name	School Name	Estim. Cost	No. Floors	Architect's Name	Contractor's Name	New Comments Addn
1871. .			HENRY	ST POINT DOUGLAS (#1)					RENTED UNTIL DEC. 1871
1872. .			MAIN	ST POINT DOUGLAS (#2)					RENTED
1873. .			NOTRE DAME	AV CENTRAL (#1)	1,600			J.F.COOPER	N FRAME BUILDING
1874. .			?	POINT DOUGLAS					NEAR WOLSELEY HOUSE
1876. .			MAIN	ST SOUTH WARD					WESLEYAN INST. LEASED
1876. .			NOTRE DAME	AV CENTRAL (#2)				DODDS AND MOORE	N FRAME
1877. .				SOUTH WARD					IN CENTRAL (#2)
1877. .			ELLEN	ST CENTRAL NO.1	9,000	2	C. A. BARBER	R.D.PATTERSON	N 6 ROOMS
1877. .			MCTAVISH	ST NORTH WARD	3,000	2	C. A. BARBER	R.D.PATTERSON	N 2 ROOMS
1880. .			GRAHAM	AV SOUTH WARD		2	C. A. BARBER	BLACKMORE AND CADHAM	N 2 ROOMS
1881. .		5	ARGYLE	ST ARGYLE		2	T. PARR		N 2 ROOMS
1881. .		4	ELLEN	ST CENTRAL NO.1		2			A 6 ROOMS - BOYS
1881. .		4	LOUISE	ST LOUISE ST.			W. T. DALTON		LEASED RESIDENCE
1881. .		5	PATRICK	ST DUFFERIN		2	W. T. DALTON		N 2 ROOMS
1882. .		5	ARGYLE	ST ARGYLE			W. T. DALTON		A
1882. .		2	CARLTON	ST CARLTON		2	C. A. BARBER		A 4 ROOMS
1882. .		5	DUFFERIN	ST DUFFERIN		2	W. T. DALTON		A 2 ROOMS
1882. .		5	EUCLID	ST EUCLID			W. T. DALTON		N 2 ROOMS
1882. .		4	GERTIE	ST CENTRAL NO.2	15,000	2	J. CHISHOLM		N 8 ROOMS
1883. .		3		ST.JAMES		1			TAKEN OVER
1883. .		5	ALEXANDER	ST PINKHAM		2	BARBER OR CHISHOLM	A.CROTTY	N
1883. .		5	EUCLID	ST EUCLID			W. T. DALTON		A
1883. .		1	PEMBINA	ST PEMBINA		2	W. T. DALTON		N
1884. .		3	MARYLAND	ST MULVEY	5,000	2	C. A. BARBER	A.PONTON AND CO.	N 2 ROOMS
1885. .				MACHRAY					LEASED BUILDING

(Appendix B Continued)

