

**ONTARIO EDUCATORS' OBSERVATIONS OF  
THE GERMAN SYSTEM OF EDUCATION: 1834-1918**

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts  
Graduate Department of Education  
University of Toronto

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Master of Arts

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This thesis has as its object the recovery of a history of observations made by Ontario educators about the German system of education. From the time of the establishment of the Upper Canadian system of education under Ryerson during the 1840s to the beginning of World War I, the Prussian, and later, the German educational system often served as a model and a source of ideas and methods for people in Ontario. Many educators in Ontario initially looked to Germany in order to (1) construct a system of education, (2) raise the status of the province's educational system, (3) criticize it, and finally (4) improve the province's industrial development. By the end of World War I, Germany's educational system was condemned as a model of education, and the historical record of the influence of Germany on the development of Ontario's system of education was ignored.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- AR* Annual Report of the Normal, Model, Grammar, and Common Schools in Upper Canada [to 1875]  
Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) [after 1875]
- DHE* J. G. Hodgins, *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada*, 28 vols. (Toronto, 1894-1910)
- EdJ* *Educational Journal*
- JEdUC* *Journal of Education for Upper Canada*
- IC* *Industrial Canada*
- NEA* *Journal of Proceedings, National Educational Association*
- OEA* *Ontario Educational Association Proceedings, Ontario Teacher's Association Minutes*
- QQ* *Queen's Quarterly*
- TCEdM* *The Canada Educational Monthly*

**ONTARIO EDUCATORS' OBSERVATIONS OF  
THE GERMAN SYSTEM OF EDUCATION: 1834-1918**

*It seems to us that there is a "wideness" in human affairs which cannot be hemmed in by the horizon of this life.*

*The Canada Educational Monthly, 1901*

## INTRODUCTION

*Wouldst thou know thyself, observe the actions of  
others.  
Wouldst thou other men know, look thou within thine  
own heart.*

Friedrich Schiller

*Whatever you would have appear in a nation's life, that  
you must put into its Schools.*

A Prussian motto referred to  
by Egerton Ryerson, 1872.

Periodically, comparisons are made in the popular media between the Canadian and Japanese systems of education. The Japanese system of education is often portrayed as a more efficient and thorough system; its students are assumed to not only know more, but also to be more properly trained and disciplined. The authors of the Report of the Royal Commission on Learning, *For the Love of Learning*, wrote: "In our public consultations we found a widespread sense that Japan had an education system worthy of being considered a model for our own."<sup>1</sup> Of course, many Canadians have their doubts about the qualities of the Japanese system of education. These people quite often become defensive when comparisons are made between the Japanese and Canadian systems of

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<sup>1</sup> Report of the Royal Commission on Learning, *For the Love of Learning: A Short Version*. (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1994), p. 6.

education; consequently, they talk about the creative qualities of Canadian students. The authors of the Royal Commission were more cautious when drawing up their conclusions regarding both the virtues and vices of the Japanese system; they did not know for sure if Japanese students really graduated from their schools with a better education than Canadian students, or if Japanese students just crammed and learned to play the game better.<sup>2</sup>

The idea for this thesis came about quite accidentally when I was conducting the research required to write essays on The Great Latin Debate of 1904-1905 and The Manual Training Movement in Ontario before World War I. I discovered that when educators in Ontario debated the pros and cons of teaching Latin and manual training in the schools of Ontario, they periodically made comparisons between what was going on in Ontario's school system to what was occurring in systems in other countries. I found that turn-of-the-century Ontario educators not only compared Ontario's system with systems of education located in other countries, but also that there was a similarity in the comparisons they made between the Prussian and later German system of education of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the comparisons which their grandchildren made with the Japanese system of education in the later decades of the twentieth century. Thus, there is nothing new in making comparisons between one's own system of education and the educational system of another country. Nor is there anything new in

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<sup>2</sup> Report of the Royal Commission on Learning, *For the Love of Learning: A Short Version*, p. 6.



making judgements regarding the quality of an educational system.

The Ontario system of education has been compared to systems of education of other countries. In both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for example, educational ideas and methods developed in the United States (such as those of John Dewey) have often been admired, borrowed and implemented in Ontario and in other parts of Canada. The various systems of education in the States of America have been familiar to all of those interested in education by means of the popular media, professional journals, books, and through personal experience. The French, Dutch, and Swiss systems, by means of visits, books, and reports, have also been examined by people living in Ontario interested in education. And, finally, Royal Commissions, and books written by British philosophers and educators were repeatedly referred to by many of Ontario's educators. The grammar schools of England were highly revered by many in Ontario. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were seen as two ancient and venerable places of learning in the English speaking world.

During the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, it was the German system that was considered to be the leading system of education in the modern, industrial world by many educators in Ontario, the United States, Britain and France. Detlef K. Müller summed up the development of the German system of education and its international reputation in this manner:

The educational reforms in the German states at the beginning of the nineteenth century initiated a

development in which collections of diverse school types and vocationally oriented institutions were transformed into an educational system that has become paradigmatic for modern industrial societies.<sup>3</sup>

The systematisation of German schools began in the kingdom of Prussia in the first decade of the nineteenth century, and consequently, the Prussian system of education became the model which other German states emulated.

Educators from the United States, Britain, France and Upper Canada eventually travelled to Prussia during the 1830s and 1840s because, as Karl Schleunes noted, "It was the first of the major European societies to be schooled and the one whose efforts provided the standard against which other societies measured their own."<sup>4</sup> Horace Mann, the most famous of American educational reformers, placed Prussia and Saxony at the top of the educational ladder, and England at the bottom along with Turkey and Russia. J. W. Walz's in his book, *German Influence in American Education and Culture*, documented the impact of the German model of education on the United States. Walz wrote:

German influence upon American education and culture during the nineteenth century has been beneficial and profound. It extends to the kindergarten, common schools, normal schools, universities, productive scholarship, and it includes two significant movements in the intellectual

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<sup>3</sup> D. K. Müller, "The Process of systematisation: the case of German secondary education", in Müller, D. K., Ringer, F., Simon, B., eds. *The rise of the modern educational system: Structural change and social reproduction 1870-1920*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> K. A. Schleunes, "Enlightenment, Reform, Reaction: The Schooling Revolution in Prussia", *Central European History*, (vol. 12, no. 4, 1979), p. 316.

and spiritual life of America.<sup>5</sup>

Admiration for the German system of education did not stop during the 1840s. Prominent English men-of-letters like Mark Pattison, a don at Oxford, and Matthew Arnold visited Prussia during the 1860s and they both came back highly impressed with what they saw. W. H. G. Armytage, in his book, *The German Influence on English Education* noted that as far as Pattison was concerned, the last fifty years of German primary school experience represented a vast storehouse of experience which the British people should not ignore.<sup>6</sup> Arnold, for example, wrote: "I believe that the public schools are preferred in Prussia, on their merits. The Prussians are satisfied with them, and are proud of them, and with good reason: the schools have been intelligently planned to meet their intelligent wants."<sup>7</sup> Victory in war by both the Prussian and Union armies during the 1860s, apparently taught a lesson for all those in Britain who were concerned with their country's system of education. John Morley, in his biography of Gladstone, stated: "Outside events were supposed to hold a lesson. The triumphant North in America was the land of the common school. The victory of Prussians over Austrians at Sadowa in 1866 was called the victory

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<sup>5</sup> J. A. Walz. *German Influence in American Education and Culture*. (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1936), p. 71.

<sup>6</sup> W. H. G. Armytage. *The German Influence on English Education*. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), p. 53.

<sup>7</sup> M. Arnold. *Higher Schools & Universities in Germany*. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1882), p. 41.

of the elementary school teacher."<sup>8</sup>

The effect of Germany's achievements in such areas as education, scientific research and scholarship, industrial development, and military strength on British public opinion during the later decades of the nineteenth century caused many educators, scholars, industrialists, and scientists to reevaluate the British system of education. The embarrassment of witnessing the very poor showing of the British soldier and army on the battlefields of South Africa during the Boer War deepen this concern with Britain's educational system. In matters concerning science education and higher education, the German model was closely followed and "Germany continued to be the primary, though by no means only, example cited by the English reformers, as it was German efficiency they principally feared."<sup>9</sup>

The manner in which the majority of Englishmen acquired their education was considered by both Englishmen and foreigners, to be very poor and inadequate throughout the nineteenth century. Michael Sadler, a prominent English writer of education, especially secondary education, and a student of the German-inspired idealist movement, wrote in 1902 about the schools of England: "It is no accident that, compared with her rivals in the world, England is the most backward in her systematic provision of national

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<sup>8</sup> J. Morley. *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone*. vol. 1, (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1905), p. 936.

<sup>9</sup> G. Haines. *Essays on German Influence upon British Education and Science, 1850-1919*. (Connecticut College: Archon Books, 1969), p. 123.

education."<sup>10</sup> In 1915, Sadler spoke before an audience assembled for the annual meeting of the National Educational Association. Sadler talked about changes which have occurred in English education since 1900; he began his speech by discussing the countries which have influenced English educational opinion and practice since 1900. Sadler said:

But, apart from what we English owe to our fellow-countrymen with the United Kingdom and in the overseas dominions of the British Empire, our chief debt in the sphere of educational thought and administration has been to the United States of America and to the German Empire. Of the two, the American educational ideal is the more akin to our own. But the German has had for us, during recent years, a salutary message.<sup>11</sup>

Not only did the British admire the German system of education, scholarship, and industry, but so did the Americans in the years before the First World War. Professor R. Jones, of Swarthmore College stated before a session of the National Educational Association in 1895 what he believed were the outstanding attributes of Germany. Jones said: "One of the striking facts of these closing years of the nineteenth century is the extraordinary pre-eminence of Germany in the world of learning. In nearly every branch of knowledge the world's acknowledged authority is some German scholar."<sup>12</sup> By the turn-of-the-century,

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<sup>10</sup> M. E. Sadler, "The Unrest in Secondary Education in Germany and elsewhere", in Board of Education, *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*. (1902), (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Company, 1974), p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> M. E. Sadler, "Changes in English Education since 1900", *NEA*, 1915, p. 144.

<sup>12</sup> R. Jones, "German Methods of Using the Mother Tongue", *NEA*, 1895, p. 471.

many Americans still believed that the German system of education was superior to their own. Burke A. Hinsdale, wrote in his book, *Horace Mann and the Common School Revival* (1898), that "Our best schools are as good, no doubt, as the best of Germany, but we have no system of schools that is equal to the Saxon or the Prussian system. While our educational complacency is less marked than it was, it is still a considerable obstacle to our progress."<sup>13</sup>

In 1904, Frederick E. Bolton, professor of education at the State University of Iowa, and author of a book on German education, talked about what the secondary schools of the United States could learn from German secondary school education during the proceedings of the National Educational Association. Bolton told his audience that in spite of the fact that the American system of education was "the best-conceived and best-executed school system in the world",<sup>14</sup> there was still much more to be learned from the Germans. Bolton mentioned several characteristics common to the German system which were deficient or lacking in the school systems of America; here are a few of them: (1) the classification of teaching in Germany as a real profession; (2) the examination and certification of teachers; (3) university-trained teachers; and (4) the way the mother-tongue was taught. At the very end of his speech, Bolton summarized the educational practices and ideas which America

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<sup>13</sup> B. A. Hinsdale. *Horace Mann and the Common School Revival in the United States*. (New York: Charles Scriber's Sons, 1900), p. 309.

<sup>14</sup> F. E. Bolton, "What may the Secondary Schools of the United States learn from a Study of German Secondary Education?", *NEA*, 1904, p. 479.

borrowed from Germany:

We as a nation have caught inspiration from the Germans in many things. Our kindergarten, our accredited systems of schools, universal education, the correlation of the education of the head and of heart, the recognition of the doctrine of interest, the organization of our universities, etc., are all of German origin.<sup>15</sup>

Several books have been written about the reception and influence of German ideas, methods, and institutions on Britain and the United States such as those by Armytage, Haines, and Walz. Unfortunately, no books or articles have been written strictly about the history of the observations of educators in Ontario, and their receptiveness to the German system of education. In fact, little has even been said about the impact of German ideas in books and articles which were written solely about particular topics in the educational history of Ontario. In books and articles which deal with the early history of education in Upper Canada from the 1830s to the early 1850s, when its system was in the process of being created, one will most often find several paragraphs devoted towards Ryerson's trip to Europe in 1845-1846 and a brief statement of his impressions of German education. In books and articles devoted to the study of the later part of the educational history of Ontario, more space has been devoted towards the discussion of Pestalozzi and the rise of the kindergarten movement in Ontario; of course any examination of Froebel was always associated with James L. Hughes who initiated the kindergarten movement in Ontario.

Thus, there are only three sources which provide more than a

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<sup>15</sup> Bolton, "What may the Secondary Schools of the United States learn from a Study of German Secondary Education", p. 484.

few paragraphs on the relationship between the German and Ontario systems of education. In the pre-World War I era, there is J. H. Putman's book *Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada*; in the post-World War II era, there is S. Carlton's dissertation, "Egerton Ryerson and Education in Ontario, 1844-1877", and finally, C. C. Lloyd's dissertation, "John Seath and the Development of Vocational Education in Ontario 1890 - 1920". Carlton indicated the influence of foreign ideas on Ryerson while Lloyd talked about what Seath saw and wrote about American and European systems of technical education, including the system found in Germany.

Not only has little been written about this subject, sometimes, salient facts have even been omitted from significant histories; C. B. Sissons, who wrote the biography entitled *Egerton Ryerson* (1947), is one example of a historian who did not mention certain facts. In 1866-67, Ryerson visited Europe and in 1868, he published his findings in the way of a report. Of this report which Ryerson wrote in 1868, Sissons stated: "The educational systems of twelve different states on the continent are discussed, France and Holland receiving particular attention, and Holland special commendation. Then the British Isles and fifteen States of the Union, in less or greater detail."<sup>16</sup> Ryerson did indeed discuss the educational systems of Holland and France in considerable length and he was highly impressed with the Dutch system of education; therefore, what Sissons noted in his book was true.

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<sup>16</sup> C. B. Sissons. *Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters*, vol. 2. (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company Limited, 1947), p. 539.



Nevertheless, Ryerson also had something very positive to say about education in Prussia which Sissons omitted to mention. Ryerson stated in 1868 that "In no other Country is there so thorough and universal Common School Education, or so complete a provision for the education of all classes in all branches of science and literature, and for all the Trades, employments and pursuits of life, as well for the Blind, the Deaf, and Dumb."<sup>17</sup> Realizing that Sissons published his book in 1947, two years after the end of the war, when Canada helped to liberate Holland and France from the Germans, perhaps he had reason to temper his objectivity and disregard Ryerson's positive estimation of Prussian schools.

Thus, given the historical events which took place during the twentieth century, namely, the two world wars, the rise of Hitler, and the Holocaust, most historians in Ontario, especially those writing after World War I, seemed to have avoided any extensive discussion of the presence and impact of German educational ideas, methods, and institutions pertaining to the seventy years in the educational history of Ontario prior to the beginning of World War I.

This thesis will have as its first object the recovery of a history of the observations made about the German system of education, which served as a source of pedagogical ideas and a model of an educational system for those who wanted to create and later improve the system of education in Ontario. From the time of the establishment of the Upper Canadian system of education under

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<sup>17</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 21, pp. 69-70.

Ryerson during the 1840s to the decade after the turn of the century when many educators and industrialists in Ontario indicated a grave concern for national efficiency and industrial progress, the Prussian, and later, the German system of education often served as a model and a source of ideas and methods for people in Ontario who initially wanted to construct a system of education and who later wished to assist in the province's economic growth by means of improved and modernized agricultural, commercial, and technical training.

One way in which the goals of a country's system of education can be revealed is by examining the observations and comparisons made over a period of time between the systems of education of the different nations. An underlying assumption of this thesis is that an education system represents more than just a series of buildings, bureaucratic institutions, and teaching methodologies. A system of education is also an expression of the country's beliefs, ideals and aspirations. By means of a comparative approach to the study of education, the role which the educational system plays in the country's social and political system can be more easily determined and rendered intelligible. The purpose of comparing one educational system with another is to disclose the goals of a country's educational system. These goals are also an indicator of the country's motives and expressions of national life.

Therefore, the second object of this thesis is to examine the observations and conclusions which were made by the educators of

Ontario and then published in government publications and reports, educational, academic, and commercial journals, minutes of educational associations, and books regarding the Prussian and later, German system of education from 1834 to 1918. By means of this history of comparative education, a forgotten aspect of Ontario's educational history will be uncovered, and consequently, the goals, underlying assumptions, and tendencies of both Ontario's system of education and its corresponding social, economic, and political life will be revealed.

This thesis will be divided into two parts. The impact of international ideas, trends and events in education, and the appointment of a new minister of education for Ontario will determine the time frame for each part of this paper. The first part of this thesis deals with the period from 1834 to 1876. The first date was when Victor Cousin's study about the Prussian system of education was released in France while the second date was when Egerton Ryerson retired from his position of superintendent of education for Ontario. During this period of time, educational reformers in Europe and America such as Victor Cousin, Horace Mann, and Calvin Stowe travelled throughout Europe to study its systems of education. All of these men published reports of their findings on the systems of education in Europe; a significant portion of these studies was devoted to the analysis of the Prussian system of education. These reports played an important role in the establishment and development of Upper Canada's educational system.

Between 1844 and 1876, Ryerson, like many North American

school reformers before him, made several trips to Europe and in particular, to Prussia in order to examine its system of education for himself. On two occasions, Ryerson wrote about and quoted sources (usually American, and less often, British and French) concerning aspects of the Prussian system of education which were relevant and useful to Upper Canada and its system of education. In addition to Ryerson's annual and special reports, articles about the Prussian system were printed in Ryerson's *Journal of Education for Upper Canada*.

The second part of this thesis begins with the later 1870s when Adam Crooks and George W. Ross were Ontario's ministers of education and it ends with the conclusion of World War I in 1918. Between 1879 and 1899, a series of articles pertaining to the German system of education were published in *The Educational Journal* and in *The Canada Educational Monthly*. Statements were also made about Ontario's position on the international educational ladder during the proceedings of the Ontario Educational Association and National Educational Association, and, in the *Reports of the Minister of Education* by Crooks and Ross. Finally, in 1894, Ross published a book which dealt with his personal observations on the schools of England and Germany. The example of Germany's system of education was used to raise the status of the province's educational system and to criticize it.

Between 1899 and 1914, many people in Ontario and in the rest of Canada were concerned with industrial efficiency; consequently, statements were made during the proceedings of the Ontario

Educational Association by the ministers of education, Richard Harcourt and Dr. R. A. Pyne about the German system of education. Observations about Germany were also made by Harcourt and Pyne in *The Reports of the Minister of Education*. In addition, educators such as John Seath and Albert Leake wrote about the system of education in Germany along with the educational systems found in the United States, Britain, France, and Switzerland. Finally, in *The Canada Educational Monthly*, and in the journal of the Canadian Manufacturers Association, *Industrial Canada*, many articles were published about the German system of technical education.

In the last few years of peace, the report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education was released which contained an extensive amount of material on the technical system of education of Germany, along with other countries in Europe and North America. With the onset of the First World War, positive statements about Germany and its system of education decreased. Critical statements about Germany and its educational system were made in the *Queen's Quarterly* and during proceedings of the Ontario Educational Association between 1914 and 1918. In a book edited by Peter Sandiford entitled *Comparative Education: Studies of the Educational Systems of Six Modern Nations* (1918), Germany's system of education was reviewed and evaluated. By 1918, Germany and its system of education were condemned and no longer considered supreme by educators in Ontario, including those in the Department of Education.

A final note. This thesis is as much a history of a forgotten

past as it is a reflection upon the present state of education in Ontario. The exact details of educational practice do change, sometimes quite quickly, but the basic principles upon which a system of education was built and the issues which it faced change only very slowly. Admittedly, reports, articles and books have been summarized in this thesis in considerable detail in order to bring to the attention of the reader the underlying educational concerns of people from the past and also to give the reader and writer of this paper the opportunity to reason or ponder upon principles of and issues in education which are still relevant today, and also, to compare and contrast the schools of Germany which were both glorified and condemned in the past with Ontario's present system of education.

## PART ONE

### **No Subject has latterly occupied more attention than that of Public Instruction: 1834-1876**

*After twenty-seven years' service in promoting what I believed to be the best interests of our School System, I am more than ever profoundly impressed with the conviction of the correctness of the views on these subjects which I expressed in my preliminary Report on a System of Public Instruction for Upper Canada, which I submitted to the Government in 1846. It has been the purpose and the aim of my life, since I assumed the direction of the Education Department, to give practical effect to these views, and with the Divine favour, to secure and perpetuate to my native country, the inestimable blessings of a free, comprehensive, Christian education for every child in the land.*

Egerton Ryerson, 1871

## CHAPTER ONE

### The Educational Zeal of the Age

*The experience of Germany, particularly of Prussia ought not to be lost upon us. National rivalries, or antipathies, would here be completely out of place. The true greatness of a people does not consist in borrowing nothing from others, but in borrowing from all whatever is good, and in perfecting whatever it appropriates.*

Victor Cousin, 1834

The impact of Europe's, and in particular Germany's system of education on North American school reformers was significant during the 1830s and 1840s. Prominent American educators such as Alexander D. Bache, Calvin E. Stowe, Charles Brooks, and most importantly, Horace Mann, all visited Europe and, in particular, Prussia; subsequently they all wrote about their tours. The French educator, Victor Cousin, also visited Prussia; his study, *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia*, was eventually translated into English and it was widely read in the United States. Walz stated that even though the impact of the German system of education on the school system of twentieth century America was scarcely recognizable, "American public-school men in the nineteenth century were well aware of the great debt they owed to the German schools."<sup>1</sup> Hinsdale summed up the influence of German system of education in the United States in this way:

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<sup>1</sup> Walz. *German Influence in American Education and Culture*. p. 12.



From an early period in the history of the Common School Revival, German influence has been steady, strong and wholesome. It has been derived from the introduction of German pedagogical literature, from the frequent visits of our pedagogists and teachers to German schools, from the attendance of our scholars upon German universities, and the not inconsiderable number of German teachers who have found employment on this side of the Atlantic.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, the German system of education served as both the model and the standard for American school reformers who were part of the Common School Movement; these men had as their goal the establishment of a system of education which would "provide for the personal development and education of the individual and at the same time to maintain political order and stability among the members of the society."<sup>3</sup>

Educators in Upper Canada were well aware of both the quality of the Prussian system of education and the reputation it had among many American educators. In 1836, Dr. Charles Duncombe, on behalf of the government of Canada, travelled to the United States in order to investigate the educational systems of the various American states. He conversed with a large number of educational officials and he had at his disposal many books, pamphlets, and reports about education. One book which Duncombe referred to on several occasions in his *Report on Education* was Cousin's *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia*. This study of Cousin's represented one of the four key sources of Duncombe's report; two

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<sup>2</sup> Hinsdale, *Horace Mann and the Common School Revival in the United States*, p. 299.

<sup>3</sup> H. W. Button, E. F. Provenzo. *History of Education and Culture in America*. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1983), p. 96.

other books dealt with education in Scotland and England, and one book pertained to crime in France. Duncombe wrote that "The first principles of the system recommended in this Report with regard to Common Schools, Schools for the education of the poorer classes, and for the education of Teachers of the Normal Schools"<sup>4</sup> were derived from Cousin's book. It seems that Cousin's book made quite an impression upon Duncombe; Prussia, noted Duncombe, possessed "a system of Education unequalled in the records of time."<sup>5</sup>

The deep interest which Americans showed in European educational methods and systems was also apparent to Ryerson. He believed that the American state systems of education were primarily derived from Europe. Ryerson observed this during his tour of the northeastern American states, Britain, and continental Europe in 1845-46. In addition, he believed that the books which Americans wrote and the ideas contained in these books about education were not very original. The ideas and methods in American schools and books on education were all initially derived from European sources. Writing from Paris in 1845 to Canada's Governor General's Private Secretary, J. M. Higginson, Ryerson stated: "I have found that all that is most attractive and valuable in the best Schools in the United States, and in the best School Books they have, and their best publications on School Teachers, etcetera, has been borrowed from the Continental Schools of Europe,

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<sup>4</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 2, p. 290.

<sup>5</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 2, p. 304.

and from French, Swiss and German Authors."<sup>6</sup> Later in the same year, Ryerson wrote from London where he noted that the methods of instruction implemented in the schools of New York City and Boston were "borrowed from Holland and Prussia, as have the most interesting features of the American School System generally."<sup>7</sup>

When Ryerson returned to Upper Canada from his tour in 1846, he wrote his *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada, 1846*, [Report of 1846]. This document should be seen as the basis of both Ryerson's theory of pedagogy and the administrative machinery of his educational system. An examination of this document will reveal that there was, as Putman noted, "little that is original"<sup>8</sup> and up to ninety percent of the *Report of 1846* was derived from the reports of American and European educators. Victor Cousin's study, *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia*, Calvin E. Stowe's work, *Report on Elementary Public Instruction in Europe*, and especially Horace Mann's *Seventh Annual Report* represented the three primary sources of information on education which Ryerson used for his *Report of 1846*.

Thus, since the Prussian system of education was so significant to many American educators and given the importance which Ryerson had shown towards American writers for ideas on

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<sup>6</sup> DHE., vol. 5, p. 241.

<sup>7</sup> DHE., vol. 5, p. 245.

<sup>8</sup> J. H. Putman. *Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada*. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), p. 110.

education, an examination of the reports written by Cousin, Stowe, and Mann must precede any study of Ryerson's understanding and use of European educational ideas to support his idea of a system of elementary education in Upper Canada. An examination of these studies is necessary in order to reveal the reasons for the popularity of the Prussia system of education in the United States as well as the main characteristics of the Prussian system which Americans believed should be borrowed and implemented in the United States.

## I

V. Cousin, lecturer of philosophy at the University of Paris, was sent by the French government in 1831 to study the school systems of the German States, especially Prussia. A year later, the results of Cousin's study of the public-school system of Germany was published under the title *Rapport sur l'état de l'instruction publique dans quelques pays de l'Allemagne, et particulièrement en Prusse* and later translated into English with the title of *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia*. Edgar Knight, who edited the book, *Reports on European Education by John Griscom, Victor Cousin, Calvin E. Stowe*, wrote that Cousin's report was "among the most important of all the reports on educational conditions in Europe during the second quarter of the nineteenth century."<sup>9</sup> Not only did the *Report on the State of*

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<sup>9</sup> E. W. Knight, ed. *Reports on European Education by John Griscom, Victor Cousin, Calvin E. Stowe*. (New York:McGraw-Hill Book Company), pp. 117-118.

*Public Instruction in Prussia* influence the French law of 1833 which became "the foundation upon which a national system of elementary education was developed in France",<sup>10</sup> it also "announced to the world the progress Germany had made"<sup>11</sup> in matters concerning education.

Cousin's report was translated into English and published in London in 1834; a year later, this book was published in New York City. M. M. Odgers wrote in his biography of Alexander D. Bache that Cousin's report was especially influential in the United States and that "An English translation of Cousin's report on education in Prussia was widely circulated in the United States."<sup>12</sup> Bache, according to Odgers, possessed copies of Cousin's work.<sup>13</sup> *The Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia* also impressed John D. Pierce, who became the first head of the public-school system in the state of Michigan. Jackson wrote in his history, *The Development of State Control of Public Instruction in Michigan*, that the information Cousin provided on the duties and powers of the Minister of Public Instruction influenced Pierce when he established the position of superintendent of public instruction

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<sup>10</sup> Knight, *Reports on European Education by John Griscom, Victor Cousin, Calvin E. Stowe.* p. 116.

<sup>11</sup> Walz, *German Influence in American Education and Culture*, p. 15.

<sup>12</sup> M. M. Odgers. *Alexander Dallas Bache: Scientist and Educator, 1806-1867.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1947), p. 73.

<sup>13</sup> Odgers, *Alexander Dallas Bache: Scientist and Educator, 1806-1867.* p. 73.

for the state of Michigan in 1836.<sup>14</sup> Charles Brooks of Massachusetts, along with Horace Mann, also seemed to have been influenced by Cousin regarding "the importance of state control of education and the training of teachers in normal schools supported by the state."<sup>15</sup>

Even though many of Cousin's own ideas regarding education are contained in his report, a good part of the *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia* consists of significant extracts from the Prussian school law of 1819. It is only near the end of his study that Cousin outlined many characteristics of the Prussian system of education which he considered important, notable and indispensable when formulating a law concerning primary instruction for France. In the final section, the reader learns more about Cousin's own ideas on education.

One characteristic of the Prussian system which was outlined in Cousin's report was the establishment of a ministry within the government responsible for education which, according to Cousin, enjoyed a rank and authority equal to the other ministries within the government.<sup>16</sup> He gave three advantages for a special department devoted to education within a government: (1) service was better

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<sup>14</sup> G.L. Jackson. *The Development of State Control of Public Instruction in Michigan*. (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1926), p. 31.

<sup>15</sup> Knight, *Reports on European Education by John Griscom, Victor Cousin, Calvin E. Stowe*. p. 117.

<sup>16</sup> V. Cousin, "Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia", in Knight, E. W., ed. *Reports on European Education by John Griscom, Victor Cousin, Calvin E. Stowe*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1930), p. 123.

performed; (2) the authority of those responsible for education was better obeyed; and (3) education was held in respect since it was now a government department.<sup>17</sup>

Another characteristic which Cousin noted about the Prussian system was the arrangement of the powers reserved for the minister of education and for each department of education. The minister of education was responsible for the general direction of the whole system of education while the details of implementing government policy were left to the local officials responsible for elementary, secondary, and university education.<sup>18</sup>

Cousin recommended for France the institution of compulsory education which already existed in Prussia. The French educator noted that "In Prussia, the state has long imposed on all parents the strict obligation of sending their children to school, unless they are able to prove that they are giving them a competent education at home."<sup>19</sup> He believed that compulsory school attendance and military service in Prussia "contain the secret of its originality as a nation, of its power as a state, and the germ of its future condition."<sup>20</sup>

The establishment of teacher training institutes and the

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<sup>17</sup> Cousin, "Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia", p. 123.

<sup>18</sup> Cousin, "Reports on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia", pp. 129-130.

<sup>19</sup> Cousin, "Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia", p. 131.

<sup>20</sup> Cousin, "Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia", p. 130.

thorough training of teachers were two other characteristics of the Prussian system which Cousin found important. According to Prussian law, the training of teachers should not be left to chance and therefore, more normal schools for elementary school teachers should be established.<sup>21</sup> Cousin believed that there could only be good instruction where there were good teachers and it was the responsibility of the state to ensure that teachers were well prepared, suitably placed, received further training, pursued self-improvement, and promoted for their good work or punished for their faults.<sup>22</sup> He indicated that normal schools were already being established in various parts of France and so a law "ordaining the establishment of a primary normal school in each department ... would only do little more than confirm and generalize what is now doing in almost all parts of the country."<sup>23</sup>

Cousin advised that for every communal school, there should be a special committee of superintendence.<sup>24</sup> In addition, the members of the clergy, advocated Cousin, should be considered a part of the communal educational committees in France. He recommended that clergymen should not only be members part of the education system, but that "Christianity ought to be the basis of the instruction of

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<sup>21</sup> Cousin, "Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia", p. 168.

<sup>22</sup> Cousin, "Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia", p. 167.

<sup>23</sup> Cousin, "Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia", p. 212.

<sup>24</sup> Cousin, "Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia", p. 220.



the people."<sup>25</sup> Christian education and the presence of the clergy on partially elected school committees were two characteristics of the Prussian system of education which Cousin found both agreeable and necessary.

