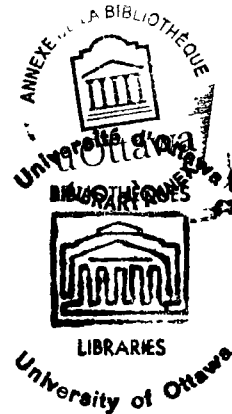


JOHN HAROLD PUTMAN AND THE ROOTS
OF PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION IN THE
OTTAWA PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1911 1923

by B. Anne Wood

Thesis presented to the School of
Graduate Studies of the University
of Ottawa as partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

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INTRODUCTION

In a paper discussing the more useful books and articles dealing with the history of Canadian education, Alan H. Child concluded,

Probably the most significant issue concerning the philosophy of education in the twentieth century has been the struggle for and against 'progressivism'. Aside from the work of Patterson, very little has been done to investigate this intriguing topic.¹

The research of Robert Steven Patterson,² to which Child alluded, was confined largely to the progressive education movement as seen in Alberta between 1925 and 1940. Patterson defined progressive education in the course of his study and allied it clearly with the earlier New Education movement. As he wrote, progressive education

1 Alan H. Child, "The History of Canadian Education: A Bibliographical Note", in Histoire Sociale - Social History, Number 8, November, 1971, p. 117.

2 Robert Steven Patterson, The Establishment of Progressive Education in Alberta, unpublished Doctoral thesis, Michigan State University, 1968, vi-189 p.

[...] will be used synonymously with New Education, activity curriculum and enterprise. It will not be employed in the common usage form to denote improved or advanced conditions. As used, it will mean the revolt against the traditional techniques of formal drill and memorization. It will mean the emphasis upon new classroom procedures and new curriculum organization patterns based upon the considerations of; learning as an active or involved process, the school as an integral part of the democratic social order, the individual and distinct interests of each child, and the intimate relationship between schooling and life.³

As a later work by Patterson indicated, the New Education movement, involving largely a more child-centred curriculum and coming to Canada "through the influence of Americans such as psychologist G. Stanley Hall and philosopher John Dewey, [...] had its roots in the works of such Europeans as John Pestalozzi and Friedrich Froebel".⁴ One of its most influential Canadian promoters was Toronto Public School Inspector (1874-1913) James L. Hughes, who championed the Froebelian Kindergarten.⁵

A biography of Hughes' thought and educational practice as seen in the Toronto Public Schools was undertaken by

³ Ibid., p. 25-26.

⁴ Robert S. Patterson, et al., Ed., Profiles of Canadian Educators, Toronto, Heath, 1974, p. 188.

⁵ Ibid., p. 189.

B. N. Carter in 1966.⁶ Unfortunately, however, no research has been done in Canada of the intervening period between the nineteenth century New Educators and the progressive educators of the 1930's.

John Harold Putman was Inspector of the Ottawa Public Schools between 1911 and 1938. Coming from a rural, Protestant Ontario background, he typified in his early life and teaching career the cultural heritage of many Ontario public school teachers of his day. In his advancement up Ontario's "ladder of learning" he followed the academic route of many impecunious young men of his time. Putman, however, had unusual ability and not only progressed to the highest levels in scholastic and professional training but became an ardent champion of New Education ideas and curricular practices. These he implemented in the Ottawa Public Schools in the first twelve years of his inspectorate. During this period, as well, he was exposed to a number of American progressive ideas, particularly those of G. Stanley Hall and John Dewey. Thus, by studying the curricular and administrative practices of the Ottawa Public Schools between 1911 and 1923, as well as the writings of John Harold Putman both

6 B. N. Carter, James L. Hughes and the Gospel of Education, A Study of the Work and Thought of a Nineteenth Century Canadian Educator, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1966, xv-513 p.

before and after this period, this thesis uncovers the roots of the later progressive education movement of the 1930's. It is limited to the first twelve years of Putman's inspectorate because by 1923 his major curricular reforms had been accomplished, and in 1924 he left Ontario for a year to conduct a survey of British Columbia's educational system, thus providing a break in his Ottawa career. The Putman-Weir Report⁷ which resulted from this survey, as well as the intermediate schools, which Putman instituted in 1923 in the Ottawa Public Schools, should be subjects of further studies.⁸

Three specific questions guiding this research can be expressed as follows:

1. In what ways did the early life and career of John Harold Putman affect his later ideas and practices with the Ottawa Public Schools?
2. What cultural influences were revealed in Putman's progressive ideas and administrative practices as inspector of the Ottawa Public Schools in the 1911 to 1923 period?
3. How were these progressive educational reforms effected in the Ottawa schools and how were they made acceptable to the public?