Permit Number	Permit Date	Ward	Street Name		School Name	Estim. Cost	No. Floors	Architect's Name	Contractor's Name	New Comments Addn
	1886. .	2	CARLTON	ST	CARLTON/S.CENTRAL	4,700		J. GREENFIELD	T.E.THOMPSON AND CO.	A
	1886. .	6	CHARLES	ST	MACHRAY	2,430	1	S. W. GODDARD	S.B.RITCHIE	N COST INCLUDES SITE
	1887. .	5	EUCLID	ST	EUCLID			J. CHISOLM (?)		A 2 ROOMS
	1889. .	5	EUCLID	ST	EUCLID			C. H. WHEELER		A BURNT DOWN
	1891. .	1	MAYFAIR	AV	FORT ROUGE	10,800	2	W. CHESTERTON	J.GIRVIN	N 4 ROOMS
	1892. .	4	BANNATYNE	AV	COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE	30,000	3	H. MCCOWAN		N 10 ROOMS
	1892. .	5	EUCLID	ST	EUCLID NORTH CENTRAL	25,000	3	G. BROWNE	D.D.WOODS	N 10 ROOMS
	1893. .	3	BROADWAY	PL	MULVEY	24,400	3	G. BROWNE	KELLY BROS.	N 8 ROOMS
	1893. .		SALTER	ST	ABERDEEN	19,800	3	G. BROWNE	KELLY BROS.	N 8 ROOMS
	1894. .	2	CARLTON	ST	CARLTON					A
	1895. .	5	ARGYLE	ST	ARGYLE	23,700		C. H. WHEELER		N 12 ROOMS
	1895. .	3	BROADWAY	PL	MULVEY	20,995	3	G. BROWNE		N
	1895. .	5	LOGAN	AV	DUFFERIN	25,200	3	C. H. WHEELER		N
	1898. .	1	PEMBINA	ST	GLADSTONE	21,500	3	J. H. G. RUSSELL		N
	1898. .	3	WELLINGTON	ST	WELLINGTON	2,490	1	J. B. MITCHELL		N TEMPORARY
	1899. .	4	ELLEN	ST	VICTORIA/CENTRAL NO.1			H. MCCOWAN		A
	1899. .	2	VAUGHAN	ST	ISBISTER	29,336	3	S. HOOPER		N
261	1900.06.06	6	COLLEGE	AV	MACHRAY	32,000	3	H. S. GRIFFIN	S.B.RICHIE	A
30	1901.04.01	4	GERTIE	ST	ALBERT	15,000	2	H. MCCOWAN	SMITH & SHARPE	A
293	1901.06.01	4	SHERBROOK	ST	J. B. SOMERSET	30,000	3	J. B. MITCHELL	D. D. WOOD	N
324	1901.06.01	4	SHERBROOK	ST	J. B. SOMERSET	738	3	SCHOOL BOARD	D. D. WOOD	A
387	1902.06.02	1	PEMBINA	ST	GLADSTONE	10,000	4	OWNER	S. B. RITCHIE	A
544	1902.07.02	5	EUCLID	ST	NORQUAY NO.1	16,000	3	OWNER	S. B. RITCHIE	A
576	1902.07.22	2	EDMONTON	ST	ALEXANDRA	35,000	3	J. B. MITCHELL	KELLY BROS.	N
395	1903.05.03	2	GRAHAM	AV	CARLTON	40,000	3	J. B. MITCHELL	MANITOBA CONSTR. CO.	N
525	1903.06.17	5	PACIFIC	AV	PINKHAM	40,000	3	J. B. MITCHELL	SMITH & SHARPE	N
697	1904.05.23	6	MCGREGOR	AV	STRATHCONA	40,000	3	J. B. MITCHELL	WATSON & MCLEOD	N
828	1905.05.17	3	ELLICE	AV	J. M. KING	45,000	3	OWNER	SMITH & SHARPE	N
3204	1905.11.14	1	RIVER	AV	CHILDREN'S HOME	5,000	1	J. B. MITCHELL	S. B. RITCHIE	N
1323	1906.05.26	5	SALTER (FLORA)	ST	ABERDEEN NO.1	20,000	3	J. B. MITCHELL	MAY, SHARPE & CO.	A
2279	1906.08.06	3	WELLINGTON	ST	WELLINGTON	60,000	3	J. B. MITCHELL	D. D. WOOD	N

(Appendix B Continued)