The French educator wrote that the fundamental character of the law of 1819 "is the moral and religious spirit which pervades all its provisions."<sup>26</sup> The law of 1819 laid out several objectives which every school in Prussia should implement. First of all, every student should develop a sound understanding of his or her relationship to God and all students should be encouraged to live as good Christians. Second, all students should be trained to obey the laws of the state and to be attached to the sovereign and state. And finally, "Primary instruction shall have for its aim to develop the faculties of the soul, the reason, the senses, and the bodily strength."<sup>27</sup>

Prussian law required that every primary school have its own special committee of superintendence. The committee of each country elementary school should consist of a clergyman from the parish, village officials, and one or two householders. The committee members, according to Prussian law, were given two main duties: (1) to receive complaints of the schools or teachers from

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<sup>25</sup> Cousin, "Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia", p. 223.

<sup>26</sup> Cousin, "Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia", p. 158.

<sup>27</sup> Cousin, "Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia", p. 159.

the community and students; and (2) maintain and organize the schools according to the regulations and laws.<sup>28</sup> Clergymen had as their responsibility the inspection of the schools and management of the external part of the school.<sup>29</sup>

Cousin recommended that a series of inspectors be created for each stage of instruction in the districts of France. Prussian law demanded that schools be grouped according to the ecclesiastical district they were a part of and each group or circle of schools should have its own circle-inspector. Circle-inspectors were given five major responsibilities: they were required to (1) examine the interior of the schools and the conduct of the committee and master of each school; (2) ensure that each school operates in accordance to the law; (3) encourage or admonish schoolmasters and the members of the committee; (4) watch over and promote the continual improvement of the head master and his attendants; and (5) submit reports concerning the circle to provincial authorities.<sup>30</sup>

Cousin found the Prussian law of 1819 to not only be "the most extensive and complete law on primary instruction"<sup>31</sup> but also an excellent piece of legislation. The superior quality of Prussian school legislation was due to its impartiality, lack of official

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<sup>28</sup> Cousin, "Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia", p. 191.

<sup>29</sup> Cousin, "Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia", p. 191.

<sup>30</sup> Cousin, "Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia", pp. 199-201.

<sup>31</sup> Cousin, "Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia", p. 205.

despotism, flexibility at the local levels of education, and the active part which the clergy and people played in the educational system.<sup>32</sup> The Prussian law was a sound piece of legislation in Cousin's estimation, because "all persons or classes who have an interest in the subject, find their appropriate place in this organization, and concur, each in his own manner and degree, to the common end, which is, the civilization of the people."<sup>33</sup>

## II

Calvin E. Stowe was both a professor at Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, and the husband of Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. In addition to teaching, Stowe was interested in other aspects of education. He helped to establish the Western Literary Institute and as early as 1835, he prepared a report on the education of immigrants.<sup>34</sup> In 1836, Stowe gave a lecture before the Convention of Teachers at Columbus, Ohio on the Prussian system of education; he explained how it could be applied to the United States. Based upon the information found in Cousin's *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia* and in certain articles in the *Conversations-Lexicon*, Stowe expressed his admiration for the Prussian system of education: "It is

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<sup>32</sup> Cousin, "Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia", p. 206.

<sup>33</sup> Cousin, "Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia", p.206.

<sup>34</sup> Knight, *Reports on European Education by John Griscom, Victor Cousin, Calvin E. Stowe.* p. 244.

impossible to contemplate the system without admiring the completeness and beauty of the plan - the wisdom, benevolence and good taste of its minutest regulations - and the promptness and efficiency with which every part of it is carried into execution."<sup>35</sup> This lecture which Stowe gave was, wrote Walz, "the clearest and the most succinct account of the Prussian school system to be found in American literature of the time."<sup>36</sup>

In 1836, the governor of the state of Ohio requested of Stowe that while he was in Europe purchasing a library for Lane Theological Seminary, Stowe should also collect

such facts and information as he may deem useful to the State, in relation to the various systems of public instruction and education, which have been adopted in the several countries through which he may pass, and make report thereof, with such practical observations as he may think proper, to the next General Assembly.<sup>37</sup>

Stowe subsequently toured England, Scotland, France, Prussia, along with other states in Germany, and he visited the universities of Cambridge, Oxford, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paris, Berlin, Halle, Leipzig, Heidelberg and others. By December of 1837, Stowe submitted his *Report on Elementary Public Instruction in Europe* to the Governor and Legislature of Ohio. In a few years, Stowe's reputation as an educational thinker became so great that,

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<sup>35</sup> Quoted in Walz, *German Influence in American Education and Culture*. p. 19.

<sup>36</sup> Walz, *German Influence in American Education and Culture*. p. 18.

<sup>37</sup> C. E. Stowe, "Report on Elementary Public Education in Europe", in Knight, W. E., ed. *Reports on European Education by John Griscom, Victor Cousin, Calvin E. Stowe*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company), p. 248.

according to Knight, "he was frequently sought after for service in the normal schools of Massachusetts."<sup>38</sup>

The first few pages of Stowe's *Report on Elementary Public Instruction in Europe* deal with an international movement which he described as "the educational zeal of the age."<sup>39</sup> Stowe claimed that the sovereigns of Prussia, Bavaria, and Russia were all engaged in enlightening and educating their subjects. These monarchs were doing this, wrote Stowe, "with better plans of instruction, and a more efficient accomplishment in practice than the world has ever before witnessed."<sup>40</sup> He noted that this educational zeal originated in Prussia and it was the objective of these monarchies "to unite with the military force which always attends a despotism, a strong moral power over the understanding and affections of the people."<sup>41</sup>

Stowe believed that republics, like the United States, were the natural foes of despotic states and a republic, if it wished to remain strong and free, had to possess people with intelligence and virtue.<sup>42</sup> The professor from Ohio noted that while monarchies were

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<sup>38</sup> Knight, *Reports on European Education by John Griscom, Victor Cousin, Calvin E. Stowe.* p. 244.

<sup>39</sup> Stowe, "Report on Elementary Public Education in Europe", p. 255.

<sup>40</sup> Stowe, "Report on Elementary Public Education in Europe", p. 254.

<sup>41</sup> Stowe, "Report on Elementary Public Education in Europe", p. 256.

<sup>42</sup> Stowe, "Report on Elementary Public Education in Europe", p. 256.

strengthening themselves by means of educational reform, republics were neglecting their systems of education. For reasons of patriotism and self-preservation, Stowe concluded, the United States had to do more for the education of its people than any of the despotic sovereigns did for their own people.<sup>43</sup>

In a section entitled, *Internal Arrangements of the Prussian Schools*, Stowe discussed those characteristics of the internal management of Prussian schools which impressed him the most.<sup>44</sup> He found that Prussian schools were run with perfect order, neatness, and frugality; there was little or no waste. The introduction of drawing and designing, vocal and instrumental music, moral instruction and the Bible into the classroom, claimed Stowe, proved to be successful in implementation. All of these subjects were highly beneficial to the students. Regarding moral education, Stowe stated that German educators believed that "to leave the moral faculty uninstructed was to leave the most important part of the mind undeveloped."<sup>45</sup>

The next section of Stowe's *Report on Elementary Public Instruction in Europe* deals with (1) the institutions established for the purpose of reforming young offenders, and, (2) the value of education. The manual labour schools, which were established in

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<sup>43</sup> Stowe, "Report on Elementary Public Education in Europe", p. 256.

<sup>44</sup> Stowe, "Report on Elementary Public Education in Europe", pp. 257-259.

<sup>45</sup> Stowe, "Report on Elementary Public Education in Europe", p. 259.

various cities in Germany, were successful "in reclaiming the vicious and saving the lost",<sup>46</sup> because of, as Stowe explained, their vocational and religious instruction, and, kind treatment given to their students. Stowe believed in the value and power of education. All people in a political state, argued Stowe, should be properly educated in order to become "enlightened and useful citizens, contributing a large share to the public wealth, virtue and happiness" of the state instead of becoming criminals, "depredating on the property and violating the rights of the industrious citizens."<sup>47</sup> Money spent on education, claimed Stowe, would prove to be less than the money spent on prisons and police in a country which neglected the education of its people. The Ohio educator believed that he in fact saw in German society proof of the power and advantage of education.

A significant portion of Stowe's study was devoted to the methods and contents of instruction in Prussian schools. Prussian children received eight years of elementary school instruction. During these years, pupils in Prussian schools, wrote Stowe, successfully underwent a vast amount of instruction in properly constructed and furnished school-rooms. Prussian elementary schools were successful, explained Stowe, for the following reasons: properly trained teachers, sound methods of teaching, teachers always finishing what they started, and, punctual and

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<sup>46</sup> Stowe, "Report on Elementary Public Education in Europe", p. 263.

<sup>47</sup> Stowe, "Report on Elementary Public Education in Europe", p. 267.

regular attendance on the part of the students. He especially admired the teaching methods used by Prussian elementary school teachers. Stowe wrote that (1) students were taught according to their mental and physical capacity, (2) lessons were expected to be interesting so as not to dull the interest of the students, (3) topics were frequently interchanged within a lesson, (4) students participated in conversational exercises, (5) the week was systematically planned so that all students knew what to expect, and, (5) teachers conducted frequent reviews and repetitions of previous lessons.<sup>48</sup>

Near the end of the *Report on Elementary Public Instruction in Europe*, Stowe outlined what he believed were the most striking characteristics of the Prussian system of education; he noted four.<sup>49</sup> The Prussian system was noted for its completeness in the number and kind of subjects taught in the class-room and for its adaptiveness in dealing with a variety of students. All faculties of the mind were developed by the schemes of instruction implemented by teachers in Prussian schools; the student's perceptive, reflective, moral and religious faculties, his ability to memorize, judge, and imagine, along with his physical and manual dexterity skills were all enhanced and exercised. The system was practical, rather than theoretical in orientation; "It views every subject on the practical side, and in reference to its adaptedness

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<sup>48</sup> Stowe, "Report on Elementary Public Education in Europe", pp. 271-272.

<sup>49</sup> Stowe, "Report on Elementary Public Education in Europe", pp. 304-306.



to use."<sup>50</sup> The Prussian system of education, Stowe observed, was noted for its moral and religious character; "Its morality is pure and elevated, its religion entirely removed from the narrowness of sectarian bigotry."<sup>51</sup>

Stowe completed his report by stating that all that he observed in Europe and everything which he wrote about in the *Report on Elementary Public Instruction in Europe* was not a theoretical or visionary scheme; the Prussian system did exist and it worked. He believed that whatever was done in Prussia could also be done in the United States as long as a number of conditions were first met; he listed six conditions.<sup>52</sup> First, teachers should be properly trained, knowledgeable about the methodology and content for the course to be taught, and, in possession of strong, independent and disciplined minds. Second, schools devoted to the instruction of the art and science of teaching should be established; only then would the business of teaching become a systematic object of attention. Third, teachers should also be assured of a proper means of living; a teacher would not be able to do a good job if he was unable to support himself by receiving a good wage. Fourth, the school system would be successful when the students attended school punctually and regularly, and when they

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<sup>50</sup> Stowe, "Report on Elementary Public Education in Europe", pp. 305-306.

<sup>51</sup> Stowe, "Report on Elementary Public Education in Europe", p. 306.

<sup>52</sup> Stowe, "Report on Elementary Public Education in Europe", pp. 308-313

felt comfortable in a suitably constructed and furnished school-house. Fifth, all children should be given up to the discipline of the school and teacher; consequently, a parent should not interfere with the teacher's management of the school. And sixth, Stowe stated as one of his conditions that if there was to be any change to the educational system in the United States, it should be done gradually and only after the benefits of change "are first demonstrated by actual experiments."<sup>53</sup>

### III

The most important and leading figure in the Common School Movement during the 1830s and 1840s was Horace Mann who served as secretary of the Board of Education of the State of Massachusetts from 1837 to 1848. Mann was interested in the promotion of the education of all of the country's people, and he wanted "to provide the general population with a strong sense of morality and with the ability to critically judge the political and social needs of the nation."<sup>54</sup> Two years after his appointment to the position of secretary of the Board of Education, Mann opened up the first State Model School in Lexington, Massachusetts which was based after the German model.<sup>55</sup> Each year, while he was Secretary of the Board of

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<sup>53</sup> Stowe, "Report on Elementary Public Education in Europe", p. 313.

<sup>54</sup> Button and Provenzo, *History of Education and Culture in America*. p. 98.

<sup>55</sup> Walz, *German Influence in American Education and Culture*. p. 30.

Education, Mann published his annual reports which were widely circulated in the both the United States and abroad; these annual reports "represent the best source for understanding Mann's ideals and purpose as an educator."<sup>56</sup>

Mann felt he had to travel to Europe and inspect the systems of education found on the British Isles and on the continent because he wanted to know if any of these institutions were superior to those in his State. He also wanted to determine if there was anything which could be adopted or transferred to the United States.<sup>57</sup> Within a period of five months in 1843, Mann visited England, Scotland, Ireland, Prussia, Saxony, along with other German States, and he travelled to Holland, Belgium and France. When Mann returned to the United States, he published his *Report of an Educational tour in Germany, and parts of Great Britain and Ireland: Being part of the seventh annual report of Horace Mann, [Seventh Annual Report]*, which consisted of an account of the systems of education he saw in the states of Germany and other European countries. Mann also talked about prisons, reformatories, asylums, hospitals, and schools for the blind and deaf.

The principal destination of Mann's travels and the main focus of his *Seventh Annual Report* was Germany and its schools. "Among

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<sup>56</sup> Button and Provenzo, *History of Education and Culture in America*. p. 98.

<sup>57</sup> Horace Mann. *Report of an Educational tour in Germany, and parts of Great Britain and Ireland: Being part of the seventh annual report of Horace Mann*. (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Company, 1846), p. 2.

the nations of Europe," Mann wrote, "Prussia has long enjoyed the most distinguished reputation for the excellence of its schools."<sup>58</sup> He also stated that the schools of Prussia were the "models for the imitation of the rest of Christendom."<sup>59</sup>

Mann noted near the beginning of his *Seventh Annual Report* that in the British press, the Prussian system of education was frequently attacked because it was "adapted to enslave, and not to enfranchise the human mind."<sup>60</sup> The educator from Massachusetts responded to these allegations by saying that the superior method of teaching employed by the Prussian school-teacher could be copied "without adopting his notions of passive obedience to government, or of blind adherence to the articles of a church."<sup>61</sup> If Prussia was able to employ the influence of education to ensure a people's obedience to the State, Americans, thought Mann, could also use the influence of education to support and perpetuate republican institutions, and create freemen.<sup>62</sup> Near the end of the *Seventh Annual Report*, after reviewing the methods of teaching, the discipline of students, the quality of teachers and students, and

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<sup>58</sup> Mann, *Report of an Educational tour in Germany, and parts of Great Britain and Ireland*. p. 5

<sup>59</sup> Mann, *Report of an Educational tour in Germany, and parts of Great Britain and Ireland*. p. 5.

<sup>60</sup> Mann, *Report of an Educational tour in Germany, and parts of Great Britain*. p. 5.

<sup>61</sup> Mann, *Report of an Educational tour in Germany, and parts of Great Britain and Ireland*. p. 7.

<sup>62</sup> Mann, *Report of an Educational tour in Germany, and parts of Great Britain and Ireland*. p. 9.

the preparation of teachers in Prussia, he wondered about the possible consequence this system of education could have on the future of the government of Prussia. Mann wrote:

No one who witnesses that quiet, noiseless development of mind which is now going forward in Prussia, through the agency of its educational institutions, can hesitate to predict, that the time is not far distant when the people will assert their right to a participation in their own government.<sup>63</sup>

Mann noticed that as a result of the methods of instruction employed in the Prussian classrooms, both teachers and students were developing independent, critical minds.

The primary purpose of Mann's tour of Europe was to examine the school systems, school-houses, teaching apparatuses, teacher training institutes and the methods of teaching found in the major European countries. When he investigated the systems of education in the states of Europe, Mann gave a number of reasons for the superiority of the Prussian system over all others.<sup>64</sup> Students, wrote Mann, were properly classified according to their age and abilities. The classification of students allowed a teacher to focus his attention on a single class, and it led to a reduction of student idleness and disorder in the classroom.

The methods of instruction in Prussian schools were successful because, as Mann explained, "teachers in Prussia made the important

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<sup>63</sup> Mann, *Report of an Educational tour in Germany, and parts of Great Britain and Ireland*. p. 204.

<sup>64</sup> Mann, *Report of an Educational tour in Germany, and parts of Great Britain and Ireland*. pp. 92-188.

discovery that children have five senses"<sup>65</sup> and when teachers gave a lesson, the students' five senses were fully occupied. He noted that a lesson would be more successful if the teacher appealed to the five senses of the student than by using physical force and fear; teaching and learning became profitable and delightful. All students in Prussian elementary schools were equipped with a slate and pencil, along with a reading book. The teacher, on the other hand, made frequent use of a blackboard by drawing and writing on it during a lesson. After witnessing a grammar lesson where the teacher held the attention of his students for an hour, Mann gave the following explanation for the success of the lesson:

Now it is obvious that in the single exercise above described, there were elements of reading, spelling, writing, grammar, and drawing, interspersed with anecdotes and not a little general information; and yet there was no excessive variety, nor were any incongruous subjects forcibly brought together. There was nothing to violate the rule of "one thing at a time."<sup>66</sup>

The Prussian teacher, while appealing to the five senses of his students and making full use of school apparatus during a lesson, observed Mann, also made sure that his students saw new analogies and dissimilarities in the ideas and things the students were studying. A lesson became more effective when students were allowed to converse with the teacher:

It communicates information. It brightens ideas before only dimly apprehended. It addresses itself to the various faculties of the mind, so that no one of them

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<sup>65</sup> Mann, *Report of an Educational tour in Germany, and parts of Great Britain and Ireland*. p. 94.

<sup>66</sup> Mann, *Report of an Educational tour in Germany, and parts of Great Britain and Ireland*. pp. 100-101.

ever tires or is cloyed. It teaches the child to use language, to frame sentences, to select words which convey his whole meaning.<sup>67</sup>

Mann learned that during lessons dealing with grammar and composition, great attention was paid to grammar by means of speaking properly, and little was formerly said about the rules of grammar. German students learned to speak well, concluded Mann, because both the teacher and his students were continually conversing with each other, the teacher required that students speak in complete sentences, and finally no error was allowed to go by with or without a correction.

The Prussian system of education was the best in the world in Mann's estimation for another reason. A wide variety of subjects were offered in its schools. Arithmetic was taught earlier and for a longer period of time in German schools than in American schools. During the instruction period, Mann explained, students proceeded less by studying the rules and more by understanding the process and solving the problem themselves. The hand-writing of Prussian students, according to the Massachusetts educator, was far superior to anything he saw in Britain, France or the United States. Students were able to write well, concluded Mann, because they learned to draw at the same time they were learning how to write, and, they drew things which were familiar, significant and pleasing to them.

Prussian students studied geography by first becoming familiar

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<sup>67</sup> Mann, *Report of an Educational tour in Germany, and parts of Great Britain and Ireland*. p. 102.

with those things which surrounded them. Afterwards they moved on to subjects which were physically more distant from them. Mann noted that during a geography lesson, connections were always made with commerce, manufactures and history.

In a conversation with Dr. Vogel, superintendent of schools in Leipzig, Mann was told by Vogel that he would consider it "a sin in any teacher not to lead his pupils to think, in regard to all the subjects he teaches."<sup>68</sup> The Prussian teacher did not use awkward phraseology and he did not teach from a book. German students were expected to use the language suitable for their age and abilities, and the teacher moved about the classroom conversing with his students, encouraging them to draw connections between what they already knew and what they were presently studying. The Prussian elementary school teacher, wrote Mann, "connects the subject of each lesson with all kindred and collateral ones; and shows its relations to the everyday duties and business of life."<sup>69</sup> Thus, a variety of subjects were taught in the Prussian elementary classroom simultaneously so as to establish a common and interrelated bond of knowledge between all of them, concluded Mann.

Biblical history and knowledge were taught in the Prussian elementary school. Mann noted that these subjects received a great deal of attention and they were studied systematically. Music was taught in Prussian schools both as an accomplishment and as a form

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<sup>68</sup> Mann, *Report of an Educational tour in Germany, and parts of Great Britain and Ireland*. p. 142.

<sup>69</sup> Mann, *Report of an Educational tour in Germany, and parts of Great Britain and Ireland*. p. 149.



of recreation. He gave several reasons for the instruction of music in elementary schools: music promoted health, disarmed anger, softened rough and turbulent natures, and socialized the child.

The Prussian school system was superior to other school systems, Mann believed, because of the quality of its teachers, and their manner of deportment in and out of the classroom. Mann observed that Prussian teachers had "a profound conviction of the importance and sacredness of the office they filled."<sup>70</sup> Teachers in Prussian elementary schools were a dignified, intelligent, and benevolent group of people; they were neither arrogant nor pretentious. They knew much and they possessed libraries consisting of the standard works of education.

Prussian teachers treated their students respectfully. According to Mann, they "mingled with their pupils, passing rapidly from one side of the class to the other, animating, encouraging, sympathising, breathing life into less active natures, assuring the timid, distributing encouragement and endearment to all."<sup>71</sup> Students were not ridiculed, sneered at, and scolded by their teachers. Mann claimed that he never saw a teacher strike a student and he never saw a student in tears.

There were three final characteristics of the Prussian school system which made it, in Mann's estimation, superior to other school systems in the world. First of all, Mann devoted

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<sup>70</sup> Mann, *Report of an Educational tour in Germany, and parts of Great Britain and Ireland*. p. 156.

<sup>71</sup> Mann, *Report of an Educational tour in Germany, and parts of Great Britain and Ireland*. p. 165.

approximately eight pages describing the organization, subjects, and methods of instruction found in Prussian normal schools. The high quality of teachers and normal schools found in Prussia was the result of the teaching profession being held in such high esteem by the public that those who have failed in other departments of life were not allowed to enrol in normal school. Second, the high quality of both the teaching profession and the administration of the Prussian system could also be attributed to the character of the school inspectors. The school inspectors, stated Mann, have been "selected from among the most talented and educated men in the community."<sup>72</sup> Finally, the Prussian school system worked successfully because all students had to attend school. Parents were legally responsible for their children's attendance; Mann wrote that parents could be summoned to court and fathers even placed in prison if the child did not attend school without a good reason.

Mann did not examine the Prussian schools in an uncritical manner; he wondered why there was a lack of technological development in Prussia and why the people seemed so sluggish and unenterprising in their character. There were four reasons, in Mann's opinion, which explained why Prussia's superior system of education did not lead to an improvement in Prussian society and the economy: (1) children left school at too early of an age; (2) there were few books young people could read once they finished

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<sup>72</sup> Mann, *Report of an Educational tour in Germany, and parts of Great Britain and Ireland*. p. 184.

school; (3) young people were unable to practice what they learned since the state allowed for no democratic participation in the governing process; and (4) the vices of the sovereign and the upper classes were copied by the lower classes.<sup>73</sup>

The final note of criticism given by Mann of the European systems of education pertained to the way religion was taught. Religion was not used to develop within each student a God fearing conscience and a sense of right and wrong; instead, religion was used to secure "the blind submission of person and property to the ruler."<sup>74</sup> After visiting Europe, Mann was convinced of the rightness of separating church and state and the banning of sectarian teaching in public schools.

During his career as the Secretary of the Board of Education, Mann influenced educational developments in New England, the Middle Atlantic states, and the Midwest; his reputation and influence was enhanced after the publication of the *Seventh Annual Report*. The *Seventh Annual Report* represented a considerable part of Ryerson's *Report of 1846*. Ryerson, in fact, went so far as to acknowledge his debt to Mann in a letter he wrote to him after the publication of Ryerson's *Report of 1846*: "You will perceive from my Report how largely I have availed myself of your observations on European schools, and how fully I concur with you in opinions as the merits

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<sup>73</sup> Mann, *Report of an Educational tour in Germany, and parts of Great Britain and Ireland*. pp. 198-201.

<sup>74</sup> Mann, *Report of an Educational tour in Germany, and parts of Great Britain and Ireland*. p. 239.

of the Government authorized methods of teaching."<sup>75</sup>

Hinsdale, just before the turn of the century, stated that the American system of education had undergone many changes since Mann released his *Seventh Annual Report*. Some of these changes, noted Hinsdale, grew out of the Mann's report:

The *Report* is interesting because it points out to us the origin and source of some of the most familiar features of our best schools. More than this, there are still thousands of schools where the "German methods," if introduced, would be quite as novel as they were in Massachusetts fifty years ago.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 213.

<sup>76</sup> Hinsdale, *Horace Mann and the Common School Revival in the United States*. p. 172.

## CHAPTER TWO

### The Schoolmaster is Abroad

*In availing myself, as far as possible, of the experience of other countries, and the testimony of their most enlightened Educationists, I have not lost sight of the peculiarities of our own Country, and have only imitated distinguished examples of other nations.*

Egerton Ryerson, 1846

Ryerson belonged to an international group of educators who wanted to establish a comprehensive school system; "These men...formed a community of articulate and self-conscious educational innovators."<sup>1</sup> All of these men were concerned with the problems of ignorance, vice, crime, poverty, and drunkenness which were often associated with the rise of urbanization and industrialization. All of these school reformers believed that an educational system would eliminate these social problems. Ryerson, much like his American counterparts, "looked on the school as a vehicle for inculcating loyalty and patriotism, fostering social cohesion and self-reliance, and insuring domestic tranquillity."<sup>2</sup>

Ryerson - like Cousin, Stowe, Mann, Bache, and others - looked outside his own national boundary for examples which could be

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<sup>1</sup> S. E. Houston, "Politics, Schools, and Social Change in Upper Canada", *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 53, no. 3 (1972), p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> J. D. Wilson, "The Ryerson Years in Canada West", in Wilson, J., Stamp, R. M., Audet, Louis-Philippe, eds. *Canadian Education: A History*. (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd.), p. 21.

adapted to the conditions of his own country. These examples were used to confirm his educational ideas which had already been developed elsewhere.

In this regard, it is relevant to note that within one year of his appointment as Assistant Superintendent of Schools for Upper Canada in 1843, Egerton Ryerson went to both the United States and Europe in order to fulfil his new duties as Assistant Superintendent. Ryerson spent fourteen months abroad; six months were spent in the United States and the remaining eight were spent in Britain, Prussia, France, Sweden, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Austria. While touring the United States and Europe, Ryerson obtained books concerning the educational systems and schools of these countries, and he conversed with school directors, professors, and teachers about educational systems and schools. He visited and examined the interior arrangements, government, and teaching apparatus of the school establishments themselves, and finally, collected educational programmes, rules, statutes, reports and accounts of the educational systems of these countries.<sup>3</sup> This comparative perspective was crucial because Ryerson was expected "to establish the most efficient system of Instruction; to elevate the character of both Teachers and Schools; and to encourage every plan and effort to educate and improve the youthful mind of the country."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 5, pp. 243-244.

<sup>4</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 140.

The product of Ryerson's tour, which was his vision of the type of educational system suitable to the circumstances of Upper Canada, was his *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada, 1846*. The information, observations and opinions offered by a variety of people, became a part of his *Report of 1846*. Ryerson believed that it was important to gather a wide variety of sources so as to strengthen and illustrate his own views regarding the establishment of a system of elementary education for Upper Canada.<sup>5</sup> Ryerson wanted to make sure that the recommendations which he submitted in his *Report of 1846* to the government of British North America were not the outcome of rash novelties and crude speculations but, instead, the result of the experience and investigations which Europeans and Americans had acquired during the establishment of their systems of education.<sup>6</sup>

Ryerson's *Report of 1846* was considered to be an important document in the history of Ontario's education system for variety of reasons. Putman argued in 1912 that Ryerson's *Report of 1846* was both very far reaching and comprehensive for its time. According to Putman,

Almost every subject introduced into Ontario schools during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and many which yet, in the twentieth century, seem to have an insecure foothold, and are by many denominated "fads," were included by Ryerson in his memorable *Report of 1846*, and the arguments he uses in favour of their adoption would not seem out of place if used by an advanced

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<sup>5</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 141.

<sup>6</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 141.

educator of the present day.<sup>7</sup>

Pakenham wrote in 1914 that "the story of Ryerson's administration is the story of his effort to make effective the views expressed in this report of 1846."<sup>8</sup> According to Wilson, this document "provides the most comprehensive statement of his philosophy of education ... and sets the framework for the public school system that was evolved in the next three decades."<sup>9</sup> Wilson writing in 1970, noted that "Ryerson's blueprint of 1846 was to a large extent realized within his thirty-year term of office."<sup>10</sup> And finally, as Bruce Curtis explained in 1988, "The Report presented a summary of the most progressive propositions of bourgeois political theory, with respect to both the social importance of education, and pedagogical method."<sup>11</sup>

Given the importance of the *Report of 1846*, it will be the purpose of this chapter to examine it in order to not only outline Ryerson's philosophy of education but also to determine the extent to which Ryerson looked to the German system of education to both confirm his own ideas on education and to adapt Prussian educational ideas, methods, and institutions to the peculiar

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<sup>7</sup> Putman, *Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada*. p. 114.

<sup>8</sup> W. Pakenham, "The Public School System", in Shortt, A., Doughty, A. G., eds. *Canada and its Provinces*, vol. 18, (Toronto: Publishers' Association of Canada Limited, 1914), p. 304)

<sup>9</sup> Wilson, "The Ryerson Years in Canada West", p. 217.

<sup>10</sup> Wilson, "The Ryerson Years in Canada West", p. 217.

<sup>11</sup> B. Curtis. *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871*. (London, Ont.: The Althouse Press, 1988), p. 101-102.



circumstances of Upper Canada.

Ryerson divided his *Report of 1846* into two parts. The first part dealt with Ryerson's definition of education and what he considered to be the main features of his proposed system of education. Ryerson outlined the subjects which should be taught in Ontario's system of education. The second part of the *Report of 1846* pertained to the administrative elements which Ryerson believed should be part of his system of education.

## I

At the very beginning of his *Report of 1846*, Ryerson gave his definition of education. According to Ryerson, education meant

not the mere acquisition of certain facts, or of certain branches of knowledge, but that instruction and discipline which qualify and dispose the subjects of it for their appropriate duties and employment of life, as Christians, as persons of business and also as members of the civil community in which they live.<sup>12</sup>

Associated with this definition of education, Ryerson stated that schools should be graded to the wants of the social and economic classes of the country. The educational system should be uniform throughout the land, based upon Christian principles, and finally, supported by and received the influence of both the government and the people.

Ryerson felt it was absolutely necessary to establish a system of education for the labouring and producing members of the population of Upper Canada. The education of these people had not

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<sup>12</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 142.

been adequately provided for by the government yet Ryerson believed it was very important to have such a system in place for reasons of economy, patriotism, and humanity.

A universal and complete system of education, according to Ryerson, was intended to perform four tasks. First of all, Ryerson, like many other educational reformers of his time, concluded that a system of education would prevent pauperism, misery and crime. Education was seen as a means of improving the condition of the people and generally, the wealth, morals and happiness of the whole country.<sup>13</sup> Ryerson gave as proof of this assertion the conditions of life found among the agricultural labourers of England and the Prussian provinces of the Rhine. Regarding the Rhenish Provinces, Ryerson quoted Mr. Thomas Wyse, a Member of the British Parliament who stated that these provinces represented a conspicuous example of the positive influence of education on the elimination of social problems. Wyse wrote: "In few parts of the civilized world is there more marked exemption from crimes and violence."<sup>14</sup>

Second, an educated population, argued Ryerson, would be a very productive one. The education of the labouring classes would create people who were logical and who would have with the power of making systematic arrangements and deductions as well as the capacity for collecting a series of observations. An educated populace, believed Ryerson and the other reformers, would possess

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<sup>13</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 143.

<sup>14</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 144.

the qualities of order, punctuality, and good conduct.<sup>15</sup>

Third, the presence of an educated upper class was also expected to lead to better industrial relations between the labouring classes and the higher classes. The upper classes would show greater consideration for the labouring classes thus leading to greater social peace.