The thesis is divided into three parts in order to examine these questions more fully. Following the methodology

7 J. H. Putman and G. M. Weir, Survey of the School System, Victoria, Banfield, 1925, xi-556 p.

8 See brief thesis on Ottawa's intermediate schools: McGregor Easson, The Intermediate School In Ottawa, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1934, 123 p.

suggested by Bernard Bailyn⁹ and its expression in the work of Lawrence A. Cremin,¹⁰ the social and cultural roots of Putman's thought are discussed in "Part One, Preparation". In "Part Two, New Education In A Progressive Curriculum", the specific curricular reforms related to the New Education movement which Putman introduced into the Ottawa Public Schools between 1911 and 1923 are investigated. Finally, Putman's administrative practices, particularly as related to his teaching staff, the pupils and his over-all management are discussed in "Part Three, An Efficient Administrator".

The primary sources utilized were Putman's published writings and unpublished letters found in the Public Archives of Ontario; government documents, particularly Minutes of the Ottawa Public School Board, Reports of the Minister of Education of Ontario, circulars and pamphlets; unpublished material filed in the Ontario Archives; and, interviews with Putman's children and professional colleagues. The Ottawa newspapers between the years of 1907 and 1923 were examined for local educational and social perspective, and educational periodicals, such as the Proceedings of the Ontario

9 Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society, New York, Random House, 1960, p. 5-10.

10 Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School, Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957, New York, Random House, 1961, xi-353 p.

Educational Association and the Dominion (Canadian) Educational Association provided provincial and Dominion foils to Putman's educational reforms.

Throughout, the study attempted to relate Putman's New Education innovations to general cultural and social trends in North American society at this time. Thus, the thesis is not just a biography of John Harold Putman, nor an account of the curricular and administrative reforms in the Ottawa Public Schools between 1911 and 1923. It is, as well, an exploration of the philosophical and social roots of the New Education and later progressive education movements, as seen in their first system-wide expression in the public schools of Ottawa. In this transitional era between its nineteenth century Toronto Kindergarten beginnings and its full expression in the progressive education movement of the 1930's, the Canadian New Education movement was examined for its underlying values and goals as seen in the Ottawa Public Schools. Thus, both historical and philosophical methodologies were employed to uncover the facts and then discuss their significance.

PART 1: PREPARATION

CHAPTER I

NEW EDUCATION

Ontario education presented a paradox at the close of the nineteenth century. In practice, under the Ross régime, it was exam-bound and traditionalist. In spirit, it was imbued with the enthusiasm of the New Education movement. Kindergartens were well established in Toronto and Ottawa. Plans were afoot, under the aegis of the Macdonald Fund, to set up manual training centres, consolidate rural schools, teach girls household science, and begin school gardens and nature study programmes. Special teacher-training courses were to aid in the establishment of the new courses.

John Harold Putman was in the vanguard of these reform measures, and by his writing and leadership helped to put them into effect. This chapter will explore, therefore, the concept and roots of New Education in Ontario.