Permit Number	Permit Date	Ward	Street Name		School Name	Estim. Cost	No. Floors	Architect's Name	Contractor's Name	New Comments Addn
1729	1907.07.12	6	POLSON	AV	LUXTON	75,000	2	J. B. MITCHELL	J. SAUL	N
469	1908.05.22	3	MARYLAND	AV	MULVEY	56,500	3	J. B. MITCHELL	J. SAUL	A
809	1908.07.20	1	CASEY	ST	RIVERVIEW	8,000	2	J. B. MITCHELL	S. B. RITCHIE	N
810	1908.07.20	3	CLIFTON	ST	CLIFTON	8,000	2	J. B. MITCHELL	S. B. RITCHIE	N
940	1908.08.11	7	POPLAR	ST	LORD SELKIRK NO.1	59,000	2	J. B. MITCHELL	CARTER HALLS & ALD.	N
951	1908.08.12	4	CECIL	AV	CECIL RHODES NO.1	64,800	2	J. B. MITCHELL	DAVIDSON BROS.	N
984	1908.08.19	6	SELKIRK	AV	KING EDWARD NO.1	63,300	2	J. B. MITCHELL	ROSS BROS.	N
401	1909.04.19	1	LILAC	ST	LAVERENDRYE	80,000	2	J. B. MITCHELL	SAUL & IRISH	N
1256	1909.06.25	5	SALTER	AV	ABERDEEN NO.2	72,000	2	J. B. MITCHELL	BROWN & BARKER	N
1561	1909.07.30	3	ST. MATTHEWS	AV	GREENWAY NO.1	90,000	2	J. B. MITCHELL	J. H. TREMBLAY	N
499	1910.04.10	1	BERESFORD	ST	LORD ROBERTS NO.1	86,000	2	OWNER	WPG. SCHOOL BOARD	N
1718	1910.06.10	1	HARROW	ST	KELVIN TECHNICAL	330,000	3	J. B. MITCHELL	J. H. TREMBLAY	N
1788	1910.06.30	6	SALTER	ST	ST. JOHNS TECH.	330,000	3	J. B. MITCHELL	J. SAUL	N
964	1911.05.03	6	BURROWS	AV	STRATHCONA	96,000	3	J. B. MITCHELL	R. BARKER	A
2288	1911.07.25	5	EUCLID	ST	NORQUAY	29,000	3	J. B. MITCHELL	WORSWICK BROS.	A
2356	1911.07.31	6	MCPHILLIPS	AV	MCPHILLIPS	12,000	2	J. B. MITCHELL	BUCHANAN & FRASER	N
1311	1912.05.10	3	LENORE	ST	LAURA SECORD	208,000	2	J. B. MITCHELL	T. KELLY & SONS	N
2478	1912.07.04	7	KELVIN	ST	LORD SELKIRK NO.2	150,000	2	J. B. MITCHELL	WORSWICK BROS.	N
3285	1912.08.12	3	SHERBURN	ST	PRINCIPAL SPARLING	138,000	2	J. B. MITCHELL	S. BRYNJOFFSON & SON	N
753	1913.04.13	3	BARRATT	AV	ISAAC BROCK	240,000	2	J. B. MITCHELL	SUTHERLAND CONST. CO.	N
1251	1913.05.12	6	CHARLES	ST	MACHRAY	100,000	3	J. B. MITCHELL	FT. GARRY CONST. CO.	A
1465	1913.05.21	4	WILLIAM	AV	VICTORIA-ALBERT	32,000	3	J. B. MITCHELL	WORSWICK BROS.	A
3387	1913.10.13	6	MCPHILLIPS	ST	MCPHILLIPS	250	0	OWNER	OWNER	A
591	1914.04.08	5	ARLINGTON	AV	KING EDWARD NO.2	155,000	2	J. B. MITCHELL	SUTHERLAND CONST. CO.	N
2244	1914.07.03	1	COCKBURN	ST	EARL GREY	155,950	3	J. B. MITCHELL	WM. SCOTT & CO.	N
2387	1914.07.14	5	POWERS	ST	WILLIAM WHYTE	121,650	3	J. B. MITCHELL	CLAYDON BROS.	N
807	1915.06.25	7	GREY	ST	GEORGE V	41,300	2	J. B. MITCHELL	WORSWICK BROS.	N
896	1915.07.15	6	POLSON	AV	LUXTON	40,000	2	J. B. MITCHELL	WORSWICK BROS.	A
789	1917.07.17	6	MCPHILLIPS	ST	LORD NELSON	57,000	3	J. D. ATCHISON	SUTHERLAND CONST. CO.	N

(Appendix B Continued)