And, finally, Ryerson asserted that a country possessing an educated people would also be one which enjoyed civil peace. An ignorant population would imperil representative government whereas an educated population would ensure the continuance of responsible government. He quoted Bishop Berkeley in support of these propositions: "But if they are to be governed as rational beings, the more rational they are made the better subjects they will be of such a government."<sup>16</sup>

Education, contended Ryerson, could only be beneficial if it included characteristics which were lacking in Upper Canada when Ryerson assumed the position of Assistant Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada in 1843. The first characteristic of Ryerson's proposed system of education was its universality. Unlike the rich who were able to provide for their education, Ryerson felt that the government had to intervene on behalf of the poor and ensure that they also received a proper education.

The second characteristic of Ryerson's proposed system of education was its practicality. Schools should be practical in the

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<sup>15</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 145.

<sup>16</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 146.

sense that the people of Upper Canada were trained to function in modern industries and methods of production. Ryerson believed that he was living in a new age and, consequently, the educational system should be in harmony with these new social, economic, technological, and political developments. According to Ryerson,

The changes and developments which have been made in the arts, modes of labour, methods of business, systems of Commerce, Administration of the Government, and indeed every department of civilizations, involve the necessity and importance of a corresponding character in our whole System of Public Instruction.<sup>17</sup>

A practical education, wrote Ryerson, also included religion and morality. The development of the student's conscience was the third characteristic of his educational system. One of the major defects of Upper Canadian schools, Ryerson contended, was the absence of Christianity in its classrooms: "The omission of Christianity in respect to Schools, and the character and qualifications of Teachers, has prevailed to an extent fearful to contemplate."<sup>18</sup> The educator from Upper Canada wanted to include in his proposed system of education the instruction of the truth and morals found in the Holy Scriptures with the purpose of creating people who were conscientious in their morals.<sup>19</sup> He wanted to exclude both the teachings of sects and the passions of religious extremists because all of these things could lead to "ecclesiastical corruptions, superstition, infidelity, social

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<sup>17</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 147.

<sup>18</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 150.

<sup>19</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 147.

disputes and civil contentions and is inimical alike to good government and public tranquillity."<sup>20</sup> Thus, in subsequent pages of his *Report of 1846*, Ryerson set aside substantial space where he discussed the negative consequences for an educational system which lacked any sense of Christianity. Ryerson concluded that a godless education would create a defiant people. Such a society would be overwhelmed by want, vice, and crime. He, of course, wanted to create a virtuous and intelligent people. The Upper Canadian educator felt that in order to achieve this goal, the heart and conscience of the people had to be cultivated. Knowledge without a conscience, concluded Ryerson, would lead to vice.

Ryerson then referred to the reports written by Cousin, Stowe, and Mann in order to substantiate his views on the importance of religious instruction in the classroom and to outline the contents and methods of the instruction of religion in his *Report of 1846*. Ryerson's admiration of his North American colleagues was expressed in this manner: "The manner in which the branch of Education is taught in the Prussian Schools is worthy of special notice. I cannot describe it better than in the words of two American writers, Professor Stowe of Cincinnati and the Honourable Horace Mann of Boston."<sup>21</sup> After quoting a passage from Stowe regarding the opinions which German educators had of the importance of religious education, and a passage from Mann concerning the knowledge which German elementary school teachers possessed of religion, Ryerson

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<sup>20</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 147.

<sup>21</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, pp. 152-153.

then noted that his own observations of German schools and conversations with educators in Germany, Holland, and France, "enable me to corroborate the statements of Professor Stowe and Mr. Mann."<sup>22</sup>

A comparison was next made by Ryerson between the way religion was taught in Ireland and Germany. Unlike Germany, which had two denominational schools, one Roman Catholic and the other Protestant, the assistant superintendent noted that in Ireland, Roman Catholics and Protestants cooperated with each other in drawing up a general set of religious maxims which could be taught in its system, regardless of the religious background of the students. Ryerson stated that the amount of religious education in Ireland was greater than any other place in the British Isles, except for Scotland.

Nevertheless, Ryerson observed that the Irish National Board of Education "does not profess to give a thorough religious education."<sup>23</sup> Prussia, in Ryerson's estimation, provided a more thorough religious education; he wrote that in Prussia the teachers were well trained to teach several different courses in religion in all eight years of the elementary school. All children, even the "children of the poorest classes" wrote Ryerson, covered such topics in their religion classes as biography, history, the cardinal doctrines, and morals and "in some instances, evidences of

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<sup>22</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 154.

<sup>23</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 156.

the authenticity of the Bible."<sup>24</sup> Ryerson continued to heap praise onto the Prussian system of religious instruction by quoting the general law of Prussia dealing with the fundamental principle of public education in that country: "The chief mission of every School is to train the youth in such a manner as to produce in them, with the knowledge of man's relations to God, the strength and desire to regulate his life according to the principles and spirit of Christianity."<sup>25</sup> Ryerson believed that if one were to compare religious education and teacher training a person received in Upper Canada with what a person received in Prussia, he or she would come to this conclusion:

No one can ponder upon the import of such a law - a law carried out with all the thoroughness of the German character, - without feeling how far below such a standard we sink in our accustomed estimate of the character and attributes, the objects and duties of Schools and Schoolmasters.<sup>26</sup>

Unlike Mann, who was critical of the purpose given for religious education, Ryerson did not find the Prussian combination of state and religion objectionable. In fact, he believed that they should complement each other. Ryerson stated that since the creed of the government was Christianity, it was the duty of the government to establish a system of education based upon Christianity.

The fourth characteristic of Ryerson's proposed system of

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<sup>24</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 156.

<sup>25</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 157.

<sup>26</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 158.

education was the development of the intellectual and physical facilities of the population. The education system should not just communicate knowledge but it should lead to the increase of mental powers. Ryerson, at this point in his *Report of 1846*, was highly critical of the teaching methods found in American and Upper Canadian schools. Students learned by rote and the knowledge students received, concluded Ryerson, "has no existence in the mind apart from the words in which it is acquired, and which vanishes as they are forgotten."<sup>27</sup> He stated that American textbooks, which Upper Canadians were using, were very poor and the method of teaching was anti-intellectual.

Once again, Ryerson referred to Mann to prove the superiority of German methods of teaching in comparison to North American methods of teaching. In American schools, teachers depended upon textbooks while in Germany teachers did not use any textbooks to teach from at all. German students, according to Mann, were happy to be in school. Upon the completion of their education, these students were properly fitted to fill the active duties of life.

Ryerson briefly discussed the importance of physical education. He noted that gymnastics was found in the best of British schools as well as in the schools of Germany and France. In Ryerson's opinion, the defeat of Napoleon at the Battle of Waterloo could be attributed to the school system of Prussia; he wrote: "It was young men thus trained that composed the vanguard of Blucher's army; and much of the activity, enthusiasm and energy,

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<sup>27</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 159.



which distinguished them, was attributed to their gymnastic training at school."<sup>28</sup> Ryerson recommended that since the majority of the youth of Upper Canada would be engaged in physical occupations, the inclusion of physical exercise in the curriculum would be beneficial.

The fifth characteristic of Ryerson's school system included a large number of subjects which he believed should be taught according to a prescribed methodology. Ryerson listed fifteen subject areas which he wanted to include in his proposed elementary school curriculum: Biblical history and morality, reading and spelling, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, linear drawing, vocal music, history, natural history, natural philosophy, agriculture, human physiology, civil government, and political economy. The assistant superintendent from Upper Canada considered the three Rs, that is, reading, writing, and arithmetic (or in his words, calculation) to be "the roots of the tree of knowledge and the primary elements of intellectual power."<sup>29</sup> Reading, writing, and arithmetic were considered by Ryerson the practical arts; the mastery of these subject areas would enable every student, boy and girl, to work well and be productive in an era which Ryerson considered to be practical. Of these fifteen subject areas only the following will be examined in any detail: reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic, along with grammar and drawing.

Ryerson wrote that the method employed in North American

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<sup>28</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 161.

<sup>29</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 179.

schools to teach reading and spelling was very poor. The letters of the alphabet were taught first and then children were taught how to read. This method, according to Ryerson, was mechanical and tedious, unnatural and dull. He believed that there was a better method - one which was taught in Germany and also in Ireland. Ryerson briefly mentioned the method developed by an American educator and then he stated that the Irish readers were based upon the same principles as those developed by a teacher in Boston. Afterwards, Ryerson spent several pages quoting from the section in Mann's *Seventh Annual Report* where he observed a lesson given by a Prussian teacher on the alphabet; Ryerson chose this example of teaching the alphabet because it illustrated "the qualifications which are required to teach properly the first elements of learning."<sup>30</sup> In this lesson, the Prussian teacher appealed to the students' five senses, used the blackboard extensively, named those things which were familiar to the students, conversed with the students, and expected all students to answer in complete sentences.<sup>31</sup>

Ryerson stated that he also witnessed the method Mann described in his *Report of 1846* in Leipzig and in various German elementary classrooms found throughout the country. It appeared to Ryerson that this method of instruction represented a model which should be followed in Ontario's schools. This method of reading exercises was found in all German as well as Swiss states, in many

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<sup>30</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 165.

<sup>31</sup> DHE., vol. 6, pp. 164-167.

French schools, in the Normal School of Dublin, and in the best schools of England and Scotland.<sup>32</sup>

To teach reading properly, Ryerson felt, represented a mechanical, intellectual, and theoretical exercise. Quite often, all that was done in North American schools, when teaching students how to read, was the pronunciation and articulation of words. Ryerson believed that children should be taught to understand what they read. Understanding while reading was something which was already practised in Prussian schools and this method proved to be beneficial to the students in the following manner: "Under this intellectual process, the pupil acquires a knowledge of language, men and things; a desire to read is awakened and increased, as his skill in reading improved by the practice."<sup>33</sup> Once again, the educator from Upper Canada quoted from Mann's *Seventh Annual Report* to cite another example of Prussian teaching; this time, the account Ryerson chose to include in his *Report of 1846* pertained to a more advanced reading exercise.

Spelling was considered by Ryerson to be an essential part of the elementary school curriculum. In North American schools, students were taught to spell before they learned how to read. Ryerson stated that this was a method which was "not sanctioned by the practice of the best European and American schools."<sup>34</sup> Instead, children should learn how to spell while they were learning how to

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<sup>32</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 167.

<sup>33</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 168.

<sup>34</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 170.

read. In this section of Ryerson's *Report of 1846*, examples of German methods of instruction were not given.

The quality of the teaching of writing, Ryerson believed, was very poor in Upper Canadian schools. He quoted a description given by J. O. Taylor, an American educator, of a writing exercise given in the schools of the state of New York which Ryerson believed was similar to what was taking place in Upper Canada. Taylor observed that everything from the pens used by the students to the uneven desk they wrote on, along with the poor instruction given by teacher, created very poor writing skills in students. The best method of writing, which Ryerson learned of during his tour of Europe, was developed by M. Mulhäuser of Geneva, Switzerland. This method involved young students writing or perhaps drawing, what Mulhäuser found to be the four elementary parts or forms of all letters. Older students combined these forms into letters.<sup>35</sup> Ryerson noted that this method of instruction was accepted and practised in various countries on the continent.

Like Mann, Ryerson claimed that in Prussian schools and in certain French schools, students wrote very well. Ryerson wrote: "In all of these Schools the writing of the pupils was superior to any writing of pupils of similar ages that I had ever witnessed."<sup>36</sup> Ryerson quoted several passages from Mann's *Seventh Annual Report* to illustrate the way writing was taught in German schools. In these passages, Mann stated that students learned how to draw while

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<sup>35</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 174.

<sup>36</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 175.

learning how to write, and students always drew things which were familiar to them.<sup>37</sup>

Arithmetic, along with spelling, reading and writing, was to be an essential element to the Upper Canadian student's practical education. Just as in writing, Ryerson found arithmetic instruction in Upper Canada to be very poor. Ryerson once again quoted Taylor whose description of the state of arithmetic classes in New York State was similar to that of Upper Canada. According to Taylor, "There is much compulsive, uncertain, and labourious study of arithmetic; but it is often in vain, from the manner in which it is taught since the scholar gets very little in return for his labour that is valuable."<sup>38</sup> Taylor went on to say that whatever arithmetic people knew, it was acquired outside of school. Students rarely used the same book and studied the same rules of arithmetic in the classroom. Students, noted Taylor, learned absolutely nothing at school. Teachers contributed to the poor arithmetic skills of students in New York. Taylor wrote: "The Teacher has not time to hear each pupil separately, and to explain and illustrate to each the nature of the rule, or operation, even if he be competent and disposed to do so."<sup>39</sup>

Ryerson noted that a description of very sensible methods of arithmetic instruction was given by a leading English educator. He also stated that he had observed students in the Dublin Normal

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<sup>37</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 176.

<sup>38</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 176.

<sup>39</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 177.

School performing arithmetical operations quickly. Ryerson argued that "The practise of the best Schools in other Countries suggests that children should first study Intellectual arithmetic."<sup>40</sup> He said that he witnessed favourable exercises in arithmetic performed by students in Scotland, France, and Germany. Two examples were selected by Ryerson to illustrate how arithmetic should be taught. One example came from Scotland, the other came from Germany via Mann's *Seventh Annual Report*. An account was given by a Mr. Woods of how arithmetic was taught in Scottish schools and also the rate of success achieved by students in completing operations. Mann also made a comparison between the way arithmetic was taught in German schools with American schools. The major difference which Mann observed was between the emphasis on rules in the United States and the emphasis placed on process in Germany.

Another subject which Ryerson wanted to include in his proposed curriculum was grammar. In Upper Canada and in the United States, a grammar lesson consisted of the recitation of gender, number and case, and agreement. Ryerson believed that this method of instruction was largely useless, and that proper language usage could only be taught by the example of speaking and writing with corrections being given by the teacher during a lesson. Ryerson quoted an unnamed, recent traveller to Prussia who observed that proper language usage was acquired when the teacher (a) conversed with the student, (b) never allowed a mistake made by the student to go by uncorrected, and (3) required all students to answer

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<sup>40</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 177.

questions in complete sentences.<sup>41</sup> The passage which Ryerson borrowed from Mann concerning the instruction of grammar in Germany was one, in Ryerson's opinion, with which no one would disagree. Mann noted that German students did not repeat the rules of grammar; instead, a teacher works with his students' everyday phraseology with the intention that his students express their ideas with elegance, distinctiveness, and force.<sup>42</sup>

## II

The second part of Ryerson's *Report of 1846*, which dealt with the machinery and administration of his proposed system of public education for Upper Canada, was divided into five sections: (1) the gradation of a school system; (2) teachers and their qualifications; (3) text books; (4) the control and inspection of schools, and (5) individual efforts. Ryerson discussed the gradation of schools and the normal schools by looking at the structure of the systems found in Prussia and France. The structure of the educational systems located in these countries was divided into three categories: primary, secondary, and superior, that is, university. Of the two systems of primary education, Ryerson found the Prussian system to be the better one: "In Prussia, however, the system is so complete, practically as well as theoretically, and all the Teachers being trained up the same standard and after the same methods, the country Village, Primary

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<sup>41</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 179.

<sup>42</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 181.

Schools are little, if at all, inferior to those of the Cities."<sup>43</sup> Ryerson continued by listing the secondary schools found in Prussia which included the higher burger schools, the Real and Trade schools, and finally, the *Gymnasiums*. The systems of education located in Prussia and France appealed to Ryerson because of the division of labour found in these schools. Ryerson wrote: "Each School has its own province; there are no two classes of Schools supported by the Government teaching one and the same thing, or the same class of pupils. This is economy, both in regard to labour and pecuniary expenditure."<sup>44</sup>

In Ryerson's proposal for an educational system Upper Canada's elementary schools would be similar in nature to the primary schools of France and Prussia. Ryerson also suggested that the secondary schools set up in Upper Canada should correspond to the industrial and Real schools of Prussia, and that district grammar schools should perform the same functions in Upper Canada as the French Communal and Royal Colleges and the Prussian Higher Burger Schools and *Gymnasia*. Such a system of schools had its advantages because, as Ryerson noted, "each School would occupy its appropriate place, and each Teacher would have his appropriate work."<sup>45</sup> Ryerson contended that there would be no duplication of work in this system of education and also, no longer would there be the case of one teacher teaching everything from Greek to the "a,

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<sup>43</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 196.

<sup>44</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 196.

<sup>45</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 197.



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Ryerson argued that unless there were good teachers, properly trained for the profession, there would never be good schools in Upper Canada. Europeans and Americans, Ryerson found, all agreed upon the necessity of properly regulated normal schools. On several occasions, Ryerson maintained that the normal schools of Prussia were the best in Europe. For example, Ryerson stated that "the excellence of the German Schools is chiefly ascribed by German Educationists to their system of training Teachers."<sup>46</sup> Ryerson also said that the normal schools found in the cities of London, Dublin, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, along with those found in the countries of Holland, France, Saxony, and Switzerland were very good.

The advantages of having properly trained teachers were illustrated by Ryerson when he quoted Mann and his observations of German schools. Mann talked about German teachers who never sat down during a lesson, conducted lessons without a textbook in their hands, and who possessed a thorough knowledge of the various subject areas. There also existed, according to Mann, "the beautiful relation of harmony and affection which subsisted between Teacher and pupils," and the rare use of corporal punishment in German classrooms.<sup>47</sup> Ryerson concurred with Mann's general observations but noted two exceptions: he had seen on one occasion a boy in tears when he was removed from class and, occasionally, Ryerson saw old teachers sitting at their desks in the classroom

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<sup>46</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 198.

<sup>47</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, pp. 202-203.

while they were teaching.

In Ryerson's discussion of textbooks, he noted the disadvantages of having too large a variety of them in the classroom, especially if they were of poor quality. The textbooks published by the National School Board of Ireland were, in Ryerson's opinion, the most suitable for use in Upper Canadian schools because they were inexpensive and because they were "imbued throughout with the purest principles, and embrace the whole range of topics which have been recommended in the former part of this Report." <sup>48</sup> Ryerson also advised a Board of Education for Upper Canada which would recommend which textbook should be used in the schools of the province.

Ryerson felt that there should be government control and inspection of schools. Not only was it the duty of the government to enact laws dealing with education, the government must also make sure that these laws were executed properly. All the countries of Europe and numerous American states had a board or minister of education. It was not enough, contended the Upper Canadian educator, to simply have laws pertaining to education; there should be an administrative system which could implement and supervise the execution of these laws.<sup>49</sup>

Ryerson believed that proper administration required local school inspectors who would become experts in the field of education. Neither the systems of education in Prussia and France,

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<sup>48</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 204.

<sup>49</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 205.

nor the boards of education in England and Ireland, in Ryerson's opinion, would have succeeded without local school inspectors. Regarding the creation of such a class of administrators in Upper Canada, Ryerson wrote: "I think this part of the System of Public Instruction is, as yet, by no means appreciated in this Province, in proportion to its importance."<sup>50</sup>

Another aspect of the Prussian and French educational systems which was controversial in Upper Canada was compulsory education. It was Ryerson's intention to only discuss the issue of compulsory education but not to recommend it for his proposed system of education. Ryerson noted that many Upper Canadians believed that the compulsory attendance of children at school was associated with despotic governments, and that the law was arbitrary and "inconsistent with the rights of parents and the liberties of the subjects."<sup>51</sup> Ryerson argued that it was wrong for parents to resist compulsory education because each parent had a duty or obligation to ensure the proper education of his or her children. Accordingly, "In neglecting to educate, he wrongs his child - dooms him to ignorance, if not to vice."<sup>52</sup> The assumption held by many Upper Canadian parents that there was a connection between despotic governments and compulsory education was considered false by Ryerson. The Cantons of Switzerland, Ryerson noted, were democratic and all children were required to attend school in these

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<sup>50</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 206.

<sup>51</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 207.

<sup>52</sup> DHE., vol. 6, p. 207.

districts. In a final instance, Ryerson turned to Mann to support his assertion that compulsory education should not be associated with despotic governments. Mann noted that the state of Saxony had a constitutional government and an elective franchise; Saxony also required all children to attend school regularly.

Ryerson attributed the efforts of individual Prussian teachers as one reason for the countries excellent reputation in education. The Prussian system of education was not only the result of its laws and its administrative system but also the spontaneous efforts of individuals and associations. Ryerson stated:

It is to these efforts that Germany owes its unrivalled series of School and educational Books; the existence and wide circulation of upwards of thirty periodical School publications - and the stated conferences of School Inspectors and Teachers in all the German States. The intercourse of Teachers and Educators, in all parts of Germany, is constant and intimate.<sup>53</sup>

Ryerson recommended that teacher associations should be established. Frequent conferences should be held at both the district and provincial levels between teachers and government officials.

*The Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada, 1846* ended with a few statements made by Ryerson to the Governor General of British North America. Ryerson stated that he only mentioned the most important topics and that this Report of 1846 only contained the outlines of a system of education which would take years to establish. The final words of this Report of 1846 were those by the Prussian School Counsellor Dinter, a man

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<sup>53</sup> DHE., vol. 6, pp. 208-209.

whose life's work and spirit would set an example for and be imitated by educators in Upper Canada. Dinter stated: "I promised God that I would look upon Prussian peasant child as a being who could complain of me before God, if I did not provide him the best education, as a man and a Christian, which it was possible for me to provide."<sup>54</sup>

### III

It is obvious that Ryerson not only turned to Prussian examples to illustrate what he considered were the most suitable aspects of a system of education for Upper Canada. He also quoted the statements given by a variety of educators from France, England, Scotland, Ireland, and the United States regarding the goals of education, the methods of teaching, and the machinery of the educational system. Ryerson spoke favourably about the schools found in Holland, France, and Scotland but he rarely made positive statements about the schools of the United States which were, in Ryerson's estimation, just as bad as Upper Canadian schools. He was also fond of the normal school in Dublin, the way the Irish handled religious instruction in schools, and the textbooks of the Board of Education of Ireland.

In spite of his admiration for the systems of education in other countries, Ryerson thought very highly about the nature of religious instruction in Germany, German methods of teaching, the quality of German teachers, German normal schools, the gradation of

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<sup>54</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 211.

schools in Germany, the secondary school system in Germany, and the administrative system of the German school system. He often quoted Mann, and to a lesser extent Stowe, Cousin and unnamed travellers to illustrate the quality of German schools and instruction. German methods of instruction were often the only models presented by Ryerson. One particular aspect of the German system of education which impressed Ryerson was "the 'humanistic' pedagogy of these schools [which] was inspired by the work of the Swiss educational reformer J. Pestalozzi."<sup>55</sup> Ryerson, along with Mann and others, wrote Putman

paid visits to Prussia, and went home to recommend the adoption of much that they saw. These men were acute observers. They recognized that the Germans had learned something that was not generally known by other teachers.... many of the improvements introduced into the Canadian schools by Ryerson and practised by Canadian teachers, perhaps in an empirical way, were far-away echoes of principles laboriously worked out by German scholars.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871*. p. 101.

<sup>56</sup> Putman, *Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada*. p. 155.

## CHAPTER THREE

### The "Stern Logic of Facts"

*Every enlightened country in Europe is at this moment disposed to learn lessons of educational wisdom from Prussia. England has not failed within the last year or two to profit largely by her experience; and even Austria herself, which Prussia humbled in the dust, has hastened to adapt to her own circumstances and, within a year or two, has put in force a comprehensive system of education, founded on that of her rival and conqueror.*

Egerton Ryerson, 1871

An examination of Ryerson's *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* (1848-76) will reveal that little was said of any importance about German educational ideas, methods, and institutions; twenty-six articles and references about Germany and its educational system were found in this journal. Only fourteen of these articles are of any significance in terms of length; many of the remaining references to Germany are only a paragraph or two in length. On the other hand, a great number of articles, taken from British and American sources, pertaining to educational issues, methods, innovations and innovators in the British Isles and the United States, can be located in this publication.

Official documents such as Ryerson's annual reports, along with his circulars and speeches, said little about Germany throughout the 1850s and up until the late 1860s. It was not until 1868 when Ryerson released a lengthy document on the educational systems of Europe and America that anything of significance was

said about Germany. The only major comparative study of Upper Canada's system of education with another country's system of education took place during the 1850s and this study dealt with the system of education in Ireland. In Ryerson's annual report for 1857, he gave an account, which was over 133 pages in length, of the system of education for Ireland and how it compared with that in Upper Canada.

In stark contrast to the lack of interest in things German in Upper Canada, the German system of education and German ideas continued to be of interest to and play an important part in American educational circles well into the second half of the nineteenth century. During the 1850s, numerous books and journals were published in the United States which were either wholly or in part devoted to the discussion and importance of educational ideas, methods, and institutions developed in Germany. Henry P. Tappan, the first president of the University of Michigan published a book in 1851 entitled, *University Education*; Tappan wrote of education in Germany in this way: "The whole system of education, from the Common School upward, exhibits an intellectual progress which commands our admiration."<sup>1</sup> In his inaugural address in December of 1852, Tappan said that "the institutions of Prussia, like ancient learning and art, stand before us as models which we are constrained to admire, to approve and to copy."<sup>2</sup> In 1855, in a

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<sup>1</sup> Walz, *German Influence in American Education and Culture*. p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Walz, *German Influence in American Education and Culture*. p. 48.



discourse entitled, "The Progress of Educational Development", Tappan once again heaped praise onto the Prussian system of education. He stated that the Prussian system acted as the model upon which the school system of Michigan was built.

Another prominent figure in the United States who was very interested in German ideas and institutions was Henry Barnard; he published an 890 page book in 1854 entitled *National Education in Europe*; one-third of this book was devoted to the examination of German education. Barnard wrote near the beginning of his book of the importance of Germany in the field of education: "Here, too, education first assumed the form and name of a science, and the art of teaching and training children was first taught systematically in seminaries established for this special purpose."<sup>3</sup> During his lifetime, Barnard was not only Superintendent of Schools of Connecticut, and later, the first United States Commissioner of Education, he was also the editor of the *American Journal of Education* (1856-81). What Walz found impressive about the *American Journal of Education* was "the large number of translations from German educational works, with the many accounts of German methods of instruction and the training of teachers, and with the general interest in everything pertaining to German schools and German teachers."<sup>4</sup> Barnard should also be credited with the encouragement

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<sup>3</sup> Barnard, H. *National Education in Europe; Being an Account of the Organization, Administration, Instruction, and Statistics of Public Schools of Different Grades in the Principal States*. (New York: Charles B. Norton, 1854), p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Walz. *German Influence in American Education and Culture*. p. 34.

he gave to the spread of Froebel's ideas and the kindergarten movement in the United States. It should be noted that neither Barnard nor Tappan's books were reviewed in the *Journal of Education for Upper Canada*.

Considering the great importance given to the German system of education by Ryerson and his American contemporaries in the 1830s and 1840s, and the continuing interest shown in the United States for things German during the 1850s and 1860s, it came as a surprise that so little was said in Ryerson's annual reports and *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* about German educational ideas, methods, and institutions. In an attempt to understand why so little was said in Upper Canadian publications about Germany, and how Upper Canadians saw Germany (and themselves) through the documents and publications released during these decades, the following topics will be considered in this chapter: (1) the issue of "Prussian despotism" in Upper Canada during the late 1840s; (2) the nature of the articles about Germany in the *Journal of Education for Upper Canada*; and (3) Ryerson's annual reports for 1868 and 1870.

## I

Soon after Ryerson released his *Report of 1846*, he began drafting a bill which eventually became the Common School Act of 1846. This Act defined the duties of the Superintendent of Schools and it provided for the establishment of a Normal and Model school. It created the first General Board of Education and declared that all clergymen, judges, councillors and Justices of the Peace had

the right to visit the schools. The Act detailed how school trustees were to be elected and outlined the duties of teachers. Ryerson stated in 1851 that the elementary system of instruction was derived from four sources.<sup>5</sup> The administrative elements of the system were taken from the State of New York while the principles of taxing property to support the schools and opening the schools to all people in the province came from the State of Massachusetts. The elementary school books used in Upper Canadian schools were prepared and published by the National School Board of Ireland. Finally, the system of Normal School training, and the principles of teaching were taken from Germany.

Wilson noted that in contrast to the School Act of 1841 which called for a decentralized school system, "Ryerson's Common School Act of 1846 inaugurated a centralized, provincial system."<sup>6</sup> Hodgins wrote in 1900 that the Common School Act of 1846 was such a departure from the old ways of running a school system that it was regarded as revolutionary and "too far-reaching and ambitious for a Country so young as was Upper Canada, and so unprepared for an enlarged and comprehensive School System, as that proposed."<sup>7</sup> Consequently, in order for this school system to be implemented in Upper Canada, Hodgins commented, "such a System, - to give it strength, vitality, and comprehensiveness, - must necessarily have covertly embodied in it some autocratic element which savoured of

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<sup>5</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 10, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Wilson, "The Ryerson Years in Canada West", p. 40.

<sup>7</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 7, p. 196.

'Prussian despotism,' since it was, by the showing of the Chief Superintendent, *largely founded on the School System of Prussia.*"<sup>8</sup> Thus, by discussing the reaction which the *Report of 1846* and the Common School Act of 1846 received from many members of Upper Canada's elite an insight can be gained into the possible reasons for Ryerson's neglect of German educational issues from the 1850s to the mid 1860s.

As a result of the Common School Act of 1846, an intense debate took place in Upper Canada. Ryerson felt that he "could not have imagined that so much party feeling would be brought to the consideration of such a subject."<sup>9</sup> In the years following 1846, the *Report of 1846*, the Common School Act of 1846, and even Ryerson himself, were all under attack. Ryerson was often accused of being a Prussian despot because of his advocacy of a centralized system of education. Those who supported local control over such educational issues as textbooks and teacher certification, and others who demanded that the position of Superintendent of Schools be responsible to a legislature, attacked Ryerson and the Common School Act of 1846.

The debate surrounding the school bill was intense in Upper Canada. An editorial for the *Examiner* stated in 1846 that the Common School Act of 1846 "cannot fail to determine the foundations of independence, and to prepare the minds of the rising generation

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<sup>8</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 7, p. 196; italics are mine.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Houston, "Politics, Schools, and Social Change in Upper Canada", p. 268.

for submitting to despotism."<sup>10</sup> Many people feared that a highly centralized school system would lead state control over the minds of the students.

Between the months of November and February, 1846-47, the great Prussian debate took place in the editorial columns of the *British Colonist*, the *Globe* and the *Examiner*. An examination of the editorials of the *Globe* during these months will give an indication of the intensity of this debate which was marked by a fierce attack on the *Report of 1846*, the Common School Act of 1846, and on Ryerson.

The editorial of the 6 January in the *Globe* stated that the procedure which Ryerson followed when preparing the *Report of 1846* was wrong. The *Globe* noted that the basis of the *Report of 1846* should have been built upon "a clear statistical view of the wants of the country".<sup>11</sup> Ryerson should have then indicated in his *Report of 1846*, advised the Toronto newspaper, how those wants could have been supplied and the defects remedied. In addition to writing an empirical report, Ryerson, suggested the *Globe*, should have personally answered the questions of people who were concerned with education such as teachers, trustees, and influential persons in the province. Consequently, his *Report of 1846* would have acquired, the *Globe* believed, more credibility. Instead, Ryerson "presented a report ... of which more than one half was written by

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<sup>10</sup> Quoted in R. D. Gidney, "Centralization and education; the origins of an Ontario tradition", *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol 7, no. 4, (1972), p. 41.

<sup>11</sup> *Globe*, 6 January, 1847, p.

other people, and which altogether is about as well suited to Canada as it is to Kamschatka."<sup>12</sup> The *Report of 1846* was considered useless by the *Globe* because it was "not suited to the state and wants of this Province."<sup>13</sup>

The *Globe* attacked Ryerson personally on a number of occasions. Ryerson was both incompetent to serve as Superintendent of Schools and ignorant of the duties of his office. He was also uninstructed in the technicalities of the English language. According to the editorial of 6 January, the various parts of the *Report of 1846* were incoherent: it was filled with many examples of poor grammar and rhetoric. Ryerson was referred to as a bilious Nabob who visited Germany for his health<sup>14</sup> and as a man of "Prussian gravity and 'transcendental' genius," flying high in his German balloon.<sup>15</sup> The personal attack on Ryerson by this newspaper also included national pride; the *Globe* wrote:

Our contemporary has, as he assures us, applied the German system to our strictures, and we presume he thinks that he has done so with overwhelming effect. We in return shall adopt the good old English method with him, and our readers can judge which system has the most truth and honesty in it.<sup>16</sup>

The *Globe* was critical of not only the money Ryerson received while he was in Europe but also the money he earned as Superintendent of

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<sup>12</sup> *Globe*, 6 January, 1847.