1. Introduction into Ontario Schools.

During the 1870's the Toronto Public Schools entered what E. A. Hardy termed their "Renaissance".¹ Under

¹ E. A. Hardy and Honora M. Cochrane, Centennial Story, The Board of Education For the City of Toronto, 1850-1950, Toronto, Nelson, 1950, p. 197.

the dynamic leadership of James L. Hughes, who now had at his disposal an increasing number of Normal-trained teachers, the ideas and influence of Friedrich Froebel were introduced to Canadian education for the first time. Hardy described this new child-centred emphasis in the curriculum as follows:

No longer was a child's mind to be thought of as an empty receptacle for the passive reception of a lot of facts. Instead, the child's many-sided yet unified personality was to be developed, and the development was to be - in the early years especially - through the activity and curiosity which were natural to the child. These qualities, formerly suppressed, were now seen to be endowments, which the wise teacher would use to develop the higher powers - not only memory and reasoning, but creativeness and a self-expression which was, in its finest revelation, an expression of the Divine.²

In 1883 these ideas were embodied in the kindergarten classes which Hughes set up in the Toronto Public Schools.³ Three years later, the Ottawa Normal School opened a kindergarten training course under Miss Elizabeth Bolton.⁴ Then, in 1889, under Dr. J. C. Glashan's

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p. 198.

4 Barbara E. Corbett, The Public School Kindergarten in Ontario 1883 to 1967; A Study of the Froebelian Origins, History and Educational Theory and Practice of the Kindergarten in Ontario, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1968, p. 104; and see, "Anniversary of the Kindergarten", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, June 19, 1907, p. 8; and, "Interesting Talk by Miss Bolton", in Ibid., January 19, 1907, p. 6.

inspectorship, the Ottawa Public School Board opened its first kindergarten class.⁵ Although the enrolment was never high, by 1910 there were nineteen kindergarten classes in Ottawa's schools.⁶ As Barbara Corbett described the atmosphere,

There was a great deal of enthusiasm surrounding the kindergarten during the first two decades of its history in Ontario. In part, it was the enthusiasm of educators caught up in the New Education Movement.⁷

But this New Education movement was not unique to North America. Robert Skidelsky correctly placed it at the beginning of an educational trend which was to end in the progressive education movement of the 1930's throughout the western industrial world. He wrote,

About eighty years ago there arose in England and on the Continent an impulse in education to which the name The New School Movement was generally given. A second wave of New Schools followed the First World War; a third wave in the 1930's. They all stood for something vaguely described as the New Education.⁸

Many of the central ideas of these English progressive schools were echoed in Canadian educational ideas for the

5 Corbett, Op. Cit., p. 107.

6 Ibid., p. 110.

7 Ibid., p. 112.

8 Robert Skidelsky, English Progressive Schools, Harmondsworth, England, Penguin, 1969, p. 13.

next eighty years. In Skidelsky's description of the "first wave" schools, contemporaneous to Hughes' inspectorate in Toronto, were many characteristics of the later progressive education movement. They included thrusts toward more practical lessons in tune with the pupils' own interests, more emphasis on everyday experiences in nature and with manual activities rather than with books and examinations, and, finally, more concern for the school as a community centre from which important lessons could be learned.⁹

In Canada, these ideas were pioneered in the Macdonald Plan for rural schools. Its roots were to be found in the American manual training movement beginning in 1876,¹⁰ and in Dean Liberty Hyde Bailey's country life and nature study movement emanating from Cornell University in the 1890's.¹¹ There were four parts to the plan. The first three, James W. Robertson, its organizer, categorized under nature study. They included the consolidation of rural schools to create one central school in which manual training, school gardening and nature studies would be added to the curriculum, and the use of these central schools for

9 Ibid., p. 22.

10 Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of The School, Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957, New York, Random House, 1961, p. 24-25.

11 Ibid., p. 75-77.

evening continuation classes.¹² The fourth part of the plan outlined a special course of instruction and training for teachers of rural schools, especially emphasizing courses in nature study and household science.¹³ The aim of the plan was not only rural regeneration but the establishment of ideal models for good living:

All to the end that the pupils might know the relation of those things to health and comfort, and might observe those methods and practices which make for good-living in simple, clean, well-kept and beautiful homes in the country.¹⁴

But the method of schooling had to be totally different. As with the new kindergarten method, it had to begin with the child's experience:

Education is not obtained from books, except in a small measure; it is a series of experiences. [...] leading out to ability; ever increasing ability; ability to see, to understand, and then to do. Ability to see and ability to do - these two halves, seeing and doing, make education.¹⁵

12 Public Archives of Ontario (henceforth, P.A.O.), R.G.3, Ross Papers, James W. Robertson, Memorandum of a Plan Proposed for the Improvement of Education at Rural Schools; and for the Establishment of Courses of Instruction and Training in Domestic Economy or Household Science at the Ontario Agricultural College, dated Ottawa, January 6, 1902, p. 1-5.