Permit Number	Permit Date	Ward	Street Name		School Name	Estim. Cost	No. Floors	Architect's Name	Contractor's Name	New Comments Addn
420	1918.05.13	3	ELLICE	AV	JOHN M. KING	105,000	3	J. B. MITCHELL	SUTHERLAND CONST. CO.	A
833	1918.07.25	4	ALEXANDER	ST	PINKHAM	500	0	OWNER	SUTHERLAND CONST. CO.	A
832	1918.07.25	5	SALTER	AV	ABERDEEN	500	0	OWNER	SUTHERLAND CONST. CO.	A
880	1918.08.25	6	ANDREWS	ST	RALPH BROWN NO.1	37,000	1	J. B. MITCHELL	SUTHERLAND CONST. CO.	N
882	1918.08.25	4	EAST	ST	CECIL RHODES NO.2	26,000	1	J. B. MITCHELL	SUTHERLAND CONST. CO.	N
881	1918.08.25	1	MAPLEWOOD	AV	RIVERVIEW	30,000	1	J. B. MITCHELL	SUTHERLAND CONST. CO.	N
1083	1918.09.12	1	GODFREY	ST	JULIA CLARK	20,000	2	J. B. MITCHELL	FRASER & MCDONALD	N
649	1919.07.09	1	OAK	ST	RIVER HEIGHTS	27,000	0	J. B. MITCHELL	SUTHERLAND CONST. CO.	N
648	1919.07.09	7	TALBOT	ST	ANNA GIBSON	20,000	1	J. B. MITCHELL	SUTHERLAND CONST. CO.	N
853	1919.08.01	6	MCGREGOR	ST	RALPH BROWN NO.2	40,000	1	J. B. MITCHELL	SUTHERLAND CONST. CO.	N
1044	1919.08.25	3	ST. MATTHEWS	AV	GREENWAY NO.2	25,000	1	OWNER	SUTHERLAND CONST. CO.	N
1576	1919.10.23	1	BERESFORD	ST	LORD ROBERTS NO.2	30,000	1	OWNER	SUTHERLAND CONST. CO.	N
1076	1920.06.09	6	ARLINGTON	AV	MARGARET SCOTT	107,000	1	J. N. SEMMENS	OWNER	N
1075	1920.06.09	3	ELLICE	AV	GENERAL WOLFE	125,000	2	J. N. SEMMENS	OWNER	N
1077	1920.06.09	4	TECUMSEH	ST	MONTCALM	50,000	1	J. N. SEMMENS	OWNER	N
1074	1920.06.20	4	EAST	ST	CECIL RHODES NO.2	44,000	1	OWNER	OWNER	A
1427	1920.07.14	5	STELLA	AV	ABERDEEN NO.3	50,000	1	J. N. SEMMENS	OWNER	N
1426	1920.07.20	6	MACHRAY	AV	CHAMPLAIN	75,000	2	J. N. SEMMENS	OWNER	N
1589	1920.07.31	5	SHAUGHNESSY	ST	FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE	40,000	1	OWNER	OWNER	N
2203	1920.10.16	6	LUSTED	AV	NORQUAY NO.2	50,000	1	OWNER	OWNER	N
783	1921.05.06	3	ABERDEEN	AV	ISAAC NEWTON	161,400	2	J. N. SEMMENS	CLAYDON CO. LTD.	N
782	1921.05.06	3	BRAZIER	ST	LORD SELKIRK NO.1	28,000	2	OWNER	CLAYDON CO. LTD.	A
1274	1921.06.01	3	MOUNTAIN	AV	MACHRAY NO.2	92,300	2	J. N. SEMMENS	SUTHERLAND CONST. CO.	N
1282	1921.06.02	3	ABERDEEN	AV	ISAAC NEWTON	33,500	0	OWNER	CLAYDON CONST. CO.	A
1521	1921.06.17	1	BEAVERBROOK	ST	SIR JOHN FRANKLIN	40,000	1	J. N. SEMMENS	FRASER & MCDONALD	N
1587	1921.07.22	1	CLIFTON	ST	WOLSELEY	70,000	1	J. N. SEMMENS	SUTHERLAND CONST. CO.	N
2049	1921.08.04		CHESTER	ST	SIR SAM STEELE	56,877	1	J. N. SEMMENS	H.SIGURDSON	N
287	1922.04.01	2	ALVERSTONE	ST	DANIEL MCINTYRE	387,000	2	J. N. SEMMENS	SUTHERLAND CONST. CO.	N
751	1922.05.01	3	MCPHILLIPS	AV	LORD NELSON	18,000	2	OWNER	H. SIGURDSON	A
1246	1922.05.22	3	FLORA	AV	DAVID LIVINGSTONE	66,150	2	J. B. MITCHELL	HAZELTON & WALIN	N

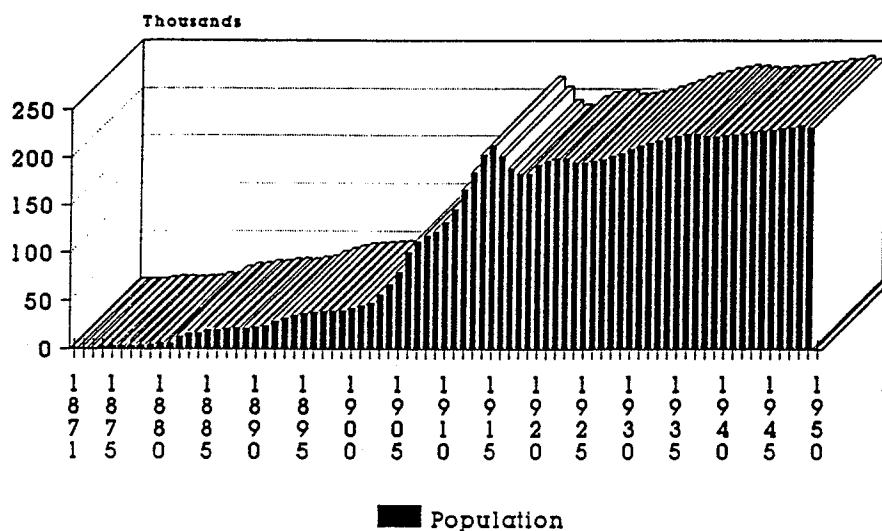
(Appendix B Continued)