<sup>13</sup> *Globe*, 16 January, 1847.

<sup>14</sup> *Globe*, 6 January, 1847.

<sup>15</sup> *Globe*, 16 January, 1847.

<sup>16</sup> *Globe*, 16 January, 1847.

Schools. The *Globe* further wondered how much Ryerson acquired "out of the Secret Service money for his wild-goose chase in Germany."<sup>17</sup>

The editorials of the 27 and 30 of January denounced both Prussianism and the Prussian school system. According to the *Globe*, the Prussian system of education was the creation of the despotic powers of its government. This newspaper stated: "It is the omnipotent power of the State over all the educational operations of the country that has brought the Prussian System to its present maturity."<sup>18</sup> The school system and the armies of Prussia, according to the *Globe*, were directed at the liberties of the people. Prussian schools were under the control of the government which determined the subjects to be taught in the schools, and everyone had to go to school. The *Globe* believed that the Prussian system of education was dangerous because "teaching under such a system necessarily inculcates the most servile administration of arbitrary power". The Prussian system of education had the ability to convert "the mind of men into a mass of plastic material to be operated on by a central power, and turned to whatever purpose."<sup>19</sup> This was the type of educational system the *Globe* claimed Ryerson was advocating; "the blind advocates of Prussianism have awakened a desire in some simpletons, to sacrifice their liberties for the sake of a foreign despotic school system - a system in which none would be troubled with the

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<sup>17</sup> *Globe*, 16 January, 1847.

<sup>18</sup> *Globe*, 27 January, 1847.

<sup>19</sup> *Globe*, 30 January, 1847.

sometimes very annoying interference of the people."<sup>20</sup> According to the *Globe*, there existed within Ryerson a love of despotism and a desire to be a despot. Proof of Ryerson's quest for power, wrote the *Globe*, could be found in the great powers enjoyed by the Superintendent of Schools.

The extent of the personal attacks and the issue of national pride both may have given Ryerson pause in advocating Prussian educational ideas. Sissons noted that had Ryerson "said less about the Prussian school master and more about the Scotch dominie, he might have mitigated the hostility of certain Scots which pursued him relentlessly."<sup>21</sup> Perhaps the association the press created between a system of education and a form of government may have taken on a greater sense of urgency for Ryerson after the defeat of the popular German revolution in 1849 by the Prussian government. Ryerson may have believed it was best to avoid reference to Prussian education while he promoted public education in Upper Canada.

## II

The *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* was a publication Ryerson began on his own initiative in order to publicize his ideas about education. Copies of this journal were sent to each of the school boards throughout the province, and teachers, trustees, and superintendents were required by law to read it. Only twenty-six

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<sup>20</sup> *Globe*, 27 January, 1847.

<sup>21</sup> Sissons. *Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters*. p. 95.



references and articles in a period of twenty-eight years were found in *The Journal of Education for Upper Canada* about German education. Readers of this journal learned little of substance about German methods, ideas, and institutions.

Ryerson was compelled to defend both himself of the charge of being a Prussian despot and the importance of compulsory education. Three articles were found in the *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* during the 1840s and early 1850s which dealt with the powers of the Superintendent of Schools and the importance of compulsory education. In an article entitled, "Powers of the Superintendents of Schools in the United States and in Upper Canada", Ryerson made two points. In response to the debate which was going on in Upper Canada regarding the Common School Act of 1846, Ryerson argued that even though the system of elementary instruction was the same in both despotic Prussia and democratic Switzerland, the systems of government were obviously different. Therefore, it was possible, Ryerson argued, to borrow a system of education from a country without borrowing its form of government.<sup>22</sup> The second point Ryerson discussed in this article was whether the powers of the superintendent in Upper Canada were greater than those of the superintendent for the state of New York. He concluded that even though Upper Canada borrowed many aspects of New York State educational law, the powers of the American superintendent were indeed greater than the powers of the superintendent for Upper

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<sup>22</sup> "Powers of the Superintendent of Schools in the United States and in Upper Canada", *JEdUC*. vol. 1, (March, 1848), p. 65.

Canada.

Two articles were devoted to compulsory education. The first article, published in 1848, was entitled "Basis of the Compulsory System of Education in Prussia, Saxony, and Switzerland"; this article was a reprint of a section found in Ryerson's *Report of 1846*. Another article, "Education and the New Constitutional Charter in Prussia", talked about the new constitution in Prussia and compulsory education. Ryerson wrote: "We observe that a 'fundamental article of the Prussian National Charter declares that there shall be a well-provided School opened for every child; and that from the age of 8 to 13, every child shall attend school.'"<sup>23</sup>

Ryerson never submitted an article which compared Upper Canada's system of education with German states alone. Instead, the nature of German education was often presented by comparing it with the British and to a lesser extent, with the American system of education.

Only two of the twenty-six references and articles about Germany took a negative position regarding the quality of German education. The rest of these references and articles were plainly pro-German. One surprising and interesting article which took a critical position was written by Dr. Weiss, Professor of Joachimisthal Collegiate, Berlin in which he compared Germany's educational system with that of Britain's. In this article, entitled "Letter of a German on English Education", Weiss outlined

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<sup>23</sup> "Education and the New Constitutional Charter in Prussia", *JEDUC*. vol. 3, (March, 1850), p. 39.

a number of differences between British grammar schools and German *gymnasiums*. Weiss believed that the British stressed skill, practice and utility which fostered "the sense of quick observation by due regard to reality."<sup>24</sup> German schools, on the other hand wrote Weiss, stressed science and abstraction. "Reflection prevails to such an excess," noted Weiss about German education, "that by dwelling merely upon generalities, the research into an object is always suffered to be impaired by disregard for the integrity of the facts."<sup>25</sup>

Nine years later, in 1863, Ryerson included in *The Journal of Education for Upper Canada* an article written by the Berlin correspondent of the English newspaper, the *Standard*. The unnamed author, in response to the statements made in England regarding the high quality of German schools, discussed the dark side to education in Germany. This reporter noted that those who attended normal schools received an indifferent education, teachers living in the countryside were exposed to famine and disease, and German teachers did not receive a pension. Also, this reporter stated that German schools were confessional, teaching was restricted to a formalism, and the curriculum of the elementary school was very limited.<sup>26</sup>

From 1864 to 1876, any reference made about German education

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<sup>24</sup> Weiss, Dr., "Letter of a German of English Education", *JEdUC.*, vol. 5, (November, 1852), p. 163.

<sup>25</sup> Weiss, "Letter of a German of English Education", p. 164.

<sup>26</sup> "Education in Prussia", *JEdUC.*, vol. 16, (June, 1863), p. 93.

in the *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* was positive. German schools were given high marks because of (1) the methods of instruction found in these schools, (2) the prevalence of technical and industrial education, and (3) Prussia's victories in war. Only a few of these articles and references, and their main points will be discussed. In an article written for the *New York Christian Advocate* in 1869 entitled "German Methods of Education", the author discussed the positive qualities of the elementary schools, gymnasiums, and universities in Germany. Despite the difficulties the German youth faced in life after they left elementary school, noted this reporter, "they are better people for what education they got."<sup>27</sup> The high quality of German gymnasiums was compared to the limited quality of American colleges; according to this writer, the German gymnasium "answers to the American college, with perhaps a less varied but yet a more thorough curriculum and better results."<sup>28</sup> Finally, this author outlined the characteristics of German universities; they were comprehensive, efficiently manned and well endowed.

During the 1860s and especially during the 1870s, Germany was noted for its industrial education and technical schools. A two-part article written by an Englishman, B. Ibbotson, in 1864 discussed the advantages to the German system of education. Ibbotson talked about the encouragement given to youth regarding

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<sup>27</sup> "German Methods of Education", *JEdUC.*, vol. 22, (January, 1869), p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> "German Methods of Education", *JEdUC.*, vol. 22, (January, 1863), p. 6.

their education, the advantages of an education, forced public examinations, industrial schools, and polytechnical schools in Germany. "Industrial education," wrote Ibbotson, "has been much neglected in England, and it is very rare to find artisans well instructed in the lower branches of mathematics, physics and mechanics; whereas in Germany it is very uncommon to find any who are not well instructed in all these branches of knowledge."<sup>29</sup>

Several articles, approximately a paragraph in length, appeared in the 1870s outlining the nature of technical education in Germany. One such article written in 1872 said the following about technical schools in Germany: "Germany has an extraordinary number of schools for special preparation for industrial pursuits, including schools for architects, engineers, business-men, soldiers, farmers, musicians, sailors, surgeons, gymnasts, and for mechanics, designers, telegraphers...."<sup>30</sup> Another short article written in 1873 made this conclusion: "Nothing could be more hopeful and liberalizing in all directions than such accurate technical education."<sup>31</sup> In an article entitled, "Technical Education in Europe", an American journalist talked about the high quality of technical education in the State of Württemberg. According to this reporter: "The comprehensive method, the

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<sup>29</sup> B. Ibbotson, "The Educational System in Germany, and its Advantages", *JEDUC.*, vol. 17, (April, 1864), p. 52.

<sup>30</sup> "Technical Schools of Germany", *JEDUC.*, vol. 25, (September, 1872), p. 137.

<sup>31</sup> "Increase of Technical Education in Germany", *JEDUC.*, vol. 26, (February, 1873), p. 27.

systematic development and the admirable manner in which its details are fitted to the special aims of practical life are the characteristics of this system of education."<sup>32</sup>

The statements made about the relationship between Prussia's victories against Denmark, Austria, and France, and, Prussia's educational system were numerous. In 1869, the author of the article, "German Methods of Education", wrote: "The greatest European power of the future seems to be passing into the hands of Germany, and her education is the best guaranty of destiny."<sup>33</sup> The following short statement was printed in 1871: "There is a table showing the percentage of the Prussian conscripts who can neither read nor write as compared with the French. In the former it is 3.81, while among the latter it is 30.5, showing that in Prussia education is very general."<sup>34</sup> The reporter for the *New York Evening Post* noted in 1872 that "The eyes of the world have in late years been fixed on Prussia on account of the wonderful success of her armies, a success due to the same cause, viz, the application of technical education. Behind every musket is an intelligent, highly trained mind."<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> "Technical Education in Europe", *JEdUC.*, vol. 25, (December, 1872), p. 184.

<sup>33</sup> "German Methods of Education", *JEdUC.*, vol. 22, (November, 1869), p. 7.

<sup>34</sup> "Prussian and French Conscripts", *JEdUC.*, vol. 24, (April, 1871), p. 55.

<sup>35</sup> "Technical Education in Germany", *JEdUC.*, vol. 25, (December, 1872), p. 185.

### III

Twenty-four years after the release of the *Report of 1846*, Ryerson published his next major report on education concerning the educational systems of Europe and the United States, and their relevance to the system of education of Ontario. Ryerson travelled to the United States and Europe in 1866-67 so that "we might avail ourselves, as far as possible, of the experience of both Hemispheres in simplifying and improving our own System and methods of diffusing education and useful knowledge among all classes of the populations."<sup>36</sup> As part of his mandate, Ryerson was expected to give only a summary of the systems of education, "rather than explain the subjects and modes of teaching."<sup>37</sup> Ryerson described the school systems of France, Prussia, Holland, Austria, England, Scotland, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark and Norway. He also outlined the main features of the systems of education found in the various states in the United States.

There are two major differences between Ryerson's *Special Report of the Systems and State of Popular Education on the Continent of Europe, in the British Isles, and the United States of America, with Practical Suggestions for the Improvement of Public Instruction in the Province of Ontario [Special Report of 1868]* and his *Report of 1846*. In stark contrast to the *Report of 1846*, Ryerson's *Special Report of 1868* is very systematic, organized, and empirical; it outlined the administrative apparatus of the systems

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<sup>36</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 21, p. 53.

<sup>37</sup> *DHE*, vol. 21, p. 69.

of education in Europe and America, and it provided a large number of empirical data pertaining to enrolment and cost. The *Special Report of 1868* displays none of the passionate, missionary zeal which is found in the *Report of 1846*. The *Special Report of 1868* is dry and factual.

In the section dealing with Prussia, Ryerson covered thirteen issues including: the provincial and municipal organization of the Kingdom, executive power over the whole system in Prussia, religious instruction and separate schools, education of the minorities, funds for supporting the Prussian schools, population and school children in Prussia, compulsory education, and the protection of the children as to education and in factories.

Just as in 1846, Ryerson thought very highly of the various systems of education found in the German states. In one part of his *Special Report of 1868*, Ryerson stated that the Prussian system was the most complete and comprehensive system in the world.<sup>38</sup> Ryerson quoted M. Baudouin, the French government School Commissioner to Germany in 1865, who said this about Prussian schools and attitudes towards children:

No where, in fact, is instruction disseminated with so much liberality, given with so much disinterestedness, and directed with so much care. The smallest hamlet has its Primary School; the smallest town its Gymnasium, its citizen and real Schools perfectly organized, endowed and inspected. In Germany every one is interested in youth.... The entire German people appear convinced that to occupy themselves with the instruction of youth is to fulfil a personal duty and labour for the future of their

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<sup>38</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 21, p. 54.



Country.<sup>39</sup>

Ryerson also described the systems of education found in the Duchy of Baden, and the Kingdoms of Bavaria, Württemberg, and Saxony. The systems of education found in these states, Ryerson noted, were, on the whole, adopted from Prussia, and aside from a few minor and circumstantial differences, all of these systems of education were similar in structure. Ryerson pointed out the most outstanding characteristic of each of the systems of education found in these German states: school law in Baden, the status of teachers in Württemberg, art and culture in Bavaria, and the higher and special schools of Saxony. When Ryerson discussed the school system of Austria, he explained the impact which the recent war between Austria and Prussia had on its educational system. Ryerson stated:

The Austro-Prussian war has afforded a vivid illustration of the power of education over ignorance, even in the Battlefield, - of the superiority of mental discipline to mental crudeness, - of free thought and intellectual activity to intellectual enslavement and torpor.<sup>40</sup>

Austria, Ryerson explained, as a result of the loss of her military prestige, was engaged in constitutional and educational reform.

A second major difference between the *Report of 1846* and the *Special Report of 1868* deals with the nature of the comparisons made in each of these documents. In the *Report of 1846*, Ryerson made point-by-point comparisons between many characteristics found in the school system of Upper Canada with those found in the school

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<sup>39</sup> DHE., vol. 21, p. 71.

<sup>40</sup> DHE., vol. 21, p. 98.

systems of European countries. For each point of comparison, Upper Canada's system of education was considered inferior to European systems. In the *Special Report of 1868*, there are no point-by-point comparisons between the systems of education found in Ontario with those of Prussia, France, or Britain. Ryerson made comparisons between the French and English systems in which the English system was seen as the poorer one. Ryerson thought highly of the Dutch system of education and he believed that there were many features in the Dutch system which were common to the school system of Ontario. Even though Ryerson did not mention these common features, he still stated that "there is much in that System suggestive of practical improvements in the School System of our own Province."<sup>41</sup> The school systems found in the cantons of Switzerland impressed Ryerson also; he noted that "What has been done, and is doing in Switzerland, may surely be done in Ontario."<sup>42</sup> The only instance when Ryerson made a comparison between Ontario schools and German schools was when he discussed the system found in Saxony. Ryerson wrote:

While, therefore the population of the Kingdom of Saxony was (in 1865) one-third larger than that of Ontario, its number of Elementary Schools and Pupils was one third-less; but its higher and special Schools rank in number and character above anything which has been conceived among us.<sup>43</sup>

Near the end of the *Special Report of 1868*, Ryerson submitted

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<sup>41</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 21, p. 85.

<sup>42</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 21, p. 85.

<sup>43</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 21, p. 96.

a review of the systems of education in the states of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, along with several other American states. At the conclusion of his review, Ryerson talked about the causes of failure in the United States in regards to its country schools.

It seems that Ryerson learned his lesson after the controversy surrounding the *Report of 1846* and the Common School Act of 1846. The *Special Report of 1868* was written in a very empirical fashion with the intention of allowing the reader to make his own judgments regarding the value or quality of each system of education. At the same time, the *Special Report of 1868* did not, with only one minor exception, compare Ontario's system of education with that of the German states. Even though the superiority of German schools was recognized by Ryerson, he did not depreciate the value of schools in Ontario by explicitly measuring them to the standards found in Germany. The quality of Prussia's system of education was stated in an unimpassioned, factual way so as not to cause indignation among people of Ontario. When comparisons were made between countries, the British and American systems appeared to be the deficient ones while the French and Ontario systems appeared to be the superior ones. Thus, the system of education in Ontario did not appear to be near the bottom of international educational ladder in terms of quality. Other systems of education, specifically the American and British, appeared to be the worst. By engaging in a study of foreign educational systems in this manner, the national sensibilities of Canadians living in Ontario

were not offended. Finally, Ryerson did not end his *Special Report of 1868* by quoting a prominent German schoolmaster. Instead, Ryerson ended by appealing to the patriotism of Canadians. Regarding Ontario's system of education, Ryerson wrote: "We have no reason for apprehension, or discouragement, having within ourselves, under Divine Blessing, all the essential elements and resources of nationality, freedom, progress and happiness."<sup>44</sup>

All in all, the *Special Report of 1868* is a very clever and suggestive document. It subtly recommended changes to the system of education in Ontario without actually saying so. Ryerson did not provide a specific list of school policies found in Europe which, stated in so many words, should be included in Ontario schools. Instead, Ryerson devoted a section of his *Special Report of 1868* on his general observations on systems of public instruction in Europe. The factors which he believed were both positive in the European systems and necessary for those countries wanting to advance "in all the elements and characteristics of national prosperity."<sup>45</sup> Ryerson provided six observations of the European systems of education: (1) the public provision for colleges such as the *gymnasiums* in Germany; (2) the taxation of property for elementary education as practised in the continental countries; (3) the co-operation of religious denominations in education which can be found in the Prussian provinces of the Rhine, Baden, Württemberg, Bavaria, in several cantons in

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<sup>44</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 21, p. 136.

<sup>45</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 21, p. 114.

Switzerland, and in France; (4) practical schools for trades and the arts which were found in all of the continental schools; (5) four conditions of school efficiency: suitable buildings, high standards of qualifications for teachers, a high minimum of salary such as that found in Holland, Baden, Württemberg, and the thorough inspection of schools; and (6) the true method of educating a people which was compulsory education.<sup>46</sup> Each of these observations were eventually included in Ryerson's last major piece of school legislation, the School Law Improvement Act of 1871.

Ryerson's annual report of 1870 discussed the School Law Improvement Act of 1871. In his preliminary observations, Ryerson argued that if the province of Ontario wished to make improvements to its educational system and not be complacent with the status quo, it had to examine what other countries were doing with their educational systems. By not looking abroad, Ryerson noted, the educational experience and advancements of other countries would be lost to the people of Ontario. Ryerson disagreed with those who believed that everything was fine with Ontario's system of education; Ryerson wrote:

But such a short-sighted and unpatriotic course, though approved by some on the principle of "let well-alone," yet would not commend itself to the maturer judgment of those who are accustomed to look at the "stern logic of facts," and to take a comprehensive and practical view of the underlying causes of the social progress in other countries.<sup>47</sup>

In the subsequent pages of Ryerson's annual report for 1870, he

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<sup>46</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 21, pp. 112-114.

<sup>47</sup> *AR.*, 1870, p. 21.

provided illustrations of educational progress in a number of countries in Europe. The first country which Ryerson examined was Prussia.

With a sense of satisfaction, Ryerson noted that the reasons for the objections to his *Report of 1846* and the Common School Act of 1846 have proven to be false over the past twenty years; Ryerson seemed to have sensed that time had vindicated both his system of education and the Prussian system of education. Regarding the Prussian system of education, Ryerson said

Even in regard to the very Prussian system of education, so strongly objected to at one time in this Province, the history of Prussia during the last few years has demonstrated how sagacious and wise were those provisions of her school law which were professedly regarded as the most objectionable.<sup>48</sup>

Ryerson chose to include in his annual report of 1870 one particular segment taken from a report issued by a British Royal Commission (1868). According to the Commission's estimate of the Prussian system of education, "the Prussian system appears to be at once the most complete and the most perfectly adapted to its people of all that now exist."<sup>49</sup> The English Commissioners also stated that the machinery of the educational system was appropriated by the people. "In Prussia the Education Department is simply the instrument which the people use to procure the fulfilment of their own desires."<sup>50</sup> Political considerations did not play a role in

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<sup>48</sup> AR., 1870, p. 22.

<sup>49</sup> AR., 1870, p. 22.

<sup>50</sup> AR., 1870, p. 22.

determining educational policy, according to the Commissioners. Educational issues were decided by their own merits, and not by any other criteria. "The result," said the Commissioners, "is an unrivalled body of teachers, schools meeting every possible need of every class, and a highly cultivated people."<sup>51</sup>

Ryerson then illustrated the importance and impact of possessing a thorough educational system for Ontario by looking at Austria, France, Switzerland, England, Scotland, and Ireland. An examination of the schools systems of the American states was not provided by Ryerson because "The general principles on which the systems of Schools in the several American States are founded are known to the public."<sup>52</sup>

The thoroughness and completeness of the educational system of Ontario, Ryerson claimed, could only be attained by incorporating into the system the successful methods and principles already in place in European countries. Fourteen provisions were recommended by Ryerson which, he believed, would fulfil the wants (and not just the needs) of the people of Ontario by raising the standard of education in the province. Many of the following provisions were already mentioned in Ryerson's *Report of 1846* and they appeared in the form of observations in his *Special Report of 1868*: (1) the system of free schools; (2) compulsory attendance at school; (3) higher standard of qualification for teachers; (4) a fixed legal status for the profession of teaching; (5) a comprehensive course

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<sup>51</sup> AR., 1870, p. 22.

<sup>52</sup> AR., 1870, p. 30.

of study for the public schools; (6) the provision of adequate school accommodation; (7) the elimination of school section divisions, and the establishment township boards of education; (8) the creation of industrial schools; (9) a separate course of study for the high schools; (10) collegiate institutes; (11) equal support of the high and public schools by municipal councils; (12) the new principle of "payment by results"; (13) a more thorough and systematic inspection of the schools; and (14) miscellaneous provisions of the new school act. Ryerson argued for the implementation of each of these provisions into the school system of Ontario in the subsequent pages of the section in his annual report of 1870 which dealt with the School Law Improvement Act of 1871. Quotations were freely taken from various American and British commissions concerned with education, and from books and speeches dealing with education. The example of Prussia and/or other German states, along with arguments given by British and American educators, were used in order to justify the importance and necessity of free schools, compulsory attendance, higher standard for teacher qualifications, a pension fund for teachers, and collegiate institutes.

Ryerson ended his examination of the School Law Improvement Act of 1871 by saying that after twenty-years of service, he was convinced, more than ever, of "the correctness of the views on these subjects which I expressed in my preliminary *Report on a System of Public Instruction for Upper Canada*."<sup>53</sup> Many of the

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<sup>53</sup> AR., 1870, p. 74.



illustrations he gave to justify the fourteen provisions for the improvement of Ontario's education system which Ryerson recommended, were already given in his *Report of 1846*. In 1855, Hodgins stated that "The chief outlines of the [Upper Canadian] system are identical with those in other countries, but in its adaptation to the wants of the country and the genius of the people, it is essentially Canadian."<sup>54</sup> Wilson noted that if Hodgins' assertion was true, then the successful adaptation of foreign models of education in Upper Canada "was due to Ryerson's ability to apply foreign ideas and practices to the service of local needs."<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Quoted in Wilson, "The Ryerson Years in Canada West", p. 238.

<sup>55</sup> Wilson, "The Ryerson Years in Canada West", p. 238.

## **PART TWO**

### **The Great Race of National Intelligence and Progress: 1876-1918**

*It is conceded by all parties that Canada occupied a very creditable position at the recent Centennial Exhibition - that she developed industrial, physical and mental resources which were a surprise to many and, I believe, a gratification to all. She has, therefore, voluntarily assumed a position from which she should never recede. In none of her industrial, any more than in her intellectual and mental activities, can she stand still. Canada, therefore, by her recent success at the Centennial, is pledged to higher achievements, and more substantial progress. She must, therefore, prepare for it.*

George Hodgins, 1876

## CHAPTER FOUR

### **The Education Department is Supposed to do the Thinking**

*I was quite content to be a follower and took for granted that we had in Ontario the best of schools in the world. The Minister of Education, George W. Ross, has said so on many occasions.*

J. H. Putman, 1938

In the years 1892 and 1893, a series of articles appeared in the New York monthly magazine, *The Forum*, which created a great deal of controversy in the United States. These articles, written by Joseph Mayer Rice, disclosed the faults of America's public school system. Rice, a New York paediatrician who studied pedagogy at Jena and Leipzig, later wrote about the public apathy, political interference, corruption, and incompetence found in a good many schools throughout the Union.<sup>1</sup> Rice's picture of the schools of the United States was not completely bleak since he provided many examples of good teachers and schools. Nevertheless, the public was shocked. L. A. Cremin, in his book, *The Transformation of the School* wrote:

Rice's disclosures must have come as a bitter pill to Americans of the nineties; for if anything had been established in the public mind by a half-century of public-school propaganda, it was the sense of an inextricable relationship between education and national progress.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> L. A. Cremin. *The Transformation of the School*. (Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cremin. *The Transformation of the School*. p. 8.

In contrast to the school systems established by Mann in Massachusetts, Bernard in Connecticut, and Pierce in Michigan before the Civil War, which became models for other States wanting to build their own school systems, "mundane problems of students, teachers, classrooms, and dollars had become overwhelming,"<sup>3</sup> by the 1890s in many American schools.

Educators in Toronto knew Rice. During his tour of the United States, Rice visited Toronto after investigating the schools of Buffalo. While in Toronto, Rice went into several of its public schools and he also met with James L. Hughes, the superintendent of schools for Toronto and founder of kindergartens in the province. Rice returned to Toronto in May of 1894 where he delivered an address to a large number of teachers and other people interested in education. George Ross, Ontario's Minister of Education, presided over the address. Rice told his Toronto audience, according to *The Canada Educational Monthly*, that the best scientific teaching which he ever saw was in Germany. Even though Rice only compared and contrasted the methods of instruction found in the United States with those of Germany, he was apparently well received by Canadian teachers. *The Canada Educational Monthly* gave this revealing description of the significance of Rice's visit and lecture to Canadian teachers:

The teachers in Toronto, we know, were glad to see and hear Dr. Rice. To hear the estimate our friends south of the lakes put upon the scientific teaching in Germany and to learn the grounds of that estimate gives courage to

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<sup>3</sup> Cremin. *The Transformation of the School*. p. .

teachers in Canada, at least to those in Ontario.<sup>4</sup>

The importance given by *The Canada Educational Monthly* to Rice's lecture in Toronto provides an insight into both the nature of teaching and the status of teachers in Ontario under the Ministry of George Ross. Why did *The Canada Educational Monthly* believe that upon hearing Rice's lecture, the teachers of Ontario would be given *greater courage* to be effective teachers? What was said in Ontario during the last two decades of the century about the schools of Germany and the methods of instruction developed and used in Germany?

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the way the German model of education was used by educators in Ontario to either enhance or criticize the status and nature of Ontario's system of education from 1876 to 1899. This discussion will be done by looking at the following topics: (1) the position which Adam Crooks and George Ross placed Ontario's system of education on the international educational ladder; (2) Ross and his use of the German system of education; (3) the impact of Crooks and especially Ross' policies and publicity campaigns on both the public and the teaching profession; and (4) the way *The Canada Educational Monthly* used the German model of education to criticize the major characteristics of the system of education in Ontario.

## I

The Department of Education's participation in three world

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<sup>4</sup> "Dr. Rice", *TCEdM.*, vol. 16, (June/July, 1894), p. 234.

fairs provided Ontario with much international acclaim. The Ontario Education Department's displays at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876, the Paris exhibition of 1878, and the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 earned the province many prizes. During these years, both Crooks and Ross, members of Oliver Mowat's liberal government, frequently boasted about the qualities of Ontario's system of education. Crooks, who was the Minister of Education from 1876 to 1883, made this statement about Ontario's educational system in the report of 1878: "There are many considerations which enable me to state that the wave of progress flows onward to the maturity of perfection, gradually deepening and widening."<sup>5</sup> J. A. McLellan, one of Department of Education's high school inspectors, was sent on a tour in 1880 of New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts in order to study the elementary, high, and normal schools of those states. Upon finishing his investigations of these schools, McLellan made this conclusion: "From what I have been able to gather by personal observation on my recent visit, and from books, reports and documents, the Ontario system of education, as a system, is superior to that of any State in the Union."<sup>6</sup> McLellan believed that Ontario's system of education was superior to the systems found in the States of the American Union mainly because of the professional training of teachers.<sup>7</sup> In the following year, the

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<sup>5</sup> AR., 1878, p. vii.

<sup>6</sup> AR., 1880, p. 239.

<sup>7</sup> AR., 1880, p. 239.

good fortune of the youth of Ontario was announced by Crooks in this manner: "There are probably no more favourable conditions, in every respect, to be found anywhere, than those which surround the youth of this Province."<sup>8</sup>

Acclamation for Ontario's system of education continued under Ross who served as the Minister of Education from 1883 to 1899. An 1889 publication aimed at potential British immigrants boasted that "the educational institutions of Ontario are such as to place it in the very front rank among the nations of the earth."<sup>9</sup> Ontario won a gold medal, along with many prizes in 1876 for her exhibition of the educational apparatuses used in Ontario schools at the international exhibition in Philadelphia; in 1893, the province won twenty-one prizes including one for its system of normal schools, another for the organization and suitability of the courses of study for both the elementary and secondary schools, and third one for its text-books at the World's Columbian Exhibition held in Chicago. The most important and gratifying prize the Department of Education won in 1893 was a special award given for its school system which was "a National System of education completely organized from the Kindergarten to the University."<sup>10</sup> Ross was very proud of Ontario's system of education; he wrote:

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<sup>8</sup> AR., 1881, p. 232.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in R. M. Stamp, "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario", in Heyman, R. D., Lawson, R. F., Stamp, R. M., eds. *Studies in Educational Change*. (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Limited, 1972), p. 21.

<sup>10</sup> AR., 1893, p. li.

Indeed, many of the awards made, particularly those I have mentioned, are the most significant evidence that could be given of the excellence of our School System and of the completeness with which it provides for the education of the whole people. To obtain such distinctions in competition with the experience of centuries of educational development in Europe, and of the wonderful activities of our Republican neighbours, is no small honour to those concerned in the organization of the School System of the Province of Ontario.<sup>11</sup>

Robert M. Stamp stated that it was the 'ladder concept' of schooling in Ontario which Ross so fervently pushed and so eloquently defended;<sup>12</sup> and it was for this concept that Ontario won a special award in 1893. In his speech to the National Educational Association in 1891, Ross outlined the elements of his 'ladder concept' in this way:

The school system of Ontario includes the kindergarten, public and separate schools, high schools and the Provincial University. As a system of education it must be regarded as an organic whole, as a distinct unit. The kindergarten course looks towards the university, and the university course looks back towards the kindergarten.<sup>13</sup>

In Ontario's system of education, all four parts of the system were dependent upon each other. Kindergartens made children ready for elementary school, elementary schools prepared pupils for high school, and high schools laid the foundations for university education.

Ross may have most certainly been convinced in the ideal of providing a common education for all members of society, whether

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<sup>11</sup> AR., 1893, p. li-lii.

<sup>12</sup> Stamp. "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario", p. 24.