13 Ibid., p. 6-9.

14 Ibid., p. 9.

15 P.A.O., R.G.3, Number 29, 1904, The Macdonald Funds for Manual Training and the Improvement of Rural Schools, Evidence of James W. Robertson before the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization, 1903, Ottawa, 1904, Dawson, p. 8.

Education had to train the child, then, in the scientific method. As Robertson expressed it in 1904, "I think the schools should concern themselves with helping the child to think clearly, to investigate carefully, to understand fully, and to manage economically".¹⁶ From the foregoing, one could also deduce the idealistic thrust of Robertson¹⁷ and his New Education confrères. They would have agreed with him entirely on his definition of the "Meaning of Education":

Let the boy be trained by the processes of his schooling to think clearly towards a definite end, believed by himself to be useful and beautiful. Let him be trained into expression of his thought, not only in words, but in deeds, and in things. These will help to form and bring out habits of carefulness and of accuracy - that fine passion for truth - and of self-reliance. These lead a man to seek mastery, not for selfishness, but for the service of his fellows and of truth.¹⁸

By 1910, as a result of his work with the Macdonald Fund, Dr. James W. Robertson was hailed as "one of the leaders of the world's thought today".¹⁹ With, perhaps, a somewhat overblown report of Robertson's speech at the Royal Show in

16 Ibid., p. 7.

17 "Dr. Robertson: Idealist", lead editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, August 23, 1913, p. 14.

18 P.A.O., R.G.3, Number 29, 1904, Evidence of James W. Robertson, 1903, p. 7.

19 "Great Pioneer in Education", in The Citizen, Ottawa, July 15, 1910, p. 9.

Britain, The Citizen described his work as

[...] this new education which is making Canadian schools the model for the world. The ideas, enriched and so co-ordinated in Dr. Robertson's philosophic factory, translated into action by Sir William Macdonald's insight and generosity, were from many sources, many from Sir Horace Plunkett, with whom Dr. Robertson has this month been holding fruitful counsel.²⁰

Thus, by the beginning of the twentieth century the ideas of the New Education movement were implemented in Canadian education. They were to be seen particularly in the kindergarten, manual training and nature study programmes. But they were the foundations, as well, of the campaigns for adult evening technical and literary classes, for the expansion of the domestic science, art, music, handwork and eurhythmics programmes, and for the movement to abolish final written examinations, all campaigns in which John Harold Putman was to take an active part. As noted in Profiles of Canadian Educators, "By the mid-Thirties the new [education] movement was to flower into progressive education which, despite certain excesses and weaknesses, has had a lasting effect on Canadian education".²¹

20 Ibid.

21 Robert S. Patterson, et al., Ed., Profiles of Canadian Educators, Toronto, Heath, 1974, p. 189.

2. New Education in the Ottawa Public Schools.

In order to facilitate the introduction of the Macdonald Plan into Ontario schools, the Department of Education, in 1899, introduced manual training as an optional subject in both public and high schools of the province.²² Two years earlier it had empowered boards of education to establish domestic science in the public schools.²³ But it was Macdonald's three-year grant of money which enabled the Ottawa Public Schools to establish one of three manual training centres in the province in 1900,²⁴ and the lack of which delayed the opening of domestic science classes until Putman took charge in 1911. The classes were supervised by Mr. Caleb Medcalf, who was brought to Canada in 1901 from England along with Albert H. Leake, Director of Manual Training Schools for Ontario under the Macdonald Fund, as well.²⁵ According to Robertson, whose educational vision

22 Stuart W. Semple, John Seath's Concept of Vocational Education in the School Systems of Ontario, 1884-1911, unpublished Master's thesis, University of Toronto, 1964, p. 174.

23 Ibid., p. 175.

24 Ontario Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) for the Year 1900 With the Statistics of 1899, Toronto, Cameron, 1901, p. 241.