Permit Number	Permit Date	Ward	Street Name		School Name	Estim. Cost	No. Floors	Architect's Name	Contractor's Name	New Comments Addn
884	1922.06.05	2	EAST	ST	CECIL RHODES NO.2	12,200	1	OWNER	CLAYDON CO. LTD.	A
1573	1922.06.07	1	GROSVENOR	AV	GROSVENOR	64,500	2	J. N. SEMMENS	SUTHERLAND CONST. CO.	N
1572	1922.06.07	3	MOUNTAIN	AV	FARADAY	76,550	2	J. N. SEMMENS	SUTHERLAND CONST. CO.	N
2506	1922.08.22	1	GROSVENOR	AV	GROSVENOR	13,000	0			A
2492	1922.08.24	3	MOUNTAIN	AV	FARADAY	13,000	0			A
992	1923.05.03	1	RATHGAR	AV	LORD ROBERTS NO.2	31,000	2	J. B. MITCHELL	HAZELTON & WALIN	A
892	1925.05.02	3	MOUNTAIN	AV	FARADAY	50,440	2	OWNER	BORROWMAN & JAMIESON	A
2905	1925.09.23	1	MARYLAND	ST	GORDON BELL	182,750	1	C. W. CHIVERS	BORROWMAN & JAMIESON	N
904	1929.06.28	2	BURNELL	ST	GENERAL WOLFE	68,000	3	W. FINGLAND	HAZELTON & WALIN	N
2903	1929.06.28	3	CARMEN	AV	GLENWOOD	84,600	2	NORTHWOOD & CHIVERS	HAZELTON & WALIN	N
2906	1929.06.28	3	SHAUGHNESSY	ST	FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE	15,000	1			A
2976	1929.07.03	2	WILLIAM	AV	HUGH JOHN MCDONALD	159,000	2	J. H. G. RUSSELL	CLAYDON BROS.	N
3392	1929.07.19	1	CASEY	ST	RIVERVIEW	60,000	2	W. FINGLAND		N
3646	1929.08.01	1	OAK	ST	RIVER HEIGHTS (RHS)	90,000	2	NORTHWOOD & CHIVERS		N
2150	1930.06.18	2	ELLEN	ST	VICTORIA-ALBERT	174,000	3	W. A. MARTIN	HAZELTON & WALIN	N
3227	1930.08.19		RIVERTON	AV	ELMWOOD	73,000	2	OVER & MUNN	BARKER & CO.	N
216	1931.02.23	1	QUEENSTON	ST	QUEENSTON	136,000	2	W. A. MARTIN	H.S. WALIN	N
	1936. .		LOGAN	AV	DUFFERIN	62,000	0	W. A. MARTIN	WINNIPEG SUPPLY	N
	1948. .		WALL	ST	TEC VOC	2,000,000	0			
	1949. .		DOMINION	ST	SARGENT PARK	355,600	0			N
	1949. .		GROSVENOR	AV	RIVER HEIGHTS	390,000	0			N
	1949. .		LOGAN	AV	WESTON	360,000	0			N

Sources: Trustee Reports, 1882-1950; School Board Minutes, 1881-1896, 1905-1908; Building Permit Ledgers, City of Winnipeg, 1900-1950; Chafe, An Apple for the Teacher.