<sup>13</sup> G. W. Ross, "The Educational System of Ontario" NEA., 1891, p. 143.



they be farmers and artisans or lawyers and clergymen, so that the mental and moral life of these people could be elevated. And he probably did believe in the purpose he gave to education which was to educate the child in the duties of citizenship so that he may take "his place in the nation, where he may discharge those duties in such a way as to make that nation progressive, and make it powerful in the direction in which a civilized nation should be powerful."<sup>14</sup>

In spite of such high ideals, one still remains sceptical about whether Crooks and Ross sincerely believed in their own statements about Ontario possessing the best educational system in the world. Both men were in positions of authority within the educational department before becoming Ministers of Education and they also knew people in the Department who were well aware of the quality of education in other countries. Crooks was Ryerson's hand-picked successor while Ross was a school inspector during the early 1870s. George Hodgins, for example, who was closely associated with Ryerson, continued to work long after Ryerson's retirement within the Department of Education in such positions as Deputy-minister of Education and as the Department's historiographer. Hodgins noted in his report on the centennial exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876 that it was extremely regrettable that Germany, a nation which "had long been known to occupy a foremost place among the nations of Europe in the matter

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<sup>14</sup> G. W. Ross, "Address", *NEA.*, 1894, p. 43.

of education",<sup>15</sup> did not provide an educational exhibit at the exhibition. Many teachers in Ontario were also aware of both the reputation of the German system of education and its impact on the school system of Ontario. In a paper given before the Teacher's Association of the County of Ontario in 1880, a Rev. Walter M. Roger told his audience that

For many years, the national system of Prussian schools has been the admiration, the envy, the model of other lands. Our own has to a great extent been formed from it, and in this, and more especially in the mother country, a scientific or literary education is scarcely considered without a term at some of the German Universities.<sup>16</sup>

In 1882, McLellan submitted his report on the high schools and collegiate institutes of Ontario. In a section dealing with the training of high school and collegiate institute teachers, McLellan made these statements which implied an admiration for the German system of education and teacher training:

In Germany accordingly education has taken the rank and importance of a science, and the application of the laws which govern the mental activities to the actual work of the school room, has exercised an immense influence on national education and national life in that "land of learning." If, then, the importance of trained teachers is recognized in Germany, it should be so pre-eminently (I repeat) with us in Canada.<sup>17</sup>

Emulation of the German system of training teachers among educators in Ontario continued under Ross; according to the School

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<sup>15</sup> J. G. Hodgins. *Special Report on the Ontario Educational Exhibit and the Educational Features of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, 1876.* (Toronto: 1877), p. 165.

<sup>16</sup> W. M. Rodger, "Some Thoughts upon education and national prosperity", *TCEdM.*, vol. 2, (December, 1880), p. 37.

<sup>17</sup> *AR.*, 1882, p. 139.

Act of 1885, five collegiate institutes were set aside so that high school teachers would receive further training. The School Act of 1885 was necessary, argued Ross, because the mere possession of a degree from a university was not proof that one had the ability to teach. Ross justified the importance of training university graduates for teaching positions in high schools by saying that "Under the Prussian system, where attention is given to every department of education, training schools for teachers in Colleges have been in existence for many years."<sup>18</sup>

## II

The contradiction which seems to have occurred between the public relations campaigns undertaken by Crooks and Ross, and the knowledge they and others possessed of the state of education in Europe, and especially in Germany, can be explained by looking at the position of responsibility these two men held. Unlike Ryerson, who was an appointed public servant and an official who was unrestrained, to a certain extent by public opinion, both Crooks and Ross held a portfolio within the provincial cabinet and therefore, they were directly responsible to their cabinet colleagues and to the provincial legislature. Ryerson did not hesitate to point out both the blessings and the failures of the school system of Ontario regardless of party politics. Crooks and Ross, on the other hand, had to be very circumspect in what they said about the schools of Ontario while standing in the legislature

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<sup>18</sup> AR., 1885, p. xxviii.

and before the public. Stamp wrote that "This compelled them to put a continually favourable light on all educational accomplishments and to defend the system, both in its totality and in its minute detail, in the face of criticism from the opposition party in the legislature and from the general public."<sup>19</sup>

Even though Ross was the Minister of Education, he was also a politician and he took into consideration both the audience he was addressing and the nature of public opinion. He manipulated and selectively used historical facts. In an opening address to the meeting of the National Educational Association held in Toronto in 1891, Ross explained to his American guests that Ontario's educational debt to the United States was enormous. According to Ross, when Ryerson went on his tour of the United States, Britain, and continental Europe, he

found that the school system of the United States, particularly of the New England States, and of these especially Massachusetts, was, in his opinion, the best adapted to the wants of the people of Ontario, the best suited to the spirit of our institutions, and so that system was copied, in many of its main features.<sup>20</sup>

Thus, in 1891, a year before Rice's exposé of American education, Ross omitted certain historical facts and selectively used others in his address in order to not only please his American audience but also to enhance the prestige of Ontario's system of education. Toronto was honoured with the presence of thousands of American teachers, including such luminaries as W. T. Harris, the United

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<sup>19</sup> Stamp, "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario", p. 22.

<sup>20</sup> Ross, "The Educational System of Ontario", p. 62.

States Commissioner of Education. The desire to score political points before the public of Ontario could have been the reason for associating the origins of education in Ontario with the systems of education found in the United States.

In 1892-93, Ross was in England, France, and Germany in order to study their school systems, and, the administrative and instructional methods in addition to restoring his health by means of rest and recreation. An editorial in *The Educational Journal*, dated February 1, discussed an interview which Ross gave in an unnamed newspaper regarding his tour of English and continental schools. In the interview, Ross stated that in many ways, the schooling which was provided in Ontario was superior to that found in England. School rooms were better and teachers had more freedom in Ontario than in England. Ross also presented his opinion of German schools:

For first-class work, however, the German schools are superior to any I know of on *the other side of the water*. [the italics are the author's.] The drill is a great feature in these schools. The average attendance at German schools is higher than in any country in the world. I suppose compulsory legislation and the severe training imparted by their system does that.<sup>21</sup>

The editor of *The Educational Journal* found it curious that Ross, by the juxtaposition of the first two sentence, would say that the extent and severity of the drill were the marks of superior excellence. *The Educational Journal* noted that the use of drill was typical of both the military and aristocratic governments: "Its

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<sup>21</sup> "The Minister of Education on English and Continental Schools", *EdJ.*, vol. 6, (1 February, 1893), p. 278.

tendency educationally", explained the editor, "must necessarily be to mechanical uniformity rather than to the development of the individuality which is the natural outcome and the true goal of the best educational methods."<sup>22</sup> As a result of his observations in Europe, Ross concluded that Canadian secondary schools compared favourably with those of Great Britain and the continent.

Near the end of the editorial, *The Educational Journal* noted that Ross did not give his opinion on the nature of the German *gymnasium*. The editor then concluded that even though German schools may have surpassed Canadian schools in rigid classical drill, "in the use of the most stimulating educational methods we have an impression that many in the United States and Canada are superior."<sup>23</sup> It should be noted that *The Educational Journal* in its editorials as well as in its leading articles, according to Althouse, "usually expressed the Department's view of the situation."<sup>24</sup>

In 1894, Ross published a book about his findings in Europe entitled *The Schools of England and Germany*. This book, written in a highly systematic and structured manner, was based upon Ross' school visits, conversations with European educators, and, books, statutes, and articles in journals about European schools. *The*

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<sup>22</sup> "The Minister of Education on English and Continental Schools", p. 278.

<sup>23</sup> "The Minister of Education on English and Continental Schools", p. 278.

<sup>24</sup> J. G. Althouse. *The Ontario Teacher*. (Toronto: W. J. Gage Limited, 1967), p. 105.

*Schools of England and Germany* will initially be examined by looking at only the most important characteristics of German and Ontario schools which Ross explicitly mentioned were the same or different in both school systems, and also those characteristics which he believed were either better in German schools or better in the schools of Ontario. Afterwards, Ross' historical explanation of the origins of Ontario's system will be discussed. The first characteristic common to both school systems was the organization of the school system. Each Duchy and Kingdom in Germany, just like each province in Canada, determined how its school system was to be organized.<sup>25</sup> The methods adopted to determine the qualifications of teachers in Germany were, according to Ross, "in many respects similar to those now prevailing in Ontario."<sup>26</sup> The School of Pedagogy in Ontario, Ross stated, corresponded with the training given in the German Seminar for Secondary teachers.<sup>27</sup>

The means of financial support for the school system was the first characteristic which Ross noted was different between the school systems of Ontario and Germany. In Ontario, the support which schools received from the government was based upon average attendance; in German states, financial assistance was based upon the kind of teacher employed in the school. A school staffed with

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<sup>25</sup> G. W. Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. (Toronto: Warick Bros. & Rutter, 1894), p. 109.

<sup>26</sup> Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. p. 168.

<sup>27</sup> Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. p. 172.

a large number of regular male teachers, who were all highly educated, received more money than a school staffed by less educated female teachers and temporary assistants.<sup>28</sup> Another difference between the two school systems was the degree of classification of students and types of schools and programs. Ross wrote: "The German system of education is more highly organized and sub-divided into a greater number of classes than the school system of any other country in the world."<sup>29</sup> Formal grammar played a less important role in German elementary schools than in the schools of Ontario. Nevertheless, Ross explained, composition was still taught in every reading lesson and "the grammatical errors of pupils during recitation" was severely criticized by the teacher.<sup>30</sup>

Even though education was compulsory in both Ontario and Germany, German children attended school between the ages of six and fourteen while children in Ontario attended school between the ages of eight and fourteen. In his discussion of the secondary schools of Germany, Ross noted that seven percent of all students enrolled in German schools were attending secondary schools or schools in advance of elementary schools. In Ontario, according to Ross, only five percent of students enrolled in its schools were attending secondary schools. Regarding the differences in attendance patterns in secondary schools in Ontario and Germany, Ross stated that the standard for admission to a secondary school

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<sup>28</sup> Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. p. 112.

<sup>29</sup> Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. p. 115.

<sup>30</sup> Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. p. 120.



in Ontario was higher than in Germany. In spite of this point, Ross added:

In Germany when a pupil completes his ninth year, that is to say, when he finished the course of study prescribed for pupils of that age, he is admitted to a secondary school, the German system of instruction and inspection being so searching and so complete as practically to render unnecessary an entrance examination to a secondary school.<sup>31</sup>

Another difference between the school systems of Germany and Ontario pertained to the employment of women. Ross stated that there were far more female teachers working within the schools of England and Ontario than in Germany. He wrote: "Out of 64,750 regular teachers employed in the Public Elementary Schools [of Germany], 6,849 were females."<sup>32</sup> Female teachers, Ross added, were generally employed in the lowest primary divisions of graded schools and they were seldom found in ungraded schools.

The amount of time which students studied out of school, Ross explained, was far greater in Germany than in the schools of Ontario. The difference between the two, Ross explained, "may be due in part to the fact that no time is allowed for study in school, every portion of the school day being given to recitations."<sup>33</sup> There was little or no restraint placed on German teachers in their choice of text-books; in Ontario, on the other hand, there were restrictions on the type of text-book used in the classroom.

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<sup>31</sup> Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. pp. 140-141.

<sup>32</sup> Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. p. 151.

<sup>33</sup> Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. p.161.

Ross outlined nine characteristics of teachers and methods of classroom instruction found in Germany which were different from the teachers and methods of instruction found in Ontario.<sup>34</sup> All German teachers were professionally trained, ninety percent of the school room instruction was given without the use of a text-book, the teacher's manner was less cheerful and sympathetic than that of an Ontario teacher, and his tone of voice was generally more dictatorial. The teacher in the German school was the ideal of thoroughness and accuracy, his tenure of office was more permanent than that of the teacher of Ontario, he did not have to pay taxes, and he was a member of the civil service. German teachers received a pension on retirement, their families were provided for by the State, and finally, their social status was high.

It should be noted that in a back-handed manner, Ross expressed his admiration for German teachers and English teachers. "With regard to the attainments, both educationally and professionally, of English and German teachers it may be said that they are in no sense inferior to those of the teachers of Ontario." Later Ross said that "in all the qualities which constitute good teaching the great majority of them would rank high in this Province."<sup>35</sup>

Ross listed a number of subjects which he believed received greater attention in German schools than in the schools of Ontario with perhaps, better results for the students and for the school

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<sup>34</sup> Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. p. 163.

<sup>35</sup> Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. p. 169.

system.<sup>36</sup> Music was taught in every grade, and, gymnastics, natural history and observation lessons played a very prominent part in the curriculum. Religion and particularly, the historical parts of the Bible was studied. History was used to foster the development of a patriotic spirit. Finally, geography, arithmetic and reading, while well taught, did not receive the same attention as the other subjects in German schools.

The quality of the text-books used in German schools, especially reading text-books, was one characteristic which Ross clearly believed was better in German schools than those used in schools in Ontario. Ross explained:

The reading books used in the lower grades are also prepared with the view to extend the pupil's knowledge of natural objects. Through all of them there are interspersed selections from the best German authors, and on the whole appear to be compiled from a higher literary standpoint than Canadian text-books in the same subject.<sup>37</sup>

Ross continued by saying that in order for these books to be properly read and used in the classroom, a high standard of culture on the part of the teacher was required. Regarding the other text-books used in German schools, Ross explained that they were usually a mere outline of the subject. Ross also mentioned that "Teachers, as a rule, make no use of a text-book except by way of reference in the school room. It would take many text-books to contain the information which he is expected to give on every subject on the

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<sup>36</sup> Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. p. 163.

<sup>37</sup> Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. pp. 119-120.

curriculum."<sup>38</sup>

The first characteristic of the schools of Ontario which Ross mentioned was better than in German schools concerned kindergarten: "the system as well as the principles which underlie Kindergarten instruction are more closely followed in Ontario ...."<sup>39</sup> German schools, according to Ross, were badly supplied with blackboards while those in Ontario were well supplied. In Ontario, each student had his or her own desk while in Germany, students sat either at double desk or with desk occupied by four or five students.<sup>40</sup> Elementary school buildings in Ontario, Ross believed, were far more attractive externally than German school buildings. Ross also mentioned that far more control was placed on students of all ages, in and out of the classroom, in Germany than in Ontario. Ross described the severity of control established over German students: "Pupils of High Schools in Prussia are forbidden to absent themselves from the city or town over night, to attend theatres and balls, or receive private lessons, without permission from the teacher or director."<sup>41</sup> The consequence of all of this, stated Ross, was a less pleasant German pupil and in comparison to what took place in the schools of Ontario, a less happy school

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<sup>38</sup> Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. p. 159.

<sup>39</sup> Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. p. 126.

<sup>40</sup> Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. p. 162.

<sup>41</sup> Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. p. 161.

life. Finally, Ross noted that "The work of the primary classes in Germany, although the methods are scientific and progressive, as a rule, is more taxing and severe than the corresponding work in Ontario schools."<sup>42</sup>

The explanation of the origins of Ontario's school system which Ross gave in the first chapter of his book is interesting particularly in regards to his discussion of Ryerson's educational tour of 1845-46, and the subsequent *Report of 1846*. First of all, Ross only mentioned the European countries Ryerson visited such as Prussia, Austria, Holland, and Great Britain; he did not state that Ryerson also toured the educational facilities of several American states and met with American educators like Mann. Thus, Ross implied that American system of education and American educators did not influence Ryerson when he put together his proposal for an elementary system of education for Ontario. Second, Ross noted that the *Report of 1846* represented an excellent summary of the outstanding features of the different systems of education which Ryerson examined; Ross then added: "a comparison with the present position of the systems in operation in the same countries will show the gigantic strides that even conservative countries, like those above named have made in the promotion of popular education."<sup>43</sup> Ross seems to be implying that even in European countries, where mass education was first established, their

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<sup>42</sup> Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. p. 162.

<sup>43</sup> Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. p. 11.

educational systems were capable of as much improvement and progress as the schools of Ontario.

Third, Ross referred only to the second part of Ryerson's *Report of 1846* which dealt with the administrative machinery of his proposed school system. Ross stated that Ryerson recommended a system of graduated schools which should correspond to the schools found in Prussia and France. For example, Ryerson said that the grammar schools of Upper Canada were to occupy the same position and serve the same function as the Royal Colleges of France or the *gymnasia* of Prussia. After Ross' examination of the *Report of 1846*, he briefly discussed the development of collegiate institutes in Ontario. According to Ross, "The Grammar Schools recommended in 1846 are the High Schools of today, expanded into Collegiate Institutes with a curriculum as comprehensive as the colleges and academies of France or the *gymnasia* of Germany."<sup>44</sup>

Finally, in Ross' analysis of the *Report of 1846*, he quoted the very last part of Ryerson's *Report of 1846* which included the quotation by the Prussian school counsellor, Dinter who was a person that Ryerson suggested Canadians should emulate in both words and deeds.

Obviously Ross was fully aware of the conditions of education in Germany and England. There were certain features of the German educational system which he liked and others which he disliked. Ross, in a subtle way, placed the origins of Ontario's school system only in Europe - and not in the United States - while at the

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<sup>44</sup> Ross. *The Schools of England and Germany*. p. 17.

same time implying that European schools were capable of as much progress as the schools of Ontario. He mentioned throughout his book many features of German education which were outstanding without depreciating the schools of Ontario. Ross also pointed out the outstanding qualities of the schools of Ontario while at the same time he rooted the origins of the schools of Ontario in Germany.

Ross continued to play the German hand in his public relations campaigns during his attendance of the International Congress of Education held in Chicago in 1894. In his address, Ross expressed his anticipation of hearing from the German dignitaries who were attending the congress. Ross stated: "As a Canadian I am glad to know that I am to receive instruction here from those who have organized that wondrous system in Germany, so much appreciated for her educational institutions among the nations of the world."<sup>45</sup> Even though Ross spoke highly of "the two Anglo-Saxon races of this continent", he did not tell his American audience of Ontario's indebtedness to the system of education found in America.

The selective use of historical facts by Ross was repeated in his next book, *The School System of Ontario* (1896). In Ross' review of Ontario's system of education in the first chapter of this book, and especially in his discussion of Ryerson's *Report of 1846*, and the Common School Act of 1846, nothing was said about American schools, educators, and administrative systems. Ross only listed the European countries Ryerson visited; he did not mention

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<sup>45</sup> Ross, "Address", p. 40.

that Ryerson was in the United States. And much like his previous book on the schools of England and Germany, Ross paraphrased Ryerson's recommendation that the system of graduated schools which were to be established in Ontario should correspond to those found in France and Prussia.<sup>46</sup>

Published accounts and tours of Europe, all in all, were of secondary importance when it came time for Ross to defend his system of education. In spite of both Ross' own statements that Ontario's system of education did not meet the standards found in Germany, and the severe criticism Ross and his system of education received from the leader of the opposition, Ross continued to strongly defend and boast about his system of education well into the late 1890s. An 1898 Liberal election pamphlet boldly stated that Ontario "has an education system second to none in the world."<sup>47</sup> And finally, in 1899, when Ross was the Premier of Ontario, he spoke of the future of the schools of Ontario: "In the line of general education I think we have gone about as far as we need go. All we need to do is to maintain the efficiency of the teaching profession."<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> G. W. Ross. *The School System of Ontario*. (New York: A. Appleton and Company, 1894), p. 16.

<sup>47</sup> Quoted in Stamp, "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario", p. 26.

<sup>48</sup> Quoted in Stamp, "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario", p. 26.



### III

In what way did this highly centralized and controlled system of education, which won so many international awards, affect the public's perception of the schools? How did the teachers of Ontario see themselves and their schools under a Minister who wrote that the efficiency of the schools and the protection of the public could only be maintained by a proper system of preparing and authorizing text-books?<sup>49</sup> As a result of the Department's continual boasting of Ontario's education system, what was the public's understanding of Ontario's schools in comparison to other schools in North America and the world? These are difficult questions to answer, but perhaps a small insight into the teachers and public's conception of Ontario's schools can be given by listening to what a few of Crooks and Ross' contemporaries were saying.

Dr. W. N. Bell, who taught during the Ross years, told the members of the Ontario Educational Association in 1920 that since 1865, there were two tendencies running through Ontario's system of education: "the tendency to centralize control and its corollary the tendency towards a rigid system."<sup>50</sup> These two tendencies, according to Bell, became very predominant during the 1880s as a result of Ross' ideal of the school system being a ladder. Bell described the consequences of such a highly regulated, centralized and controlled system for its teachers in this way:

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<sup>49</sup> AR., 1893, p. li.

<sup>50</sup> W. N. Bell, "The Ontario High School, Past and Future", OEA., (Toronto, 1920), p. 400.

We should have a not inept analogue of this situation if we suppose every factory in the country that produced a certain article to be under the same kind of central regulation and control so that only one kind of machine or tool could be used. Would it not result that the alertness of the worker for improved devices and tools would become deadened, competition for excellence would cease and the present efficiency greatly suffer? When everything is provided and directed individual initiative becomes atrophied and workers cease to care and therefore to know about their work in the right way.<sup>51</sup>

Bell believed that teachers should be given more freedom in the classroom, even if they made mistakes. Otherwise, there would not be any improvement in the system of education.

A. H. Morrison, who was also a teacher, stated in 1894 in an article for *The Canada Educational Monthly* that the people of Ontario have been lectured and told about the outstanding qualities of its school system so often "that they have actually come to believe it, so much so, indeed, that whenever any wight has heretofore had the temerity ... to issue forth as a solitary and unpopular exponent of an opposite opinion, the educational and educated masses have been ready to stone him as a hobby breaker."<sup>52</sup> Stamp wrote that it was very difficult for critics of Ontario's education to be heard during the last decade of the nineteenth century because of the many international awards the province's educational system won.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Bell, "The Ontario High School, Past and Future", p. 403.

<sup>52</sup> A. H. Morrison, "The Ghost of Education", *TCEdM.*, vol. 16, (April, 1894), p. 134.

<sup>53</sup> Stamp, "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario", p. 21.

Harsh words were spoken about Ontario's system of education by the reporter for *The Witness*, a Montreal newspaper in 1894. Ontario's system of education was described by this journalist as "a wonderfully complicated machine, all of whose parts work automatically into each other."<sup>54</sup> This was a system, wrote the journalist, which demanded conformity: "What is wanted is that each shall drop into its place in the machine and work from the word go without any creaking or fuss."<sup>55</sup> The author of this article then asked if the province was producing as many highly educated people as were produced in other countries. This matter, advised this author, should be investigated. One major problem which this writer observed was that the people of Ontario were becoming insular. He wrote:

Our North American communities have so long seen themselves in the van of education as compared with the rest of the world, that we have perhaps got out of the habit of looking over our shoulders to see if the tortoises of Europe are not catching up - possibly even passing us in the race. Wonderful are the strides which Europe has made since she freed herself from ecclesiastical leading strings.<sup>56</sup>

This insular or narrow view of the world was reinforced by the nature of some of the educational journals available to teachers when Ross was the Minister of Education. One such journal was *The Educational Journal* (1887-1897) which sided with the views of and

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<sup>54</sup> "Education in Canada", *TCEdM.*, vol. 16. (January, 1894), p. 12.

<sup>55</sup> "Education in Canada", pp. 12-13.

<sup>56</sup> "Education in Canada", p. 13.

positions taken by the Department of Education. If anyone wished to compare and contrast the state of education of Ontario with other countries, aside from the United States and Britain, he or she would have found it very difficult to do so by referring to just this journal. In the ten years of publication, this bi-monthly journal published only one article devoted fully to the German system of education. In an article entitled "German vs. English Schools", *The Educational Journal* discussed the tour of Germany and the observations made by a Mr. Samuel Smith, a British M. P. *The Educational Journal* noted that Smith learned that not only was Germany vastly ahead of England in every grade of education but also that the people of Germany were far better educated than those of England. Nevertheless one should be cautious, explained *The Educational Journal*, when taking such views of foreign countries like Germany into account since people generally look at the better characteristics of a foreign country. The advanced state of German education, according to *The Educational Journal*, was the result of its compulsory system of education and the long period of time children spent in German schools.<sup>57</sup>

Only five articles and two editorials containing just short references to Germany were located in *The Educational Journal*. Two were significant: the first was the editorial in which Ross' trip to England, France and Germany was discussed; the second was an

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<sup>57</sup> "German vs English Schools", *EdJ.*, vol. 1, (1 December, 1887), p. 221.

article entitled "Manual Training in the Schools". This author advocated the introduction of manual training in Canadian schools because

Many lines of manufacture are passing from the hands of English mechanics into those of Germany, simply because of the superior training and skill of the latter, which is again a result of the German educational system, and that the only way to counteract this tendency to inferiority is to give to the children in the public schools a practical training in the various handicrafts.<sup>58</sup>

Even though his example seemed to call out for further discussion of the German system, there was nothing else published on this subject in the pages of the *Educational Journal* in these years. Given the amount and quality of information found in this journal about Germany, it would have been extremely difficult to develop a broader perspective about education.

This insular tendency among people living in Ontario was noted in an editorial for *The Canada Educational Monthly* dated April, 1890, in which the editor wrote that it was not his intention to continually point out the problems found within the educational system of Ontario. At the same time, the editor argued, it would be just as inappropriate to go about saying that Ontario's system was the best in the world especially when there were serious errors to be corrected and abuses to be reformed. According to *The Canada Educational Monthly*

The remedy lies not in shutting one's eyes to these, and folding the hands complacently while our ears are filled with the sound of a pleasant voice, assuring us of our

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<sup>58</sup> "Manual training in the schools", *EdJ.*, vol. 1, (15 December, 1887), p. 237.

greatness and infallibility, of our superiority to our neighbours, especially to the Mother Country, and of our success and glory in that most important duty of the nation - the education of the young.<sup>59</sup>

What *The Canada Educational Monthly* called for was a thorough and practical system of education to replace the popularity contests in which politicians and educational experts took "every opportunity of parading before his audience captivating statistics about everyone being educated in everything."<sup>60</sup> The approach which *The Canada Educational Monthly* took to examining Ontario's system of education and presenting its errors was bold, to the point, and anything but inward looking.

#### IV

During the years of its publication (1879-1905), *The Canada Educational Monthly*, implicitly and explicitly criticized and attacked the policies of Crooks and Ross. *The Canada Educational Monthly*, according to Althouse, proved to be a vigorous critic of the Department of Education for Ontario in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>61</sup> This journal was uninfluenced by officialdom and unconnected with the publishing trade. During its twenty-six years of publication, the attack on the Department of Education was undertaken by providing explicit critiques of the Department's policies, critical reviews were given of the reports of the

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<sup>59</sup> "The School system of Ontario", *TCEdM.*, vol. 12, (April, 1890), p. 150.

<sup>60</sup> "The School System of Ontario", p. 150.

<sup>61</sup> Althouse, *The Ontario Teacher*. p. 105.

Minister of Education, and articles compared and contrasted the schools and policies of Ontario, the United States, and England with those of Prussia and other German states. Many articles which compared and contrasted the systems of education found in Germany and in the English-speaking world permitted the reader, through inference, to criticize the Department of Education's policies. Including articles written explicitly about Germany together with articles which included references to Germany's system of education, forty were located in this journal.

*The Canada Educational Monthly* looked to Germany as a standard or guide to rate the quality of schools in Ontario and to criticize the policies of the Department of Education. Articles printed in *The Canada Education Monthly* also compared and contrasted the schools of England with those of Germany. In every one of these articles, the German schools were portrayed as being far better than English schools. In the years before and after the turn of the century, *The Canada Educational Monthly* printed several articles written by or about Michael Sadler. In the article, "An Education Budget in Germany", an unnamed English writer reviewed one of Sadler's "Special Reports". He outlined three positive characteristics of German education which were absent from English education. First of all, the writer of this article noted that despite the fact that there were a considerable number of professions in late nineteenth century Germany, no one profession was able to unduly influence schools or recreate schools of a special kind. Second, there were a far greater number of boys

attending secondary schools than in those towns of England where education was properly organized. And, third, more money was spent on secondary schools than on elementary schools in Germany.

A variety of reasons were given by many writers in the United States, England, and Canada for the superiority of German schools and teachers. In 1881, the Harvard Lectures on pedagogy given by Professor G. S. Hall were printed in *The Canada Educational Monthly*. Hall stated that in matters concerning the external conditions of education such as the buildings for schools, along with the quality of the teachers, things were better in the United States than in either England or France. In Germany, Hall pointed out, the quality of the system of education was paramount while the external conditions of school system was of less importance. Hall gave four main reasons for the success of the German school system: (1) the work done in Germany's schools was uniform and there was an element of permanency and steadiness in the administrative apparatus of the schools; (2) politicians, teachers at all levels, and administrators worked together to achieve a common end; (3) the people believed that the prosperity of the country was bound up with the welfare of the schools; and (4) the method of teaching in all grades was governed by common principles and these principles were based upon the study of philology, psychology, and ethics.<sup>62</sup>

Ontario had a School of Pedagogy by the early 1890s. *The Canada Educational Monthly* noted in an editorial in 1892 that

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<sup>62</sup> G. S. Hall, "Harvard Lectures on Pedagogy", *TCEdM.*, vol. 3, (September, 1881), p. 349.



teachers-in-training were given little time for the amount of material they had to master. The editor then added: "The time in the Ontario School of Pedagogy is scarcely four months, in Germany it is at least six times four months. There is no wonder therefore that our candidates complain of want of time for the amount of work required."<sup>63</sup>

An article appeared in *The Canada Educational Monthly* in 1883 entitled, "A Glance at Education in Germany" which was written from an English perspective. The author outlined several of the major characteristics of schools in Leipzig and in other parts of Saxony. One characteristic of Saxon schools which the author noted would have been of interest to Canadian teachers; it concerned the purpose of testings and examinations. In Saxony, students had to write examinations "for the purpose of testing amply and thoroughly their proficiency and the progress made from year to year."<sup>64</sup> Examinations were given in English schools to measure not only the rate of student progress but also to determine the quality of instruction and teachers; consequently, the greater number of students who passed the examinations, the larger sum of money each school received from the government. According to the author of this article, German educators showed little respect for this principle; he wrote:

The Germans would ridicule the idea of paying vast sums

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<sup>63</sup> "The School of Pedagogy", *TCEdM.*, vol. 14, (February, 1892), p. 72.

<sup>64</sup> "A Glance of Education in Germany", *TCEdM.*, vol. 5, (March, 1883), p. 109.

of public money for mechanical results in the art of instruction. We once had occasion to explain to a school inspector on the continent what was our system of inspection in England. He listened attentively to our account, which roused, first, his amazement, and then his amusement, for he could not refrain from laughing at such a mode of testing the real merits of a school or the efficiency of a teacher.<sup>65</sup>

The principle of "payment by results" was in place in the schools of Ontario between 1875 and 1882. J. Henderson, in his reminiscences of a teacher in Ontario, described the horrible consequences of this principle for both students and teachers; he said: "Boards often dealt ruthlessly with teachers whose pupils, failing to pass the examination, failed to fill the local educational treasury. The health of both pupils and teachers was sacrificed, all to satisfy the greed of exacting trustees, aided and abetted by the Education Department."<sup>66</sup> The principle of "payment by results" can only be described as an earlier method of insuring that teachers were held accountable for their work in the classroom.

In 1884, Principal G. Grant addressed the Ontario Provincial Teachers' Association where he outlined certain fallacies connected with Ontario's system of education. Grant was highly critical of the Department of Education's policies. He noted that after receiving medals at foreign exhibitions for the province's school buildings and apparatus, some people in Ontario "fancy that the

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<sup>65</sup> "A Glance of Education in Germany", p. 109.

<sup>66</sup> J. Henderson, "Reminiscences of Education in Ontario", OEA, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), p. 170.

whole world is looking with admiration on our system."<sup>67</sup> In reality, Grant argued, everyone knows, including foreign visitors, that the real conditions of the schools and apparatus of Ontario schools are "hardly up to sample."<sup>68</sup>

Grant then outlined the four major fallacies of Ontario's system of education. The first fallacy Grant talked about was the craze for uniformity and centralization which was something he believed was characteristic of military regimes and military minds. Second, Grant believed it was a fallacy to over-stimulate young minds by means of competitive examinations. Third, there was a fallacy of overloading the mind through the cram system found in the secondary school system of Ontario. The fourth fallacy involved providing students with a large number of subjects to complete even though they never really mastered any of them. Grant suggested that only the most valuable subjects be placed in the curriculum and there should be different types of intermediate schools and colleges which would serve a variety of students who planned to further their studies. Thus, Grant argued that there should be a clear understanding of what should be studied in the schools of Ontario; "Look at the system in Germany" stated Grant.<sup>69</sup> Grant went on to describe the secondary school system in Germany.

Besides normal, agricultural, mining, commercial and art

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<sup>67</sup> G. Grant, "Some fallacies Concerning Education", *TCEdM.*, vol. 6, (September, 1884), p. 327.

<sup>68</sup> Grant, "Some Fallacies Concerning Education", p. 327.

<sup>69</sup> Grant, "Some Fallacies Concerning Education", p. 330.

institutes, they have three great classes of Intermediate or High Schools; - the gymnasia with a course the foundation of which was Latin, Greek and Mathematics, and where classical training was carried farther than in any of our collegiate institutes; the *realshülen*, where modern languages were substituted for Greek, and which taught more mathematics and also elementary science; and the technical or industrial schools which did not, like the other two, lead to the universities, in which Latin as well as Greek was dropped, and training in the mechanic arts, substituted.<sup>70</sup>

Grant called for excellent elementary schools which would provide students with a solid and basic education, and a highly differentiated system of secondary school education which would serve far more students. Grant told his audience: "Our rigid system prevents thousands of clever boys from getting to college."<sup>71</sup>

In 1885, *The Canada Educational Journal* published an article entitled, "The German Schools" written by A. J. Eaton. Eaton, an American, began his article by saying that despite the high praise one heard in Ontario about its school system, there were serious defects in its intermediate and higher education. He stated that "No schools are better worthy of a careful study than those of Germany"<sup>72</sup> for a number of reasons. First of all, the excellence which Eaton said was due to the German system of education was the result of its Minister of Public Instruction. Not only was the

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<sup>70</sup> Grant, "Some Fallacies Concerning Education", p. 330.

<sup>71</sup> Grant, "Some Fallacies Concerning Education", p. 333. And girls? Even though Grant did not see any harm in providing girls with an education which would train their minds, he nevertheless believed that the main aim of a girl's life was marriage.

<sup>72</sup> A. J. Eaton, "The German Schools", *TCEdM.*, vol. 7, (October, 1885), p. 301.

Minister of Public Instruction a graduate of a university, but in addition, he possessed a thorough mastery and experience in educational matters. But most important of all, according to Eaton, those who became Ministers of Public Instruction in Germany were also men of letters.<sup>73</sup> The Minister of Public Instruction, unlike his counterpart in France (and in Ontario, though Eaton did not explicitly mention it) acted independently of political considerations; Eaton wrote: "However much other departments may be governed by political considerations, it is certain that the Germans are so thoroughly imbued with belief in culture that they will not suffer it to be sacrificed to any other interest."<sup>74</sup>

German schools were held to be superior to schools in America because German students received an excellent classical education in their *gymnasiums*. These were schools, Eaton wrote, that "for thoroughness of work and broad linguistic culture are without their equals in the whole world."<sup>75</sup> For a number of reasons, Latin was taught more effectively, with better results in Germany, than in either Canada or the United States. Eaton also found that German students received better scientific training than their counterparts in America. All in all, Eaton concluded that German students graduating from their *gymnasiums* acquired a far better sense of culture than American college graduates.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Eaton, "The German Schools", p. 301.

<sup>74</sup> Eaton, "The German Schools", p. 301.

<sup>75</sup> Eaton, "The German Schools", p. 302.

<sup>76</sup> Eaton, "The German Schools", p. 302.

Finally, the German system of education was superior to those of North America because of the thoroughness of instruction found in *gymnasiums*. The German secondary school student acquired such habits of diligence and capability of work, according to Eaton, that he was left free to study and conduct independent research in university. Eaton ended his article by saying that "The period between twelve and eighteen in the scholar's life is especially one of the strictest discipline, both mental and physical. Should we call upon our students for an equal amount of work the cry would be over-pressure."<sup>77</sup>

*The Canada Educational Monthly* was not dogmatic in its approach to German education; articles appeared which outlined the faults of the German system of education. The final article, which will be examined, written by W. T. Harris the United States Commissioner of Education, is perhaps the best example of the enlightened and pragmatic approach taken by this journal in presenting German educational ideas to the Canadian teacher. Appearing in 1892, "Vocation versus Culture", dealt with the great contrast that existed between the traditions and theory of the German school system and the Anglo-Saxon school systems. The differences which Harris pointed out between the two peoples and his conclusions are both startling and perhaps still significant today. Harris listed the following tendencies and practises peculiar to Anglo-Saxon schools: students were required to conform to the prescribed rules of behaviour and the matter to be learned;

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<sup>77</sup> Eaton, "The German Schools", p. 303.

there was great emphasis placed on memory and a scepticism shown towards those who do original work; and schools stressed the acquisition of accumulated stores of knowledge by students. Harris explained that Anglo-Saxon schools demanded strict obedience to external authority because of the nature of American and English society; Harris stated that the exercise of the will power was considered to be far more important than the love of science and knowledge in Anglo-Saxon countries. Consequently, American children were described by Harris as being restless and not very interested in knowledge for its own sake; teachers were forced to expend much energy in controlling and disciplining students before they could be taught anything. This restless quality in Anglo-Saxon children, and the accompanying difficulties of teaching these children was one reason Harris gave for the degeneration of intellectual discussion in the classroom into the mere exercise of memory work.<sup>78</sup>

In contrast to the Anglo-Saxon theory of education and educational traditions, Harris stated that the German child was already considered to be docile before he or she entered the classroom. Thus there was no need to use schools to control students. Harris also added that German children belonged to a knowledge-loving race. As a consequence of these factors, Harris wrote,

The German theory of education makes prominent the self-activity of the child as the one object of education. It

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<sup>78</sup> H. T. Harris, "Vocation vs. Culture", *TCEdM.*, vol. 14, (January, 1892), p. 15.

repudiates foreign constraint either in conduct or in intellect. It condemns memorizing as a process of enslaving the intellect to dead items of information or opinion. It condemns the strict discipline of the schools as producing mechanical habits of obedience to the will of others. To awake the pupil's mind intellectually is theoretically the chief aim; critical alertness, and individual power to test and verify the statements of others, as well as to undertake works of original investigation - these are the supreme objects of German pedagogy.<sup>79</sup>

Harris stated that the ideas of Pestalozzi and Froebel initially challenged the educational methods of English-speaking countries. But with the introduction of graded schools and more thorough and longer lessons given in classrooms, reforms took place in Anglo-Saxon schools in the direction of the German ideal. But in spite of the growth of urbanization and school systems in the Anglo-Saxon world, Harris pointed out, "the character of our people remains action-loving rather than knowledge-loving", forcing schools and teachers to place more emphasis on discipline and moral education than on intellectual education.<sup>80</sup> Harris believed that the Germans also had something to learn; he suggested that educators in Germany should make their students "as active as possible and stir them up to adventure and original effort, at least in the realm of the intellect."<sup>81</sup>

Grant, in his speech to the Ontario Teachers Association in 1884, asked whether the rigid system of education was capable of developing enthusiasm in teachers in Ontario. The teachers of

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<sup>79</sup> Harris, "Vocation versus Culture", p. 15.

<sup>80</sup> Harris, "Vocation versus Culture", p. 16.

<sup>81</sup> Harris, "Vocation versus Culture", p. 16.



Ontario, according to Grant, were checked, snubbed, dismissed, harassed, and excommunicated by the Boards of Education and by the Department of Education. In 1900, Grant once again talked about the limitations of the school system of Ontario; instead of listing fallacies, he spoke about the things which the system lacked. One of them, the ideal element, according to Grant, was good teachers who were properly educated, free to share in the end to which their work moved, and who were guided, encouraged and stimulated to do the best possible work.<sup>82</sup>

Given these conditions, it was no wonder that *The Canada Educational Monthly* wrote that courage was instilled in the teachers of Ontario after hearing Rice's lecture. For those teachers who read *The Canada Educational Monthly*, a series of pictures pertaining to the German system of education were presented to them. The contrast in conditions between the status of teachers and the nature of teaching in Ontario and Germany would have been obvious. In spite of Rice's lecture, the editor of *The Canada Educational Monthly* gave this warning: "Educators must ever remember in order to do effective work, that another man's method may be an inspiration or a burden according as we take its spirit into our spirit, or only bind it like a 'fagot of dry sticks upon our back.'" <sup>83</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> G. Grant, "What we lack", *OEA.*, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1900), p. 97.

<sup>83</sup> "Dr. Rice", p. 234.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### **We must educate our people towards efficiency!**

*It is perhaps not possible to treat of industrial education without some consideration being given to the plans followed and the methods pursued in Germany. Owing to the success of that country in the industrial world, attention has been concentrated on her system of education. In connection with this, certain misconceptions have arisen, and we are in danger of losing sight of salient features and principles inherent in the German people and German methods, which features and principles do not exist in the same form in any other country or people.*

Albert Leake, 1913

The explosive growth of Germany's industrial, commercial, and military/naval strength was recognized by many politicians, manufacturers, and educators in Britain and North America. German firms dominated the European electrical industry. Its chemical plants produced ninety percent of the world's industrial dyes. German steel production was 17.6 million tons larger than that of Britain, France, and Russia combined.<sup>1</sup> In 1913, Germany's "share of world manufacturing production (14.8 percent) was higher than Britain's (13.6 percent) and two and a half times that of France (6.1 percent)."<sup>2</sup> By 1914, Germany became the economic powerhouse of Europe.

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Kennedy. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. (London, Sydney: Unwin Hyman, 1988), pp. 210-211.

<sup>2</sup> Kennedy. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*. p. 211.

One important reason given for Germany's dramatic rise in economic and military power in Europe before the First World War was her highly developed system of technical education. Michael Sadler argued in 1902 that Britain could not ignore what Germany was doing in the fields of education. According to Sadler,

The Germans have succeeded in getting a much larger proportion of their people to go through an advanced course of instruction than is the case in England. They are working up the instruments of non-classical secondary education to a high point of excellence and precision. They have managed to inculcate scientific habits of mind and a disposition towards intellectual organisation and co-operation to a degree quite unparalleled here. They have skilfully applied education as an instrument in furthering their commercial and industrial interests. Our hands are forced. We cannot afford to ignore what our competitors have done, and the immense strides which they have recently made in the commercial race.<sup>3</sup>

Germany's highly developed technical system of education - and, correspondingly, Britain's poorly developed system of technical education - were considered by many British politicians to be a major reason for Britain's relative economic and military decline. At a time of intense British concern with German rivalry, just after the Boer War, major campaigns took place in Britain for the reform of education in science and technology. The main goal of these educational campaigns was to enhance the commercial and military efficiency of Britain in order to meet German competition in every form. It was not the expressed purpose of such people as Sadler and Haldane to fight a war with Germany; "But they did want to strengthen Britain in preparation for the trials of the

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<sup>3</sup> Sadler, "The Unrest in Secondary Education in Germany and elsewhere", p. 11.

twentieth century, and to effect this they turned inevitably to the German model."<sup>4</sup>

France, Germany, the United States, and Canada all saw educational problems "demanding an ever-increasing share of national thought."<sup>5</sup> All of these countries were debating what should be the fundamental aim of education, and how education could be adjusted to meet the needs of modern life: "in all those countries which take, or wish to take, an active part in modern enterprise and international affairs, there has never been so deep an interest shown in education as there is to-day."<sup>6</sup>

A similar public debate occurred in Ontario regarding the purpose and effectiveness of its school system. Newspapers, politicians, local boards of trade, manufacturers' associations, trade unions, and many educators demanded that the schools of Ontario, especially its secondary schools, provide students with a practical education. The growth of manufacturing in Ontario from the mid-1890s to 1914 led to a greater demand for workmen and businessmen who were experts in their respective fields of work. The *Mail and Empire* wrote: "If Canada is to compete with other countries in manufacturing and general business, her mechanics and businessmen must have the same kind of expert training as those of

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<sup>4</sup> Haines. *Essays on German Influence upon British Education and Science, 1850-1919*. pp. 159-160.

<sup>5</sup> Sadler, "The Unrest in Secondary Education in Germany and elsewhere", p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Sadler, "The Unrest in Secondary Education in Germany and elsewhere", p. 4.

other countries have."<sup>7</sup> There was an overriding concern for efficient, industrial production. The desire to gain a competitive edge over rivals on the international markets caused them to look to the schools as a source of skilled labour. Germany's system of technical education became a model for manufacturers, politicians, and educators who wanted to modernize their systems of education so as to enhance their competitiveness.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the nature of the debate which took place in Ontario regarding the nature and relevance of the German model of technical education for Ontario's system of education from 1899 to 1911. This chapter will be divided into six parts. The first part will review Ontario educators' perceptions of Germany's technical system of education from the Ryerson years to the end of Ross' term as Minister of Education in 1899. The second part will involve an examination of the views of Richard Harcourt and John Seath regarding technical education in Ontario and Germany. The third part will pertain to the campaign undertaken by the Canadian Manufacturers Association to promote technical education. The fourth part will review the position taken by *The Canada Educational Monthly* towards technical education in Germany and its place in Ontario. The fifth part will deal with the position taken by the Whitney government from 1904 to 1911 regarding technical education; this will include an examination of John Seath's report, *Education for Industrial Purposes* (1910). The

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<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Stamp, "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario", p. 60.

final part of this chapter will examine the extent to which German technical education influenced the recommendations Seath made towards the creation of a technical system of education for Ontario.

## I

In the years between the release of Ryerson's *Report of 1846* to the end of Ross' term as Minister of Education in 1899, the Department of Education and members of Ontario's educational elite discussed the need for technical training in the province's schools. In this regard, they paid special attention to the role which technical schools played in the industrial development of Germany. In 1846, Ryerson recognized the importance of the German *realschülen* which taught "realities instead of words - the practical sciences instead of dead languages."<sup>8</sup> Ryerson noted in his *Report of 1846* that the secondary and trade schools of Germany prepared their students for the positions of architects, engineers, manufacturers, as well as for the different branches of commerce. Ryerson believed that a detailed study of these German schools "and their influence upon the social and public interests of society, as connected with all kinds of manufactures, buildings, roads, railways, and other internal improvements, would be extremely interesting."<sup>9</sup> Even though Ryerson never conducted such a study, short articles did appear in his *Journal of Education for Upper*

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<sup>8</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 196.

<sup>9</sup> *DHE.*, vol. 6, p. 196.

Canada indicating the connection between Germany's system of education, and its economic and military achievements.

In 1870, Hodgins, deputy superintendent of education, was sent to study technical schools in the United States. Hodgins wrote in his report on Schools of Technical Science in the United States that despite the growth of manufacturing in Ontario in the past decade, little was done to prepare the people of Ontario for work within modern industries. While Ontario provided for the basic intellectual wants of its people, "we have almost entirely neglected making any provision," argued Hodgins, "for training, and then turning to practical account that superior scientific and industrial skill among ourselves, which in other Countries contribute so largely and effectively to develop their Physical and Industrial resources."<sup>10</sup> In his report, Hodgins noted that not only were such countries as Prussia and Switzerland devoting more time and energy to technical education than England, but also the rapid growth of manufacturing in Prussia was the result of both the scientific training the owners and managers of industries received as well as the elementary education the members of the working class acquired. At the very end of his report, Hodgins noted that "Germany, supreme in the art and appliances of War, is fast becoming the Workshop of Europe."<sup>11</sup> Hodgins concluded his report by saying that in countries which applied scientific principles to the manufacturing process, the purpose was not so much as to save

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<sup>10</sup> DHE., vol. 23, p. 15.

<sup>11</sup> DHE., vol. 23, pp. 21-22.

labour, but instead, to multiply the power of labour.

In his report on the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876, Hodgins stated that in comparison to the United States and many European countries, the industrial goods which Canada produced "were rather ingenious imitations, rather than as a whole, careful elaborations of scientific principles, indicative of enlightened forethought and skill."<sup>12</sup> Hodgins added that Canada was "doing little as yet to ensure progress or practical excellence in the future."<sup>13</sup> Even though the ordinary branches of study were found in the curriculums of European schools, Hodgins explained, the subject of elementary industrial training was also included in the curriculum of continental schools. Hodgins stated that elementary mechanical and industrial drawing, along with natural history and science, were compulsory in the schools of Germany as well as the United States.<sup>14</sup> It was indeed unjust, remarked Hodgins, that such subjects were not included in the curriculum of the elementary schools of Ontario; this was a loss to both the boys who had an undeveloped taste for scientific and mechanical pursuits and for the country which possessed few highly trained workers.

James L. Hughes, in his report of the kindergarten schools of

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<sup>12</sup> Hodgins. *Special Report on the Ontario Educational Exhibit and the Education Features of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, 1876.* p. 240.

<sup>13</sup> Hodgins. *Special Report on the Ontario Educational Exhibit and the Educational Features of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, 1876.* p. 240.

<sup>14</sup> Hodgins. *Special Report on the Ontario Educational Exhibit and the Educational Features of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, 1876.* p. 241.



Ontario argued in 1882 that it was necessary to develop manual dexterity in both boys and girls at a very early age so that they would become skilled workers at a later stage of their lives. Hughes wrote that the neglect of the development of manual dexterity in children was highly consequential; he stated:

The individual and national loss thus sustained is too vast to be estimated. The early recognition of this lack in Germany, Switzerland, and France, led to the establishment in these countries of technical schools for the special training of the land in connection with various industrial pursuits. The result of this was, that in a few years England found her manufacturing supremacy passing away, and was compelled to follow the example of her continental rivals.<sup>15</sup>

Hughes pointed out that this defect in the public schools of Ontario was often examined and on various occasions it was proposed that work-shops be included in elementary schools. Unfortunately, lamented Hughes, "There has as yet been no satisfactory plan proposed for the accomplishment of this object."<sup>16</sup>

In the same year that Hughes' report was released, the Department of Education discussed in its annual report the importance of technical education. According to the document issued by the Department "Any system of education truly national should comprise within the sphere of its operations technical education, as essential to its general progress in intelligence and consequent material strength."<sup>17</sup> Despite the establishment of the School of Practical Science in Toronto, and Mechanics' Institutes

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<sup>15</sup> AR., 1882, p. 232.

<sup>16</sup> AR., 1882, p. 232.

<sup>17</sup> AR., 1882, p. 237.

in the province, "there was much yet to be done," admitted the Department, "in order to supply reasonable opportunities for gaining technical instruction in the physical and other sciences."<sup>18</sup> Stamp stated that by the late 1880s, technical education made no inroads in the province's secondary schools.<sup>19</sup>

One journal outside of officialdom which called upon the educational authorities of Ontario on a number of occasions to equip its people with proper technical and commercial training was *The Canada Educational Monthly*. As far back as 1881, *The Canada Educational Monthly* advocated the introduction of technical education in the schools of Ontario. *The Canada Educational Monthly* stated that if Canada wanted to be a country of industrial importance, and achieve success in manufacturing, technical education should be available to its people. This journal continued by saying that in Germany established facilities for technical instruction at technical institutes had long been in operation.<sup>20</sup>

In 1884, in an article written by A. P. Knight entitled, "The High School Curriculum", mention was made that the Mechanics' Institutes were failures and that nearly 3,000 students each year left high school in order to work in commerce and agriculture. These students, claimed Knight, received no special training to

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<sup>18</sup> AR., 1882, p. 237.

<sup>19</sup> Stamp, "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario", p. 57.

<sup>20</sup> "Technical Education", *TCEdM.*, vol. 3, (March, 1881), p. 140.

prepare them for non-literary professions; Knight added that "Skilled labour is one of the great wants of our country, and yet it seems to have been assumed by those who shaped our educational policy that no special training was needed by those intending to become artisans."<sup>21</sup> Knight proposed that the secondary school system in Ontario be reorganized and the work between the schools be divided along the following lines: (1) classical schools whose chief object was to prepare students for university; (2) normal schools whose work would consist in training second and third-class teachers; (3) technical and commercial schools whose purpose was to prepare students who wanted to acquire a non-university technical and commercial education; and (4) agricultural schools whose aim was to scientifically train students for farming.<sup>22</sup> It seems that the scheme which Knight proposed was similar to the system of schools found in many European schools such as Germany.

In an editorial written in 1893, *The Canada Educational Monthly* wanted to know what Ontario was doing about the issue of establishing modern commercial schools. In 1898, *The Canada Educational Monthly* printed an article which talked about the value and function of education. According to the author of "The Secure Hold of Education", schooling represented "a necessary part of the struggle for existence." Technical education, argued the author, was especially important to "the very life of the nation." Germany

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<sup>21</sup> A. P. Knight, "The High School Curriculum", *TCEdM.*, vol 6, (July/August. 1884), p. 285.

<sup>22</sup> Knight, "The High School Curriculum", p. 285.

was seen as a prime example of a country which applied scientific principles to its industries and institutions of finance. The author wrote:

It has been conclusively proven that the growth of German manufacturers, and of German manufactures, and of German exports of manufactured goods, is due primarily to the application of German science to business. It is ... just the plain, downright putting of highly specialized knowledge at the service of manufactures, which has raised the hue and cry about "made in Germany."<sup>23</sup>

*The Canada Educational Monthly* saw the countries of the world engaged in a Darwinian struggle for existence. Germany by means of her schools was moving far ahead of other countries.

Despite the fact that there was always some interest in technical education in Ontario, it was not until the late 1890s that many people in Ontario pressed loudly for it. Yet even during the mid-1890s, the introduction of technical education into Ontario's schools lacked the support of both the general public and specific interest groups.<sup>24</sup> Manufacturers were concerned with the tariff, labour groups desired better wages and job security for the province's workers, and, most high-ranking educators in the 1880s and 1890s "decried any marriage between schooling and practical economic life." The Mowat government, with limited financial resources in the 1873-1896 period, and a desire to keep the rural

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<sup>23</sup> "The Secure Hold of Education", *TCEdM.*, vol 20, (January, 1898), pp. 23-24.

<sup>24</sup> Stamp, "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario", p. 58.

vote, was not prepared to expand the area of technical education.<sup>25</sup>

The settlement of the Canadian west, the exploitation of mineral and forest resources in northern Ontario, the protective tariff of the National Policy, the influx of foreign capital into the country, and the increased demand for Canadian goods on international markets led to the accelerated growth of manufacturing in Ontario after the mid-1890s. Between 1900 and 1910, the most vigorous industrial growth in Canada's history took place. Firestone stated that during this period of time productivity in manufacturing in terms of output per man-year rose by better than 40 per cent and exports of partially and fully manufactured products rose from approximately \$100 million to \$136 million.<sup>26</sup>

Within a few years, this dramatic economic development caused attitudes towards technical education to change very quickly in Ontario. Newspapers such as the *Globe*, and, the *Mail and Empire* called upon the government to provide the province's students with the opportunity of obtaining a technical education. The 1899 campaigns to include technical education in the secondary schools of Ontario by the Ottawa Board of Trade and the Toronto Board of Trade were significant because this was "the first time an organized pressure group had championed the cause for practical,

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<sup>25</sup> Stamp, "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario", p. 58.

<sup>26</sup> O. J. Firestone. *Industry and Education: A Century of Canadian Development*. (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1969), p. 27.

vocational education at the secondary school level."<sup>27</sup> By 1902, the demand for technical education in Ontario had grown. German trade and technical schools were often referred to by those who argued for a more utilitarian orientation to Ontario's system of education. Richard Harcourt, Ontario's Minister of Education, wrote in 1902:

The success of the German Trade and Technical Schools in training young men for active and effective participation in industrial life has been the subject of innumerable addresses by publicists, statesmen, and educationists. Current reviews, journals and newspapers are teeming with articles on the importance to the national welfare of making adequate provision in any general scheme of educational effort for the introduction of technical instruction.<sup>28</sup>

## II

In 1899, Ross became the premier of Ontario, and his position as Minister of Education was filled by Richard Harcourt who already held three careers by the time of his appointment: school inspector, lawyer, and politician. Harcourt was not only fully aware of the economic transformation which Ontario was undergoing in the 1890s, but he also believed that practical education was essential for life in a modern, industrial world. Throughout his reports from 1899 to 1904, Harcourt continued to promote manual training and domestic science which he believed provided the foundation to a practical education that twentieth century students would need. Harcourt was fully aware of the German technical

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<sup>27</sup> Stamp, "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario", p. 55.

<sup>28</sup> AR., 1902, p. xxxv.

system and he referred to it in his reports.

In his 1899 report Harcourt clearly spoke of the need to offset the one-sided, bookish nature of elementary and secondary education in Ontario. Science, wrote Harcourt, revolutionized industries and consequently, the curriculum established in the schools of Ontario in the late 1840s no longer prepared students for life in modern, industrial, urban society. Harcourt presented his case for technical education in this manner: "The advance of applied science, with the resulting subdivision of labour so marked at the present day, has rendered instruction in technical education essential, in view of the changed economic conditions."<sup>29</sup>

In his 1900 report, Harcourt discussed in greater detail the nature of the industrial revolution which was occurring in Ontario. He stated that it would be foolish for schools to ignore the changes which had occurred in science and industry. Consequently, the curriculum of the schools of Ontario should be expanded to include manual training, domestic science, and technical education. Harcourt wrote:

The concentration of manufactures, the increased use of machinery, the constant divisions of labour, and the keenness of modern competition, have to be dealt with. The old conception of apprenticeship is past. Intelligence and good training on the part of the workmen are needed as much as ever. For the acquisition of knowledge, and for the right manipulation of tools, persons at the present day must look to the school and technical institutes for what was formerly secured by the apprentice system.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> AR., 1899, p. xxii.

<sup>30</sup> AR., 1900, p. xxxv.

What Harcourt wanted was intelligent workmen who were trained to think for themselves. Schools, such as Toronto's School of Practical Science, Harcourt believed, performed invaluable work in training men to be foremen and leaders in industrial operations.

In his 1903 report, Harcourt quoted a passage from the American journal, *Education*, which discussed the way that changes in industrial and social life also required alterations to school courses and educational methods. Since Harcourt placed this particular article in his report, it was probably representative of his views on the role of education in the modern, industrialized world. The school now had as its function the introduction of students to the characteristics of modern industrial society. No longer was instruction in the three Rs and the training which young people received at home sufficient for people to deal with a modern urban environment and a manufacturing system which required both the division of labour in the production process and specialized knowledge from the workmen. The state, through its educational system, explained the author of this passage, was forced to play a greater role than in the past. The author stated:

The State educates the young in order to advance the welfare of society. Its aim is to make the good citizen and the efficient producer and consumer. The result desired is the elevation of the standard of living of society - a social benefit. The school becomes society's agency for the promotion of its collective welfare.<sup>31</sup>

Harcourt desired efficient and effective schools which would

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<sup>31</sup> AR., 1903, pp. xxx-xxxi.



improve the wellbeing of the people and train young people so that they would become worthy successors to the present generation of men and women. Harcourt believed that schools should play a more prominent role in establishing order in society rather than the state relying upon the use of corrective and repressive institutions such as prisons to maintain order in society. In fact, Harcourt argued that the more effective and efficient were the schools, the less demand would be placed on corrective institutions in society.

Harcourt took a cautious position in regards to technical education in Germany and the reasons for Germany's commercial and industrial success. He clearly recognized the effectiveness of German technical schools in training highly productive citizens, but Harcourt did not necessarily believe that what was good for Germany was also good for Ontario. Harcourt quoted the opinions of an unnamed principal of an English school who stated that the commercial value of a country's system of technical education should not be overestimated. Despite the success of Germany's system of technical education, this unnamed principal answered that there were a number of other factors which contributed to Germany's success in the commercial and industrial world. He wrote:

The main causes of Germany's progress are to be found in the general industry of her sons, in the determination with which they pursue their objects, in the low rate of wages for which her workmen are content to labour, in the low profits which the masters are content to receive, in the general sense of discipline inspired by her military system.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> AR., 1900, p. xlii.

Given the fact that Harcourt chose to include these statements in his report, the following conclusion may perhaps be made regarding Harcourt's opinion of the value of Germany's system of technical education for Ontario: simply replicating German technical schools in Ontario, does not mean that the province would achieve a high level of commercial success.

In his 1901 report, Harcourt argued, as he already did in his two previous reports, for the inclusion of manual training in the elementary schools of Ontario. Germany and Austria, Harcourt stated, in response to the economic depression which began in 1873, and due to their desire to remain competitive, laid the foundations of technical education by teaching manual dexterity in their elementary schools. Harcourt credited the improvement of German manufacturing to the presence of manual training in German elementary schools.

Even though Ontario could have learned a lesson from Germany, which profited by laying the foundations of technical education in its elementary schools, Harcourt felt it was important to bring the difference in social conditions between Canada and Germany to his readers' attention:

The class distinctions of Germany give rise to differentiations in the matter of education, which are neither possible nor desirable in this country. The boys intending to enter the professions, as well as those who will follow mechanical, agricultural and commercial pursuits, must be trained in the same Public and High Schools, and hence the break in so called practical education must be remedied in the Public Schools.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> AR., 1901, p. xxxii.

Unlike German schools which streamed students into different schools and eventually into different professions from an early age, Harcourt believed that Canada's democratic culture would find such obvious streaming and differentiation to be unacceptable.

Harcourt's opinions of German technical schools and their usefulness to the school system of Ontario can be understood more fully by looking at John Seath's report on the manual training schools of the United States. This was submitted to Harcourt in 1901. Seath, who was a high school inspector from 1884 to 1905 and a staunch defender of academic subjects, "completely dominated the Ontario secondary school scene," wrote Stamp, and he "became Ross's and Harcourt's closest advisor, and bore 'the responsibility of practically all High School questions, whether of regulations, programmes, or local difficulties.'"<sup>34</sup> In the following years, Seath played an important role in the promotion of technical education in Ontario.

Even though the manual training courses of elementary and high schools of the various states in America were the primary topics of Seath's study, he also outlined the main features of technical education in Germany and he made comparisons between the technical systems of education found in the United States and Germany. Near the beginning of his report, Seath wrote: "The most typical example we have of a system of technical education is the German one. As I will point out further on, it is different from those of the

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<sup>34</sup> Stamp, "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario", p. 66-67.

United States; and, though much beyond our capabilities, will be found to be very suggestive."<sup>35</sup> Seath very briefly outlined the main characteristics of technical education found at the elementary school level, and in continual and secondary schools of Germany. He also gave a list of the various types of intermediate technical schools such as horticultural schools, and high technical schools such as polytechnical schools found in Germany. Seath concluded his brief outline of German technical schools by quoting James Loudon, president of the University of Toronto who stated in his convocation address of 1900 that

The technical system of Germany covers the whole field of industry and commerce. It distinguishes clearly between the general and the technical. No attempt is made to put a veneer of technical training on a defective general training. It distinguishes between the training of the director, the foreman, and the operative. In all grades it concentrates effort on the underlying principles of art and science and their application. The general result is a thoroughly trained body of workmen under scientific leadership.<sup>36</sup>

The comparisons which Seath made between the technical school systems of Germany and the United States are important in that they also provide an insight into the nature of the school system of Ontario at the turn of the century. Even though Seath paid no special attention to the trade schools of the United States during his tour, he nevertheless briefly discussed them in his report. Trade schools in the United States, wrote Seath, were established

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<sup>35</sup> AR., 1900, p. 217.

<sup>36</sup> AR., 1900, p. 219.

and maintained by the private sector of the economy, and, these schools, in comparison to those of Germany, were new. German schools, on the other hand, were established by the state and they had long been in existence.