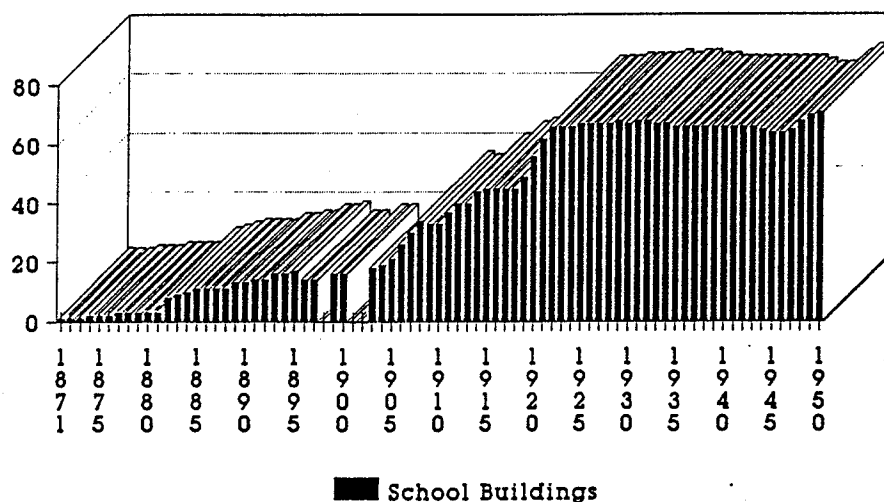
APPENDIX C

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN WINNIPEG 1871-1950



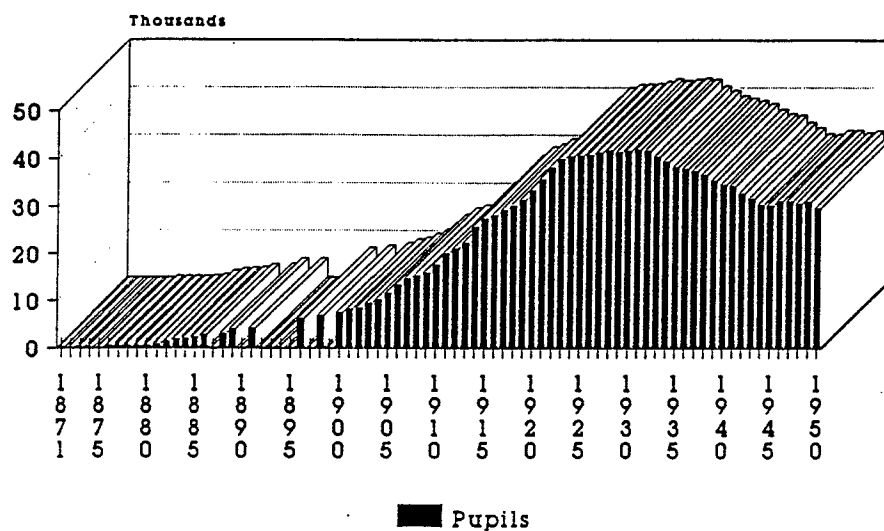
NOTE: Missing values indicate no data is available.

DISTRIBUTION OF WINNIPEG'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS 1871-1950



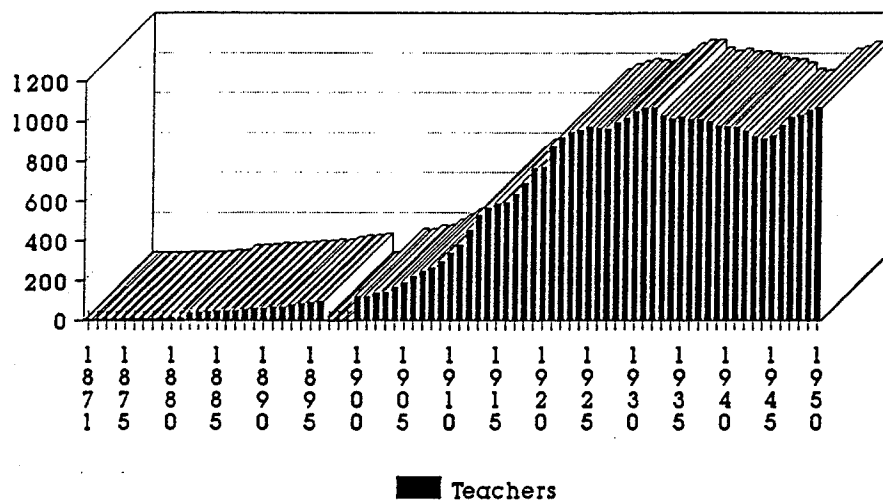
NOTE: Missing values indicate no data is available.

DISTRIBUTION OF WINNIPEG'S PUBLIC SCHOOL PUPILS 1871-1950



NOTE: Missing values indicate no data is available.

DISTRIBUTION OF WINNIPEG'S PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS 1871-1950



NOTE: Missing values indicate no data is available.

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