Seath then noted differences between German and American societies. In Germany, wrote Seath, a boy's career was usually marked out for him; he either followed the trade of his father or of his locality. In the United States, there was no such fixity; Seath stated that in America, "the intelligent boy has 'all the world before him where to choose.'"<sup>37</sup> Seath also stated that the goal of the technical system of education in Germany was the improvement of economic well-being of the country, while in the United States, "the advancement and development of the individual are the main objects."<sup>38</sup>

Seath noticed other major differences between the technical systems of education in Germany and the United States. The apprenticeship system almost disappeared in the United States while in Germany it was still in existence, reinforced by its continual schools. The United States did not have a general and comprehensive system of technical education while each duchy or kingdom in Germany had full control over its technical system of education which was very comprehensive. And finally, Seath stated, "Germany differentiates the general from the technical; the United

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<sup>37</sup> AR., 1900, p. 239.

<sup>38</sup> AR., 1900, p. 239.

States does not."<sup>39</sup> Technical courses were not taught at the elementary school level in Germany, and all of Germany's secondary schools provided only a general form of education; industrial and technical subject were taught at the elementary and secondary level in the United States.

Where does Ontario's system of technical education fit in within this spectrum? Seath stated that the social and economic conditions of Ontario were much more like those of the United States rather than Germany. According to Seath,

The German system of education, as we have seen, draws a sharp line of demarcation between general and technical education, and, consequently approaches closely to what an ideal system should be. The better the division of labour, the better the product. But Ontario is not a wealthy and populous community, and in many respects she resembles the United States more closely than she does the German Confederation. The American system, which connects the educational manual training of the elementary classes with the technical training of the High Schools is within our reach and likely to suit our conditions.<sup>40</sup>

Neither Harcourt nor Seath believed that a foreign system of education, no matter how good it was, could easily be transplanted onto Canadian soil. Both of these men were committed to technical education and they were willing to look at what Germany had to offer Ontario. Still, these men were fully conscious of the traditions and indigenous nature of Ontario's system of education and the economic limits placed on any possible expansion of Ontario's system of education.

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<sup>39</sup> AR., 1900, p. 241.

<sup>40</sup> AR., 1900, p. 246.

### III

Perhaps the most prominent player in the campaign to include technical education within the schools of Ontario was the Canadian Manufacturing Association. Stamp wrote that from 1900 to the First World War, "the Canadian Manufacturers' Association functioned as an extremely powerful pressure group in Canadian political and economic life."<sup>41</sup> The Association conducted its campaign for technical education by lobbying both the governments of Canada and Ontario. It invited prominent educators like James Loudon to speak at the Association's conventions. It also published a monthly magazine, *Industrial Canada*, which presented the Association's views on a variety of issues including education. And finally, the Association gathered statistics from Canada and abroad to strengthen its case for technical education.

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association's position regarding technical education will be examined along two lines: the first will deal with the reasons which the Association gave for establishing a technical system of education in Ontario and the second will deal with the Association's perceptions of the German system of technical education. In the very first issue of *Industrial Canada*, dated July 1900, the Association announced its intention to devote a considerable amount of attention to technical education. The Association believed that a good system of technical education should be in place in Canada for the following

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<sup>41</sup> Stamp, "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario", p. 62.

reason:

If our manufacturers can have in their factories a class of labour more intelligent and skilled than can be procured in other industrial centres of the world, the manufacturing establishments of Canada will be able to more than hold their own in the race for commercial supremacy.<sup>42</sup>

The keenness of international competition and the expansion of industrial activities in Canada, argued the Association, required a highly trained workforce. In a memorandum submitted to Harcourt in January of 1901, the Association stated both its commitment to the establishment of a system of technical education in Ontario and Canada as well as its belief in the connection between technical education and national prosperity:

The opportunities before Canada to attain to a position of power in the commercial and manufacturing world are greater than they have ever been before, and whether she will attain to that proud position to which we look forward or not will largely depend upon the degree of intelligence with which our Canadian workmen are to be equipped.<sup>43</sup>

In this memorandum, the Association called upon the provincial government to set up a commission to investigate the issue of technical education and then lay out a practical programme of technical education adapted to Ontario's needs.

During the 1901 convention of the Association, P. W. Ellis, in his presidential address, elaborated upon the reasons why Canada needed a sound system of technical education. Ellis stated:

It is technical and commercial education that has placed

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<sup>42</sup> "Technical Education", *IC.*, vol. 1, (July, 1900), p. 12.

<sup>43</sup> "Technical Education", *IC.*, vol. 1, (January, 1901), p. 155.



Germany in the position of a dangerous rival to Great Britain, and there is need for energetic action to face the keen and growing competition of industrial countries, such as Germany and the United States, countries which have given attention to practical, as well as theoretical education.<sup>44</sup>

International commercial rivalry, and the connection between education and commercial success were two reasons which explained why Ellis believed Canada was in need of a technical system of education. A Darwinian view of life was a third reason for Ellis' understanding that technical education was so important for the future of Canada. Ellis continued: "It is true our country presents great natural advantages, but, without the inventive skill and its intelligent application, backed up by enterprise and energy, we shall fall in the scale of nations, for the survival of the fittest is a law which never changes."<sup>45</sup>

Germany, by means of its elaborate system of education, according to *Industrial Canada*, was winning in the struggle for industrial supremacy. This publication noted in 1905 that Germany, for the past thirty years, was preparing itself for economic war by improving the technical side of its educational system. German technical, trade, continual, and secondary schools were producing men, argued *Industrial Canada*, who were "capable of carrying Germany to the front in this industrial and commercial struggle."<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> "Education", *IC.*, vol. 2, (November, 1901), p. 221.

<sup>45</sup> "Education", *IC.*, vol. 2, (January, 1901), p. 221.

<sup>46</sup> "Technical Education in Canada", *IC.*, vol. 5, (June, 1905), p. 377.

Canada could only succeed in this Darwinian struggle for survival, suggested the Association, and eventually beat Germany at its own game, when the workforce and the manufacturing process became highly efficient. When *Industrial Canada* was first published, readers were told by the editor that the key to Germany's success in industry and commerce was the efficient way in which the country approached education, commerce, and manufacturing. According to the editor, when there was an industrial or commercial difficulty, the Germans rather than hiding behind protective tariffs, "find out wherein lies the trouble and then educate their people to the greatest skill and efficiency."<sup>47</sup> In a later issue of *Industrial Canada*, dated June 1907, the word efficiency took on the aura of sacredness. According to the Association,

Efficiency is a master word. It is the ideal towards which all efforts must be directed. It is that upon which prosperity, industrial and agricultural, must eventually depend. We are filled with amazement as we view the wonderful progress made by Germany in recent years. The national life is a unit. Education, manufacturing, farming, chemical research, all converge to the one point, efficiency. In the case of the Germans, efficiency has grown from a means almost to an end.<sup>48</sup>

The Association believed that manufacturing and commerce in Canada could still be more efficient. Canadians, argued the Association, must take advantage of improved industrial processes and scientific investigations. Canadians must also learn from the experience of

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<sup>47</sup> "Technical Education", *IC.*, vol. 1, (August, 1900), p. 28.

<sup>48</sup> "Efficiency", *IC.*, vol. 7, (June, 1907), p. 843.

other countries. Thus, Canadians, claimed the Association, must be trained to become more efficient by means of a technical system of education.

In an address delivered at the Toronto convention of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in 1907, James A. Emery, Secretary of the Citizens Industrial League of America, talked about the importance of industrial education. Increased production, according to Emery, represented the only way both wages and profits could be improved. Increased production could only be attained when the producer and his workmen were more skilled and efficient. Emery argued that industrial efficiency was absolutely essential to the material and moral progress of nations. Any progress which the English speaking peoples might achieve, stated Emery, was based upon the industrial and moral improvement of each individual within the country.

Germany taught the world a lesson, said Emery. Germany's systematic industrial education was the sole reason for her rise to economic and commercial prominence in the world. In Germany, Emery told his audience, one would find "the most remarkable system of Industrial Education systematized and organized [sic] existing in any nation of the earth."<sup>49</sup> Emery called upon his Canadian audience to support industrial education for it was the sole means of improving the manufacturer's profit, the economic wellbeing of each workman, and the wealth of the nation. Highly skilled workmen were

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<sup>49</sup> J. A. Emery, "Technical Education - An Industrial Necessity", *IC.*, vol. 8, (October, 1907), p. 182.

needed to build and improve the industries of Canada. No longer should Canadian firms, argued Emery, be dependent upon skilled workmen trained in other countries. The opportunity given to workmen to acquire particular knowledge and the capacity to do one task well, was the key to the moral development of both the individual and the nation. According to Emery,

You cannot give a man the settled and fixed means for earning his livelihood, you cannot bring him to a realization of his relation to the general factors of industry, without bringing him to a sense of responsibility in the upholding of them. You cannot train him to industrial efficiency without giving him also the opportunity for attaining to the highest moral efficiency.<sup>50</sup>

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association was concerned with power, international competitiveness, economic wealth, and the efficient production of manufactured goods. Unlike Harcourt and Seath who took into consideration the social, cultural and economic context of German education, the Association's analysis of Germany's education system identified only one aspect of that country's educational system. The efficient development and application of scientific principles to education and its relationship with commerce and industrial production was all that the Association was concerned with.

#### IV

Ever since the early 1880s, *The Canada Educational Monthly* indicated an interest in both the German system of education and

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<sup>50</sup> Emery, "Industrial Education - An Industrial Necessity", p. 182.

industrial education. Interest in these two topics accelerated between 1899 and 1903 when *The Canada Educational Monthly* ran ten full-length articles which dealt with the German system of education and its connection to Germany's rise to industrial and commercial prominence. Many of these articles displayed a deeper, more balanced and comprehensive understanding of German education than was found in the Canadian Manufacturers' Association's articles in its journal, *Industrial Canada*. *The Canada Educational Monthly* was critical of Ontario's educational establishment. The editors of *The Canada Educational Monthly* perhaps chose these articles for the following reason:

The sword laid aside, the able bodied men left in their homes and factories, the women and children called to their aid, the competition is killing and universal. Each nation is harnessing all its forces to increase its chances of producing manufactured articles, to increase the national wealth in order to overcome other nations in the race for supremacy. Money is the cry! and the echo is more money.<sup>51</sup>

The editorial argued that the school systems of the leading countries of the world were being brought in line to fight an economic war. Each child was being properly trained so as to fit into an industrial army. *The Canada Educational Monthly* called upon its readers to be mindful of the standards which Britain, her grammar schools and the graduates of these schools once followed when they travelled on the road to national greatness. These standards were contrary to Britain's present drive towards the achievement of economic supremacy. Britain and her civil servants,

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<sup>51</sup> "The war of the future", *TCEdM.*, vol. 23, (October, 1901), p. 337.

according to *The Canada Educational Monthly*, were "mindful of the truth that there is a 'wideness' in human affairs which cannot be hemmed in by the horizon of this life."<sup>52</sup> The editors then gave this warning to their readers: "Expectant Canada is confidently entering into the race for riches and power; her natural resources are unexcelled by any other country. May she tread becomingly in the ways of truth and wisdom."<sup>53</sup>

Three pertinent articles dealing with the German system of education found in *The Canada Educational Monthly*, which presented the "'wideness' in human affairs", will be examined. On several occasions, the editors of *The Canada Educational Monthly* chose to include in their publication articles written by Michael Sadler. In his article, "System of Education", Sadler talked about the study of foreign systems of education and the danger which often took place of "slipping unconsciously into expressions which implicitly carry with them the idea that an educational system is nothing more or less than a system of schools."<sup>54</sup> He argued that the school building, the teaching methodologies, and the courses of study should not be seen as the sole elements of a country's system of education. "No one can visit the German schools," wrote Sadler, "without feeling great reverence for the brain-power, the energy,

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<sup>52</sup> "The War of the Future", p. 338.

<sup>53</sup> "The War of the Future", p. 338.

<sup>54</sup> M. Sadler, "System of Education", *TCEdM.*, vol. 23, (March, 1901), p. 92.

and the foresight of those who build up that school system."<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, the school system of any country could only be understood by knowing what was going on outside of the school. Sadler explained further: "A great school system like the German, does not run by itself. It is upheld by something outside itself, by the national interest in education."<sup>56</sup>

Sadler stated that one simply cannot go on a tour of the educational systems of the world and then choose the parts of a foreign school system which might seem useful to one's own. A country's national system of education, he argued,

is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties, and "of battles long ago." It has in some of the secret workings of national life. It reflects, while it seeks to remedy, the failings of the national character. By instinct, it often lays special emphasis on those parts of training which the natural character particularly needs.<sup>57</sup>

Therefore, according to Sadler, the social, cultural, and economic contexts within which schools were located mattered more in the process of education than what actually went on in the classroom.

Did Sadler see any value to the study of foreign system of education? Aside from the very minor reasons of adopting administrative contrivances or methods of inspection, he gave only one, important reason for the study of foreign systems of education: "The practical value of studying, in a right spirit and with scholarly accuracy the working of foreign systems of education

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<sup>55</sup> Sadler, "System of Education", p. 92.

<sup>56</sup> Sadler, "System of Education", p. 92.

<sup>57</sup> Sadler, "System of Education", p. 94.

is that it will result in our being better fitted to study and to understand our own."<sup>58</sup>

Immediately following the article by Sadler in *The Canada Educational Monthly*, there was an article entitled "School Work in Germany" written by the American consul in Mannheim, Germany, H. W. Harris. Harris remarked upon the German cultivation of the creed of efficiency. In addition, he noted the following aspects of German education and of Germans themselves: (1) education, as an aid to good citizenship was not stressed in German schools as much as it was in American schools; (2) school work was very serious business to the German child; (3) the extensive number and variety of technical schools; (4) the specialized training which the German received in his particular field of work; (5) the similarity between school life and the army; and (6) the ability of many Germans to speak up to three languages fluently which consequently prepared them for international commercial endeavours.<sup>59</sup>

In November of 1901, *The Canada Educational Monthly* printed an article written by Fabian Ware, entitled "Some Foreign Educational Ideas"; this article by Ware dealt with the social, cultural, and economic forces which acted upon the development of the German system of education. According to Ware, the German system of education was the result of a nationalistic endeavour to develop a nation of the highest quality. German nationalism, meant "not the

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<sup>58</sup> Sadler, "System of Education", p. 94.

<sup>59</sup> H. W. Harris, "School Work in Germany", *TCEdM.*, vol. 23, (March, 1901), pp. 97-98.



pursuit of revenge, but the striving after national progress stimulated by competition with other nations."<sup>60</sup> Thus, the primary factor which led to the construction of Germany's "magnificent system of education", was the nationalist sentiment of the people which "looked to her schoolmasters to strengthen those internal forces which can alone ensure steady and continual progress in the right direction."<sup>61</sup>

Religion, as a subject in the schools, had a role to play in shaping the nature of German schools. Ware stated that its chief aim was "the introduction of the child into his great spiritual inheritance."<sup>62</sup> Social values influenced secondary education. Germans believed that in order to ensure national progress, the best talent had to be brought to the top of the educational ladder and this led to allowing individuals of exceptional talent from the poorer classes being enrolled in the country's secondary schools. Ware pointed out that many people in England believed that Germany's economic prosperity was due to the strength of its secondary schools and "therefore the special needs of industry and commerce must have been considered in designing the curricula of these schools."<sup>63</sup> Ware argued that this was not exactly the case. Specialization, especially technical specialization, did not take

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<sup>60</sup> F. Ware, "Some Foreign Educational Ideas", *TCEdM.*, vol. 23, (November, 1901), p. 331.

<sup>61</sup> Ware, "Some Foreign Educational Ideas", p. 331.

<sup>62</sup> Ware, "Some Foreign Educational Ideas", p. 332.

<sup>63</sup> Ware, "Some Foreign Education Ideas", p. 332.

place in any of Germany's secondary schools and all types of secondary schools provided students with a general form of education.

Ware noted that people often thought that as a result of the German system of education, "the German has sacrificed his individual freedom in pursuit of his national ideal."<sup>64</sup> Even though social legislation in Germany kept people away from economic misery, it nevertheless, placed no restrictions on a German workman's political and religious thought. Ware continued by arguing that despite the fact that the educational system streamed children towards a vocation at a very young age, it still allowed an individual's inner freedom to remain intact. Ware quoted a Prof. Rein who stated that the German

is only compelled to subject himself to definite forms with respect to external movement, which is required by the interest of all. The problem of inner freedom and external constraint is, therefore, solved by an organization which is able to combine the necessary constraint of centralization with the necessary freedom of decentralization.<sup>65</sup>

Readers of *The Canada Educational Monthly* were provided a variety of perspectives on the German system of education. Often, the opinions of authors writing these articles were widely different from, and contradictory to, each other. Articles which appeared around the turn of the century in *The Canada Educational Monthly* did discuss the importance of establishing a commercial and technical system of education in Canada and point out the

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<sup>64</sup> Ware, "Some Foreign Educational Ideas", p. 334.

<sup>65</sup> Ware, "Some Foreign Educational Ideas", p. 334.

relationship between Germany's technical system of education and its economic success. Nevertheless, a more complex and deeper analysis of German education - and perhaps, a more thought provoking one - was presented in *The Canada Educational Monthly* than in *Industrial Canada*.

*The Canada Educational Monthly* had a more comprehensive definition of the purpose of education than the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. In October of 1901, in addition to the editorial, "The War of the Future", an address given by A. H. Young before the Dominion Educational Association appeared in *The Canada Educational Monthly*. Given the variety and nature of the articles and editorial viewpoints which appeared in this journal, the purpose which Young gave to education appears to be similar to a position which *The Canada Educational Monthly* might have taken:

We must stand firm upon the ground that the educational system is not intended to prepare boys and girls to earn a living, but, through their studies and their intercourse with men and women of character and education, in the fullest sense of the term, to train their intelligence and develop their character to such an extent as shall enable them to profit speedily by the further processes of training that are to fit them for earning a livelihood, and shall enable them likewise to adapt themselves readily to the ever-changing conditions of life in such a way as to perform honestly and honourably the various duties devolving upon them.<sup>66</sup>

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The years 1904 to 1906 were pivotal in the development of a technical system of education for Ontario. By 1904, under the

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<sup>66</sup> A. H. Young, "What a Pupil has a Right to Expect", *TCEdM.*, vol. 23, (October, 1901), p. 288.

leadership of Harcourt and Seath, manual training and domestic science became optional subjects in the province's elementary school system. The high school curriculum was expanded to include seven different courses of study. This expanded high school curriculum gave "a multi-purpose role for the Ontario secondary school which might in the future include technical education within the existing arrangements."<sup>67</sup> Also, by February of 1905, the Ross government was out of office, and Whitney became Ontario's next premier. Encouraged by the Whitney's election victory, the Canadian Manufacturer's Association stepped up its campaign for technical education in Ontario during the winter of 1905/1906. At the same time, after twenty-six years of publication, *The Canada Educational Monthly*, (renamed *The Educational Monthly of Canada* in 1903), ceased publication by the end of 1905. Finally, in 1906, Seath was appointed by Whitney's Conservative government to the new position of superintendent of education. Seath's appointment "proved to be the single most important move in the history of technical education in Ontario."<sup>68</sup>

The new Minister of Education, R. A. Pyne, was a Toronto physician and a close friend of Whitney. Pyne's understanding of the importance of establishing some form of technical education in the schools of Ontario and his appreciation for the German model of technical education were similar to positions taken by Harcourt.

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<sup>67</sup> Stamp, "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario", p. 64.

<sup>68</sup> Stamp, "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario", p. 66.

Pyne was probably influenced by Seath and Albert Leake, the province's inspector of manual training and technical schools. Pyne was fully aware of the increasing complexity of modern social and industrial life and the corresponding inadequacy of the school system which was largely suited to meet the requirements of pioneer life. He wrote in the report of 1905 that the more specialized commercial, industrial, and social life became, the greater would be the need to set up a highly complicated system of education.<sup>69</sup>

Pyne believed that technical education was necessary in order for a country to succeed in the twentieth century which would be seen as "the scene of a struggle for commercial and industrial supremacy."<sup>70</sup> In his report of 1908, Pyne re-emphasized the importance of providing a technical education for the citizens of a country. According to Pyne,

The question of educational institutions for the training of workers in the various trades and industries is looked upon as of national importance. Our commercial and industrial advancement depends upon the existence of a skilled body of wage-earners for which there is an ever increasing demand. The success of any country rests upon the intelligence, integrity and economic independence of the great mass of its citizens.<sup>71</sup>

Thus, Pyne thought it absolutely imperative that education should match any changes which could occur in industry. He stated that "the school of the future will be the product of social and

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<sup>69</sup> AR., 1905, p. xxiv.

<sup>70</sup> AR., 1905, p. xxviii.

<sup>71</sup> AR., 1908, pp. viii-ix.

industrial progress."<sup>72</sup>

Pyne saw in Germany the existence of a highly complex system of education which attempted to match the complexity of modern urban and industrial life:

An examination of the occupations of the German people reveals the most extensive variety and specialization to be found in any civilized state. Coincident with this multiplicity of pursuits are the provisions for the education of the people who are to engage in them. Nowhere else do we find so great a variety of special schools for the training of the people for their particular vocations. All this leads to complexity in the organization and administration of the educational machinery, and in no other state is the educational organism so complicated.<sup>73</sup>

Pyne continued by saying that when all matters come to rest, all educational systems should be indigenous so that it would be a grave mistake to transplant an excellent system of education found in one country to another country without risking the possibility of failure. He stated that "Each country must face and solve its own educational problems. Yet many valuable suggestions may be obtained from those states in which the conditions do not vary greatly from our own."<sup>74</sup> The influence of Seath and Leake seems to be evident in the position Pyne was taking regarding technical education.

Leake, an Englishman, noted in his book, *Industrial Education*, that in the United States, "the educational system of Germany has received more attention from American investigators than the system

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<sup>72</sup> AR., 1908, p. ix.

<sup>73</sup> AR., 1905, p. xxiv.

<sup>74</sup> AR., 1905, p. xxv.

of any other country."<sup>75</sup> Leake found that the German system of education was continually being eulogized in the United States. Many people interested in education and technological development stated that the German system of education should be copied and adopted in the United States. Leake added that the different types of schools in Germany were described and enumerated by Americans *ad nauseam*.<sup>76</sup> Leake was very sceptical about the possibility of copying German institutions and methods in another country:

Germany is paraded before us as a country in which every individual is fitted by the State for the part he is to play in life, and this is to some extent true. But when we are told that in this particular we should set to work in sober earnest and imitate their methods of trying to bring about this result, one essential difference, which makes such imitation impossible, is forgotten - the American is not German.<sup>77</sup>

These men thought clearly about the possibility of imitating another nation's system of education. Much like Sadler, these men were not only fully aware of the differences in national temperament and traditions between Canadians living in Ontario and Germans but they stressed them when they studied other systems of education. Consequently, Pyne, Seath, and Leake were very cautious about copying the German system of education in Ontario.

In the years leading up to 1909, the Whitney government was under considerable pressure from the leader of the opposition

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<sup>75</sup> A. Leake. *Industrial Education: Its Problems, Methods and Dangers*. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913), p. 178.

<sup>76</sup> Leake, *Industrial Education*. p. 178.

<sup>77</sup> Leake. *Industrial Education*. pp. 184-185.

Liberal party, A. G. Mackay, to formulate and finally implement a policy regarding technical education. During the provincial election late in the year 1908, Mackay repeated his demands that the government deal with the practical side of education in Ontario.<sup>78</sup> After Whitney's election victory, Seath was given the task of examining technical education in the United States, England, Scotland, France, Germany, and Switzerland. Seath began his tour in the fall of 1909 and by the winter of 1910, his comprehensive report, *Education for Industrial Purposes* was published. Stamp noted that "Within three months after the publication of Seath's report the Ontario legislature passed the Industrial Education Act of 1911. It was based directly on Seath's recommendations and was the first comprehensive legislation outlining a provincial policy on technical education."<sup>79</sup>

In the chapter on the technical system of education in Germany, Seath provided a general outline of this system in Germany. Then he described the technical systems of education found in the cities of Munich, Cologne, and Aix-la-Chapelle. Seath considered the German system of education to be the most comprehensive, organized and effective system in the world.<sup>80</sup> Seath noted that as a result of the social conditions of the country,

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<sup>78</sup> Stamp, "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario", p. 69.

<sup>79</sup> Stamp, "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario", p. 71.

<sup>80</sup> Ontario Department of Education. *Education for Industrial Purposes, A Report by John Seath*. (Toronto: King's Printer, 1911), p. 151.



"The organization of the system is, accordingly, free from the difficulties that beset us in Ontario."<sup>81</sup> In Germany, wrote Seath, a boy's occupation in adult life was marked out for him at an early stage of his life. Thus, given the systematic nature of the German school systems, "the boy is trained in special schools for the exact position in life he expects to hold."<sup>82</sup>

Seath found that in almost every town in Germany, there was a technical school. He added that the "one main cause of the eminence of Germany, even in industrial matters, is the fact that practically all her people are well educated."<sup>83</sup> The attitude of the public was favourable towards compulsory industrial education and the country's trade unions were satisfied, wrote Seath, "with the provision for instruction and attendance and feel that justice is being done to both the employee and the employer."<sup>84</sup> Nonetheless, what the Germans had difficulty in overcoming, noted Seath, was finding competent teachers to teach in industrial schools.

## VI

The last part of this chapter of this thesis will involve an

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<sup>81</sup> Ontario Department of Education. *Education for Industrial Purposes. A Report by John Seath.* p. 151.

<sup>82</sup> Ontario Department of Education. *Education for Industrial Purposes. A Report by John Seath.* p. 151.

<sup>83</sup> Ontario Department of Education. *Education for Industrial Purposes. A Report by John Seath.* p. 154.

<sup>84</sup> Ontario Department of Education. *Education for Industrial Purposes. A Report by John Seath.* p. 157.

attempt to determine the extent to which the German system of education was *the sole and most explicit influence on Seath* when he formulated and make his recommendations towards the establishment of a provincial system of technical education. The thirty recommendations which Seath made towards the establishment of a modern, vocational system of education were divided into the following five categories: (1) industrial and technical education; (2) drawing and art education; (3) agricultural education; (4) commercial education; and (5) general provisions.

Of the fifteen recommendations Seath made towards the establishment of industrial and technical education, only one was the result of what Seath saw and liked in Germany. He advocated the establishment of a Dominion Institute of Industrial Research; the object of such an institution would be "the promotion, by means of experiments, of scientific research and of precise technical work."<sup>85</sup> Seath was impressed with the intimate relationship which existed between Germany's manufacturing establishments and her higher technical institutions such as the Imperial Institute for Physical-Technical Research at Charlottenburg. This institute was maintained by the Imperial German government. He recommended that a Dominion Institute of Industrial Research be maintained by the federal government of Canada and that it be under the control of the Minister of Trade and Commerce.

Seath made two other recommendations for the creation of

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<sup>85</sup> Ontario Department of Education. *Education for Industrial Purposes. A Report by John Seath.* p. 304.

industrial and technical schools which were based upon types of institutions found in the United States. These American institutions, Seath noted, were adaptations of what was found in Germany and in other European countries. The first example of such an institution was the American technical high school which, Seath wrote, corresponded "to the *technicums* of Germany and Switzerland and the higher departments of the polytechnics of Great Britain."<sup>86</sup> The second example was apprenticeship program found in the Cincinnati Continuation School; this school, noted Seath, was an "adaptation of the Munich continuation industrial school scheme for the instruction of apprentices."<sup>87</sup>

Seath called for the extension of drawing and applied art at all levels of education in Ontario. The German example was a factor in this recommendation: "In Germany, for example, the amount of attention given to drawing is very striking. Moreover, the schools were supported both by the locality and by the State."<sup>88</sup>

Even though the agricultural continuation schools of Germany, along with England, France, and Switzerland were mentioned by Seath in his discussion of agricultural education at the high school level, Seath based his recommendation on what he knew of system of agricultural education found in the state of Wisconsin.

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<sup>86</sup> Ontario Department of Education. *Education for Industrial Purposes. A Report by John Seath.* p. 289.

<sup>87</sup> Ontario Department of Education. *Education for Industrial Purposes. A Report by John Seath.* p. 293.

<sup>88</sup> Ontario Department of Education. *Education for Industrial Purposes. A Report by John Seath.* p. 308.

Within the category of commercial education, Seath made two recommendations. In one of his recommendations, Seath called for the better adaptation of the school courses of Ontario to business life. When making this recommendation, Seath offered examples of commercial education found in England, the United States, Switzerland, France as well as Germany. He noted that the business schools of Germany were equipped for practical teaching and the students were taken to works, factories, and business offices.<sup>89</sup>

The final category of recommendations was concerned with general administrative and financial factors associated with a technical system of education for Ontario. Seath made seven recommendations. He cited the example of Germany and other countries in his recommendation for federal government assistance in subsidizing agricultural and industrial education in the provinces. Seath believed that if any of the recommendations made for the establishment of technical education were to be effective, students in Ontario had to be forced to stay in school for a longer period of time. "This problem", Seath wrote, "Germany, Switzerland, and Scotland have solved by extending the scope of the compulsory attendance laws to 17 years of age or over."<sup>90</sup> Thus, Seath recommended that education in Ontario be compulsory for all students between the ages of fourteen and seventeen.

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<sup>89</sup> Ontario Department of Education. *Education for Industrial Purposes. A Report by John Seath.* p. 324.

<sup>90</sup> Ontario Department of Education. *Education for Industrial Purposes. A Report by John Seath.* p. 342.

Even though various aspects of German technical education were mentioned in many other parts of Seath's report, the German system of technical education did have the same influence on Seath as the German system of general education had on Ryerson. Seath, quite often turned to methods and institutions found in the United States, Britain and to what was already in existence in Ontario when he made his recommendations. Seath did not transplant elements of the German system of education to Ontario; he may have considered Germany's system of education as ideal, and the best in the world, but Seath found many other examples of educational practices located in other countries which were more suitable to conditions in Ontario.

## CHAPTER SIX

### The mighty have fallen!

*A few years ago most civilized peoples made haste to study and imitate the educational methods of Germany. German schools led the world. To-day all civilized people know that German schools have failed. No nation is now so low as to do them reverence. Germany herself casts them out. And the moral of it all? Is it safe to seek a model for educational practice in any country outside one's own?*

Editorial, *The School*, 1919

Perhaps the most frequently used word used to describe the German system of education before the First World War was efficient. In 1901, Sadler, for example, described the Prussian secondary school system in this manner: "In common with the whole civilized world, we admire the superb efficiency, the administrative precision, the faultless discipline of certain sides of Prussian secondary education."<sup>1</sup> The key to understanding the organization of its schools, the methods of classroom instruction, and the resolution of industrial and technical problems by means of the school system in Germany was its efficient application of scientific principles.

By the end of the war, attitudes towards Germany and its educational system changed. Educators in Ontario and the United States were critical of both the means and ends of the German system of education. When the war ended, the principle of

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<sup>1</sup> M. E. Sadler, "Secondary Education in its Bearings on Practical Life", *TCEdM*, vol. 23, (June/July, 1901), p. 213.

efficiency was under reevaluation by many educators in Ontario. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the responses of educators and commentators in Ontario to the issue of efficiency and its relationship to both the German system of education and the educational system found in Ontario by the end of the First World War.

The chapter will be divided into four parts. The first part will begin with a brief review of the observations made by the members of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education [Commission], which was established by the Canadian federal government in 1910. The observations of a Canadian who travelled to Lausanne, Zurich, Vienna, Leipzig and Munich in 1911 on various characteristics of the German system of education in the last few years before the war will be recounted. Both the Commission's and the Canadian traveller's observations will allow the reader to fully appreciate and understand the difference in tone and content in which the German system of education was perceived by educators in Ontario after the war. In the second part, the views of four educators and commentators outside the Department of Education will be reviewed in order to understand how the principle of efficiency was reevaluated. In the third part, the Department of Education's opinions on efficiency and German education will be given. Finally, a few concluding comments will be made regarding the influence of German education in Ontario.

As a result of the pressure placed on the federal government by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association to further investigate the issue of technical education and subsequently ensure that all Canadians received some sort of technical training, a Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education was established. Its chairman was James Robertson, one of the major proponents of manual training in Ontario and the rest of Canada around the turn of the century. The Commission visited and collected information about the systems of technical education in the United States, England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark and Canada with the purpose of making a number of recommendations towards the establishment of a system of technical education in Canada.

There were a number of characteristics of the German system of education which the members of the Commission found to be of particular interest. The Commission noted that the vast majority of Germans pursued education not for the purpose of self-advancement, but instead, to further the interests of the nation. "Education appeared to us to be regarded", wrote the members of the Commission, "as a great national service whereby all the individuals are being trained towards ability for their respective occupations in the interest of the State."<sup>2</sup> The Commission also found that students in industrial and technical schools were not

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<sup>2</sup> Canada, Parliament. *Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education*. part 1(1), (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1913-1914), p. 5.



only interested in their work, but they were also earnest about it. They liked what they were doing and they did it well because, as the Commission noted, "they understood the meaning of it."<sup>3</sup> The characteristics of thoroughness and courteousness, explained the Commission, were found in the activities of men and women in both schools and civic affairs. The Commission wrote: "The courteous demeanour was evidently the outflow of an attitude of mind towards life, of a robust and self-respecting people, rather than conventional formality to others, fellow citizens or strangers."<sup>4</sup>

Everyone seemed to be in agreement, explained the Commission, that "the nation which has the best means of training individuals as workers, as citizens and as members of the race, is best prepared for winning in the industrial warfare and also in the competition for other places in the sun."<sup>5</sup> At the same time, due to the separate and independent development of school systems found in each of the German states, the Commission found that each of these systems was "different in both the content and the form of education."<sup>6</sup>

The Commissioners mentioned an analogy which many Germans made between the needs of the army, industry, and the function of the

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<sup>3</sup> Canada, Parliament. *Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education*. part 3(2), p. 1014.

<sup>4</sup> Canada, Parliament. *Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education*. part 3(2), p. 1014.

<sup>5</sup> Canada, Parliament. *Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education*. part 3(2), p. 1025.

<sup>6</sup> Canada, Parliament. *Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education*. part. 3(2), p. 1026.

country's technical system of education: "German industry and trade require, precisely like the German Army, a number of intellectually highly trained officers, a number of well trained subalterns and an army of efficient soldiers."<sup>7</sup> Germany's system of technical education was subdivided into three distinct types or classes of occupations, and, the educational content and the method of instruction and training was modified, stated the Commissioners, to suit the time, ability and prior-training of the students enrolled in each type of school.<sup>8</sup>

The Commission also found that not only were many Englishmen unhappy with the system of education found in England but so were many Germans dissatisfied with their own system of education. "There was not in Germany," wrote the Commission, "any more than in England, any evidence of brag and self-satisfaction."<sup>9</sup> In a conversation which the members of this Commission had with Dr. Georg Kerschensteiner, superintendent of the Munich schools and the man primarily responsible for the city's excellent system of apprenticeship schools, the Commission learned that German trade schools suffered from the almost exclusive attention given to technical training. Kerschensteiner stated that little attention was devoted in German trade schools to civic education "which is to

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<sup>7</sup> Canada, Parliament. *Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education*. part 3(2), p. 1037.

<sup>8</sup> Canada, Parliament. *Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education*. part. 3(2), p. 1026.

<sup>9</sup> Canada, Parliament. *Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education*. part 1(1), p. 5.

me identical with the formation of character."<sup>10</sup> More time should have been devoted towards the development of the character and intelligence of students, noted Kerschensteiner, than just technical training.

Kerschensteiner wanted students to cultivate the most important civic duties, consideration for others, and, devotion to objects and ideas outside of themselves rather than just acquire a specific technical skill. What Kerschensteiner desired was not highly efficient human machines unconsciously fitted into the industrial machine but a properly trained and educated populace which would "enable the modern federal States to develop themselves above all as cultured States by further extension of their public life."<sup>11</sup> Civics, character development, and moral training were considered by Kerschensteiner to be vital to the future of a nation. Kerschensteiner told the members of the Commission that

Technical instruction must be regarded in the first place as a means of character-training, and it must be supplemented by other forms of instruction with a view to making it as many-sided as possible. In the life of great economic groups and of nations there are moments, and they are the critical moments, in which neither knowledge nor skill, but character, decides the day, - character that has learned to regard its own egoistic interests as of no account when their sacrifice is demanded by the welfare of the community to which we belong, the welfare of the service that we have chosen, the welfare of the subordinates entrusted to our care.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Canada, Parliament. *Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education*. part 3(2), p. 1098.

<sup>11</sup> Canada, Parliament. *Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education*. part 3(2), p. 1086.

<sup>12</sup> Canada, Parliament. *Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education*. part. 3(2), p. 1099.

As a result of the specialized nature of the training Germans received in their trade and technical schools, Kerschensteiner feared that many people would become inward looking, self-centred, and uncaring of others around them.

The picture which the Commissioners painted of Germany in the years before the war was, thus a complex one. There was no doubt that the German system of education possessed the regimented quality of the army but, at the same time, there were people who publicly thought about and questioned their own system of education. Germans were portrayed as people who were thoughtful and courteous but, correspondingly, devoted to the purpose of serving their nation. Nowhere did the Commissioners explicitly mention that the German citizen was trained solely to become an unthinking component of an industrial, fighting machine. Finally, the members of the Commission did not question the end to which technical education was pursued in Germany because technical education and industrial efficiency were also considered to be necessary in Canada "for the development of the Dominion and for the promotion of the home and foreign trade of Canada in competition with other nations."<sup>13</sup>

D. R. Keys, in an address given before the members of the Ontario Educational Association, mainly talked about the technical system of education found in Munich. In regards to the internal organization of the city's technical schools, Keys stated that

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<sup>13</sup> Canada, Parliament. *Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education*. part 1(1), p. 1.

students were provided with practical instruction in their field of study. They were required to study drawing and arithmetic, the machinery, tools, and materials used in their trade, religion, the history of the students' trade, German and civics. Keys told his audience that "The great object of the pupils' technical education is not the production of showy articles but the training of his mind to take a joy in careful, thorough and conscientious work, and to receive an inspiration to new efforts through confidence in his own ability."<sup>14</sup>

A number of other characteristics of Kerschensteiner's schools in Munich were mentioned by Keys: (1) the study of religion, civics and history was supposed to help in the ethical development of students; (2) courses were laid out in highly rational terms; (3) unions were in favour of compulsory education; (4) employers allowed their apprentices to leave work several hours each week in order to attend school; and (5) teachers received a pension. Keys ended his address to his audience during the proceedings of the Ontario Educational Association in the following manner:

Let Canada accept the lesson that Germany has been teaching for years. Let her recognize the value of a high technical training and make such a training possible for every worker in our land, whether agricultural, industrial, commercial or professional. So shall the visions of our statesmen be realized and Canada be the glory of the twentieth century - a victory of peace no less renowned than war's. Let such be the last word of this message from Munich.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> D. R. Keys, "A Message from Munich", OEA., (Toronto, 1911), p. 141.

<sup>15</sup> Keys, "A Message from Munich", p. 146.

## II

World War I changed the positive attitude which many people had toward German education. Educators in Ontario were eventually called upon to explain the possible impact of the war on education, to reevaluate the purpose of education, and, finally, to reassess both the German system of education and the educational system of Ontario. In 1917, Maurice Hutton, principal of University College of Toronto gave an address to the Ontario Educational Association entitled "Education and the War". Hutton noted that the war was affecting the nature of the system of education in Great Britain and France. Before the war, the formation of character was the primary characteristic of the British schools. As a consequence of the war, Hutton stated, people called for a more practical and scientific system of education. Hutton argued that by the end of the first year of the war - once trench warfare began - it became apparent that the principles of material science and scientific organization were needed to defeat the Germans. Hutton then repeated a statement which was said by many who demanded technical education: "Science has brutalized the Germans; but we can only beat them by being more scientific and more German."<sup>16</sup> The production of munitions, the use of modern artillery and aviation, the control of the seas, and the management of resources, Hutton noted, all required men who have acquired a more scientific education.

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<sup>16</sup> M. Hutton, "President's Address, 'Education and the War', OEA., (Toronto: P. R. Wilson Printing Co., 1917), p. 85.

The war represented to Hutton not just a huge, physical battle between two groups of armies, but also a battle between two philosophies of education and life: literary education versus scientific education, idealism versus materialism. Men of science, Hutton stated, have often argued that the type of education which produced humanists and historians was "quite out of date in a struggle for life and death, wherein material resources mean everything."<sup>17</sup> Hutton explained to his audience that in the opinion of the men of science, people who possessed honourable scruples, a decent consideration for everyone's feelings and an excessive amount of patience when dealing with domestic or foreign issues were unprepared to fight the kind of war which was being fought between Germany and the Allies. Hutton outlined the arguments of the men of science who advocated a more utilitarian form of education in this manner:

We are fighting Germany, they say, and therefore not with kid gloves; we are to beat Germany at her own infernal devices, and therefore, even though this war be in itself a phase of the eternal war of the humanities against materialism, and though we and our Allies represent the humanities, nevertheless we must for the future be more regardful of materialism also than we have been. We must teach more of science and less of the humanities, less character and more efficiency, less wisdom and more knowledge, less individuality and more organization, less culture and more *kultur*.<sup>18</sup>

The example of Germany's devotion to the study of scientific principles in its schools, Hutton suggested, could perhaps continue to affect the curriculum of schools in Britain and France after the

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<sup>17</sup> Hutton, "Education and the War", p. 86.

<sup>18</sup> Hutton, "Education and the War", p. 86.

war. Hutton stated: "Germany, even in defeat, may materialize and commercialize her humaner victors to her own meaner methods and lower aims, and may make materialistic science the chief object of study for Great Britain and for France, as it has been her own chief study."<sup>19</sup> Hutton predicted that as a result of both the war and the example of Germany's commitment to scientific education, classical education would suffer in the schools of Britain and France.

The study of science (and especially the conquest of nature) were pursuits which Hutton was deeply wary about. Hutton warned: "If this conquest of nature ever becomes man's only business, yes, or even becomes his chief business in life, there will be no time or heart left for literature or any other relaxation. We shall all be too busy scalping each other."<sup>20</sup> Hutton advised that unless everyone followed the example of Socrates, the whole world would be one big dog-fight.

In spite of his apprehension, Hutton still noted that the war introduced into the schools of the Allies a number of significant changes. Hutton stated there was "a better teaching of science and less teaching of the humanities; a more material, a less ethical education; a more practical education, some will say; a less practical, a few others will retort. Hutton explained that as a result of the war, people wanted politicians who were capable of getting things done and who were capable of firm and decisive

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<sup>19</sup> Hutton, "Education and the War", p. 87.

<sup>20</sup> Hutton, "Education and the War", p. 88.



action. Literary education was discredited by the war and "the sort of education which makes a good man of business, and which brings to the front those qualities of character and leadership."<sup>21</sup>

This would be the type of education respected by people in the future.

An article appeared in the *Queen's Quarterly* in 1918 entitled "The Teacher and the New Age" written by H. T. J. Coleman. Coleman stated that more and more men and women were questioning the accomplishments of Canadian schools and making critical judgments by referring to certain definite standards of achievement. All through the years before the war began, Coleman noted, people were told that the German schoolmaster was responsible for German industrial and military efficiency, and, for German ideals. If the Canadian people had been told that the German schoolmaster was responsible for such deeds in the past, Coleman explained, then the people of Canada would have wanted to know if the German schoolmaster was also responsible for the invasion of Belgium, the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and German faithlessness in international affairs. During this time of the reevaluation of values, noted Coleman, people wanted the past and the present explained in order to deal with the future.<sup>22</sup>

Coleman mentioned that the war brought to the attention of Canadians "an increasing respect for organization and also a

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<sup>21</sup> Hutton, "Education and the War", p. 92.

<sup>22</sup> H. T. J. Coleman, "The Teacher and the New Age", *QQ.*, (April, 1918), p. 396.

clearer conception of its limitations."<sup>23</sup> There was a point, argued Coleman, when organization and efficiency were no longer useful, but instead very harmful. Coleman wrote:

Germany (or perhaps we should say, Prussia) has organized the German school; it has organized the German teacher and through these agencies it has so organized the German mind that in the deliverance of many contemporary German writers we can plainly hear the click and rattle of machinery.<sup>24</sup>

One of the characteristics of a good educational system which was sacrificed by Germany's devotion to organization was academic freedom. The consequence of eliminating academic freedom for Germany, according to Coleman, was the renunciation of "any claim she may have ever possessed to spiritual preeminence among or even to spiritual fellowship with the Western peoples."<sup>25</sup>

Even though academic freedom existed in Canadian universities, academic freedom should also be present in the elementary and secondary schools of Canada, wrote Coleman. Unless elementary and secondary school teachers were cranks or incompetents, stated Coleman, they should also be assured of some academic freedom. There could be teaching, Coleman argued, without departments of education, inspectors, reports, and examinations which have for many people "come to be an end in itself."<sup>26</sup> A system of education which did not serve the teacher and one which became an encumbrance

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<sup>23</sup> Coleman, "The Teacher and the New Age", p. 397.

<sup>24</sup> Coleman, "The Teacher and the New Age", p. 400.

<sup>25</sup> Coleman, "The Teacher and the New Age", p. 401.

<sup>26</sup> Coleman, "The Teacher and the New Age", p. 401.

was in fact, noted Coleman, no system at all. Coleman gave this warning regarding the dangers of excessive organization in Canada:

If this worship of machinery should establish itself in Canada and on this continent, as it easily may, we will be in even worse case than Germany, for Germany uses her educational organization for an intelligible though a highly unworthy purpose, while we would be maintaining an elaborate and expensive machine merely for the purpose of seeing the wheels go round.<sup>27</sup>

In the final part of his essay, Coleman gave his definition of a teacher. The teacher was not a mechanic even though he could be using mechanical appliances and following a mechanical routine when teaching, and the teacher, continued Coleman, was not simply a scientific practitioner even though he did adhere to important laws of human nature and society. "The teacher", stated Coleman, "is primarily an artist and, so far as the potentialities of his work are concerned, the greatest of all artists for he deals with the most plastic and most wonderful material in the universe - the child soul."<sup>28</sup>

Coleman concluded his essay by making two points. First of all, the administrative element of a system of education should be considered only as the mean and not the end of a system of education. Second, the very best thing which a system of education should do for its teachers was to leave them alone.

In 1918 a book was published entitled *Comparative Education: Studies of the Educational Systems of Six Modern Nations*; the editor of this book was Peter Sandiford, Associate Professor of

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<sup>27</sup> Coleman, "The Teacher and the New Age", p. 401.

<sup>28</sup> Coleman, "The Teacher and the New Age", p. 401.

Education at the University of Toronto. Even though Sandiford called upon American professors of education to write the chapters on the educational systems of the United States, Denmark, Germany, and France, - and Sandiford himself wrote the chapters on Canada and Britain - this study of comparative education is nevertheless relevant and important because it presented at the very end of the war an extensive analysis of the fundamental principles upon which the six above mentioned systems of education were built upon.

An American professor of education at Columbia University, I. L. Kandel, who was an expert on German education, wrote the chapter on the German system of education. According to him, German education was the function of the state and education was pursued to meet the ends of the state. In Germany, the state was the most predominate institution in society. Kandel further explained:

The state thus holds itself responsible for encouraging and fostering those conditions that make for efficiency; hence trade and industry, literature, science, and art, philosophy and religion, education, and the army - all these factors that are included in that elusive term *Kultur* come within the purview of state activity.<sup>29</sup>

Kandel wrote that the German state had absolute power and it possessed bureaucratic control over the schools and universities. The consequence of such power and control, noted Kandel, was the efficient operation of these institutions and the implementation of definite standards to which all members of society and the educational system had to adhere.

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<sup>29</sup> I. L. Kandel, "Germany", in Sandiford, P., ed. *Comparative Education: Studies of the Educational Systems of Six Modern Nations*. (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1918) p. 110.

The world was so impressed with the efficiency of German schools in the years prior to the beginning of the war, pointed out Kandel, that it omitted to inquire more closely into the aims at which the principle of efficiency was put into service. Kandel argued that the German system of education was carefully organized in order to instill or drill into the minds and hearts of the country's young people "those habits of discipline and obedience and that sense of duty which make them ready and pliable instruments of the government."<sup>30</sup> The purpose of education in Germany, explained Kandel, was "the production of the God-fearing, patriotic, self-supporting subject"<sup>31</sup> who would be obedient and submissive to authority.

Kandel, in his description of the elementary schools of Germany, stated that they could be regarded as police institutions.<sup>32</sup> Everything was done to ensure uniformity and control over the system. The curriculum, time allotments, the number of records and books kept by the teacher, argued Kandel, were prescribed by the state. The training and duties of teachers were laid out in detail. Kandel added:

With uniformity of prescription, administration, and training of teachers the result is the highest degree of uniformity in the schools. One Prussian school is much like another, and taking the German Empire as a whole it may be safely said that no such great differences would be found between any two German schools as, for example, there exists between two schools in London or

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<sup>30</sup> Kandel, "Germany", p. 121.

<sup>31</sup> Kandel, "Germany", p. 128.

<sup>32</sup> Kandel, "Germany", p. 124.

Manchester.<sup>33</sup>

German schools were successful, according to Kandel, because of their careful organization which was subject to the ends of the state.

Students, according to Kandel, were unable to exercise their own judgment or to think independently under such a system of education. They were trained in the same habits and attitudes of mind and conduct as soldiers were in the army. Kandel wrote: "The methods of the drill sergeant are transferred from the parade ground to the classroom, and for a goodly percentage of teachers this statement is not merely metaphorical."<sup>34</sup> Kandel admitted that the German system of education was indeed efficient and successful but he noted that there was a cost. The German system of education emphasized "the dangers of centralised and bureaucratic control. A monotonous uniformity is attained - the uniformity of a machine."<sup>35</sup> Consequently, explained Kandel, the individuality of both the teachers and the students was sacrificed to the demands of administrative regulations.

The secondary school system of Germany also had to suffer from the same uniformity and severity of control and supervision which the elementary schools were under. Secondary schools were part of an efficient and smooth-running machine and they had as their aim the production of loyal people who were prepared to take on

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<sup>33</sup> Kandel, "Germany", p. 124.

<sup>34</sup> Kandel, "Germany", p. 129.

<sup>35</sup> Kandel, "Germany", p. 130.

positions of leadership in the government services and the professions. He went on to say that the mark of success of German secondary schools was the amount of knowledge students were expected to acquire and not the kind of people they were to become. The intellectual acquisition of knowledge and not the development of character was the main characteristic of German secondary schools. The influence of Dewey coloured Kandel's judgment of the teacher's role and the teaching methodologies found in German schools:

The methods of instruction [in secondary schools] do not differ radically from those employed in the elementary schools; the learning process is under the control of the teachers. The mind is filled with information, but independence of observation or judgment is not developed or even encouraged. The very causes of the success of the German system, efficient organisation, standardisation, careful preparation and selection of teachers, tend to develop qualities that the English or American secondary schools desire to avoid. Not receptivity and passive acceptance of information but self-activity and self-expression, not conformity and conventionality but originality and independence are the aims of the English-speaking institutions.<sup>36</sup>

German secondary schools, much like the elementary schools, concluded Kandel, suffered from a narrow sense of professionalism, and from the qualities of order and discipline which characterized military organizations. Kandel added: "Mechanical efficiency is secured, but at the sacrifice of individuality and growth."<sup>37</sup>

There are two interesting aspects to Sandiford's chapter on education in Canada. One of them pertains to the origins of

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<sup>36</sup> Kandel, "Germany", pp. 154-155.

<sup>37</sup> Kandel, "Germany", p. 159.

Canada's systems of education, and in particular, the system found in Ontario. Sandiford claimed that of all the educational systems of the world, those of the United States were the most important in influencing the development of Canadian public schools. According to Sandiford, Canadian education, was patterned after the systems found in the United States:

The Canadian "public school" has many features of the American "common school." The sovereignty of the provinces in education affairs, the eight years' course of elementary schooling, the system of authorised texts, the four-year high school, the system of teacher training, the system of certification of pupils for entrance into high schools, the uniform courses of study within each province, etc., if not actually borrowed from the United States, bear more likeness to the systems found there than they do to systems of Great Britain or continental Europe.<sup>38</sup>

The influence of Germany upon the development of Ontario's system of education was not mentioned. Canada's school systems were associated with the schools of the United States by Sandiford at a point in the war when American military strength was playing a decisive role in preventing the German armies from overrunning the Allied armies on the Western front and when Dewey's ideas were becoming widely known across the continent.

The second aspect of Sandiford's chapter on Canada was his critique of the overly centralized, rigid systems of education found in Canada. Sandiford argued that the systems of education in the provinces of Canada must be decentralized. More flexibility

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<sup>38</sup> P. Sandiford, "Canada", in Sandiford, P., ed. *Comparative Education: Studies of the Educational System of Six Modern Nations*. (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1918), p. 348.



and authority should be given to the teachers and the public in order to develop new curriculums and types of schools and consequently meet the needs of students living in highly differentiated, urbanized environments. Sandiford argued that Canada

must either agree to a large devolution of authority, or must stagnate in a worthless efficiency. The history of school systems shows that the people must be trusted, or their interest in education flags. Even if the immediate and obvious efficiency is not so great - and truth to tell, devolved authority is never so patently efficient as one which is centred in a few expert hands - yet because education is a spiritual process of growth, decentralisation must take place or else the interest of the people will die.<sup>39</sup>

Education, according to Sandiford, was not the result of a system of rules and regulations, and it did not have as its goal helping people to earn a living. Education was a process which assisted people in knowing how to live and therefore, Sandiford argued, education should be decentralized in order for teachers to effectively meet the needs of the students.

### III

The response of the Ministry of Education to the war will be examined along two themes: efficiency and insularity. In 1918, Henry J. Cody became Ontario's Minister of Education and in his report of 1919, he talked about the broader meaning of education. According to Cody, the Germans believed that the development of the intellect should be the goal of education while the English

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<sup>39</sup> Sandiford, "Canada", pp. 334-335.

believed that the development of character should be the purpose of education; "Which ideal is the safe and worthier", wrote Cody, "history has already pronounced."<sup>40</sup>

Cody was critical of the principle of efficiency because it possessed no moral qualities. Efficiency, advised Cody, should be the servant of a moral ideal:

Apart from such an ideal, efficiency may be an evil and wicked instrument which in the end works woeful disaster. In the early stages of the war the organized efficiency of Germany, brutal and immoral, was hammering at the doors of humane civilization and had almost beaten them down. But the free peoples held the enemy until their moral ideals could evoke their own efficiency and form of organization.<sup>41</sup>

Cody believed that moral ideals were needed to give direction to, and place limits on, the use of efficiency. Efficiency was not to be pursued for its own sake; it should only be used as a means to, and not the end of a better life. Thus, education had several purposes: the development of intelligence, the inculcation of moral and patriotic ideals, and some vocational preparation.

Despite the warnings which many educators gave regarding the dangers of excessive organization and efficiency, the educational system of Ontario became increasingly centralized and bureaucratized during the 1920s. In 1928, a report was published by the Board of Education (England) on secondary education in Ontario. The writer of this report, E. G. Savage, took note of the excessive amount of centralization, regulation and control exerted

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<sup>40</sup> AR., 1918, p. 6.

<sup>41</sup> AR., 1918, pp. 6-7.

by the Department of Education over the curriculum, textbooks, teaching methodologies, and examinations. Savage noted that the secondary school teacher of Ontario was given little room or opportunity to teach beyond the syllabus and textbooks issued by the Department of Education. Teachers and students who strayed afield were not given any credit for the initiative they showed and often times, added Savage, they were placed under a handicap for their wanderings. Savage's description of the secondary school system of Ontario was similar to the ones given by the editors of *The Canada Educational Monthly* during the nineteenth century.<sup>42</sup>

Savage wrote:

The Collegiate Institutes number on their staffs many teachers of real ability, artists in their various subjects who are capable of creative work, but these find little scope for their abilities and in the course of a few years they tend to become reconciled to the dull round and settle down to become cogs in the machine.<sup>43</sup>

Savage also stated that in comparison to teachers in England, the Ontario teacher worked under less professionally favourable conditions. The Ontario teacher had less free time to prepare specific lesson plans, develop new ideas, and be creative than a teacher in England.<sup>44</sup> The administration of the educational system

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<sup>42</sup> "Mr. Bourinot on Canadian Education", *TCEdM.*, vol. 3, (January, 1881), pp. 44-45. Bourinot stated: "It may also be urged that the teacher, under the system as now perfected, is far too much an automaton - a mere machine, wound up to proceed so far and no farther."

<sup>43</sup> E. G. Savage. *Secondary Education in Ontario*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1928), p. 68.)

<sup>44</sup> Savage. *Secondary Education in Ontario*. p. 42.

was more important than the development of new ideas. School inspectors and normal school staff members were expected to carry out the Department of Education's decrees without question. Efficiency, it can be said, was pursued in Ontario during the post-war period to ensure that the wheels continued to go around.

In addition to the restraints placed upon teachers working within this educational machine, the post-war Department of Education in Ontario, explained Stamp, "was reluctant to realize that there were important portions of the world outside of the province."<sup>45</sup> The inbreeding of ideas, the rationalization of existing educational practices, the lack of encouragement given to teachers to study abroad, and the distrust of American graduate schools were tendencies which were prevalent in Ontario's Department of Education in the years following the war. Even though Stamp did not give a reason for this insularity, one can be found. At the beginning of this chapter, a quotation was taken from the journal, *The School*, which stated that it was a mistake to have gone to Germany in order to learn anything about education. This journal concluded that in the future, little could be gained by studying and borrowing from other systems of education. *The School*, despite it being published by the Ontario College of Education, was subsidized by the provincial government and it "reflected the departmental point of view on all important

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<sup>45</sup> Stamp, "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario", p. 84.

questions."<sup>46</sup> The Ontario Department of Education, it seems, came to the conclusion that it was a grave mistake to admire the German schoolmaster who was believed to be responsible for both German ideals and a tremendous, costly war. It is ironic that the Department of Education decided to look inwards. Educators like Harcourt, Pyne, Seath, and Leake, despite all of the noise made by such groups as the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, clearly stated in the years before the war that it would not necessarily be to the advantage of Ontario to blindly copy the German system of technical education. Even though these men looked beyond Ontario for new ideas in education, they were forever mindful of what was suitable for Ontario.

#### IV

For decades before the First World War, Germany and its system of education were often described in glowing terms. The country was frequently referred to as "the school mistress of the world" or "the land of learning". The phrase "The German professors have not yet settled the case" gives some indication of the reverence shown towards German higher education in Ontario. The statement "Education is the realization of possibilities" was a German definition of education which was periodically noted in speeches about education. Other phrases such as "Look at Germany" and later, "Made in Germany" became ritual incantations which were used to

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<sup>46</sup> Stamp, "Urban Industrial Change and Curriculum Reform in Early Twentieth Century Ontario", p. 84.

urge people to support changes to their educational system and to become more economically productive. The often mentioned "German clerk", whose presence at British railway stations, stock exchanges, and manufacturing firms became very visible by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, was the symbol the linguistic ability, thrift and industry of the German people.

Germany, by 1918, was classified as the demon of the world. Her educational system, admired for such a long time, was considered to be the cause of her own downfall by the Ontario Department of Education and by other members of Ontario's system of education. Consequently, all of the accolades disappeared, along with any reference to the influence of German system of education in the development of Ontario's educational system. What remained was the recognition of Germany's efficient use of science and technology, perhaps the bitter memory of being led to believe that by following Germany, Ontario was on the road to progress, and finally, the ghost of Prussian despotism which became firmly embedded within the administrative machine of the educational system.

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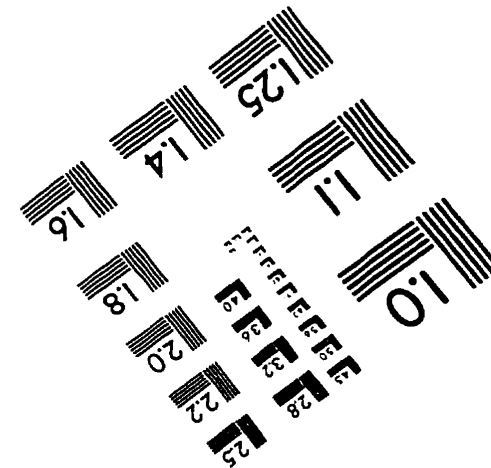
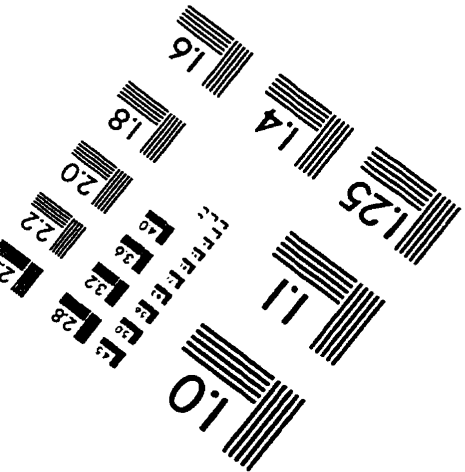
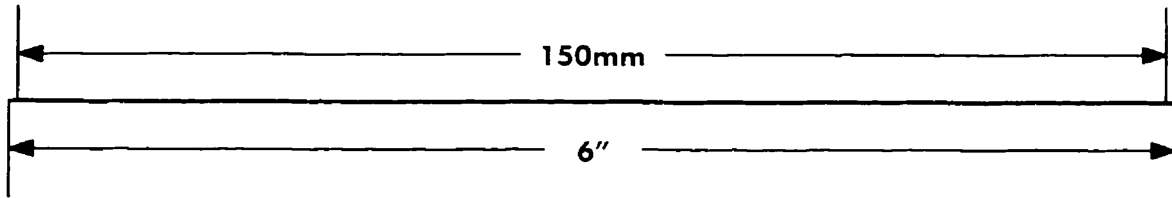
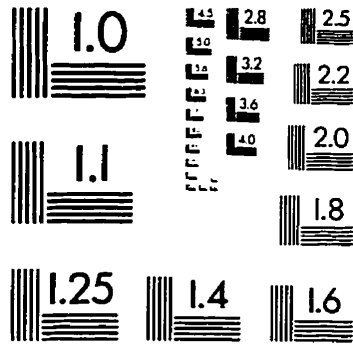
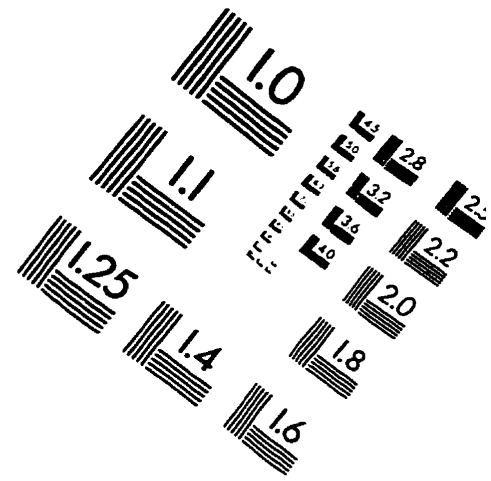
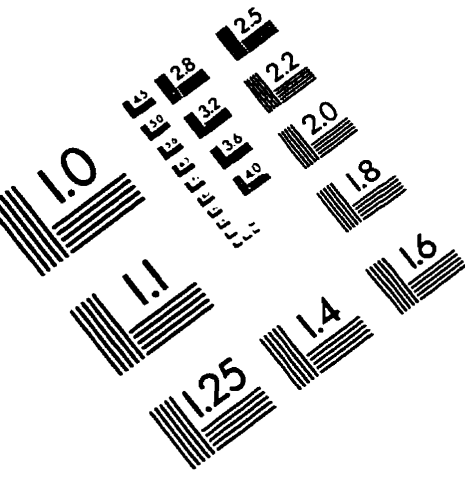


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