25 Robert S. Holmes, "Manual Training", in Chief Inspector's Annual Report, Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, 1938, p. 30.

was always national rather than provincial in scope, Ottawa was originally to be the only centre:

The first plan was to start one good centre in connection with the public elementary schools in Ottawa in order to give an object lesson here, as being the capital of the Dominion, where many influential public men come and would be able to see it.²⁶

As with Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, whose influence was also strong in the Ottawa Kindergartens at this time,²⁷ Robertson's theory was that object lessons should be provided as examples to spearhead reform in society. He began the manual training classes in urban centres because here there would be more chance "to educate the public. [...] to observe the better sort of school; to recognize its merits by investigation; to understand its use and bearings".²⁸

Robertson's emphasis, as has been noted already, was humanistic and based on Aristotle's faculty psychology. His definition of manual training, as distinct from technical education, made this clear:

26 P.A.O., R.G.3, Number 29, 1904, Evidence of James W. Robertson, 1903, p. 19.

27 "Interesting Talk by Miss Bolton", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, January 19, 1907, p. 6.

28 P.A.O., R.G.3, Number 29, 1904, Evidence of James W. Robertson, 1903, p. 20.

We train the boy for the sake of ability in the boy. Manual training is the training of the faculties. It is not industrial education; it is the general culture of the powers of the body and of the mind through the activities of the body, which is an essential part of education.²⁹

This cultural attitude to the manual training classes in the elementary schools was to prevail under Leake's direction for the next twenty years in Ontario, and under Medcalf's supervision, for the next forty years in the Ottawa Public Schools.³⁰ Its moral thrust, stemming from its idealistic foundations, was highlighted in an article written as late as 1939 by another Ottawa manual training teacher of English origin, Robert S. Holmes.³¹ He wrote,

29 Ibid.

30 Photographs taken January 23, 1974, in the writer's possession of artifacts made in the manual training class at Glashan Public School in 1938, Ottawa, by Jim Strutt; objects include tin biscuit cutters, wooden book rack and table, wooden table with spiral legs, hammered copper bowl with incised edge; and see, "Present For Doctor", in The Morning Citizen, Ottawa, December 21, 1907, p. 15, in which Dr. Glashan was described as the recipient of a very handsome hammered copper electric lamp made by the senior manual training class, and Ottawa was cited as having the only copper work classes in Canada.

31 Robert S. Holmes was Jim Strutt's teacher at Glashan in 1938, interviews with Jim Strutt, December 23, 1973 and with Robert Holmes November 9, 1973.

Nothing stimulates the intellect more than the use of tools and many of the finest attributes of character are developed by a good training in the handling of tools. The boy responds to the discipline which makes him carry a chisel about in a safe way - he realizes a sense of social responsibility.³²

The Ottawa teachers, also, pioneered departmental control of manual training teachers' qualifications. In 1902, twelve of them taking the Macdonald Manual Training Schools' course wrote a letter to Richard Harcourt, the Minister of Education, urging him to set up a six months' course as a permanent legal qualification for teaching manual training in the province and to withhold grants from non-certified teachers of manual training.³³ Their request was answered in a departmental circular issued two years later, which stated that only graduates of the Macdonald Institute, Guelph, were to be certified by the Department of Education and only schools employing these teachers would receive grants.³⁴ By 1904, six Ottawa Public Schools were offering manual training classes and the Ottawa Normal and

32 Robert S. Holmes, "Manual Training Develops Mind, Character and Hands And for Good Use of Leisure", in The Citizen, Ottawa, August 14, 1939, p. 14.

33 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 37, XX, Item 4, "Manual Training - Macdonald Manual Training Schools, Ottawa", letter to Harcourt from F. A. Jones et al., dated Ottawa, July 17, 1902, p. 2 and 3.

34 Ibid., Item 31, Circular 59 re Certificates in Manual Training, issued March, 1904.

Model Schools were offering both manual training and domestic science courses.³⁵ The Department gave grants to some of the Ottawa schools in 1903,³⁶ indicating that some of the twelve teachers pursuing the Macdonald course must have become qualified.

In 1905 and 1906, Albert Leake, now Superintendent of Manual Training for the schools of Ontario, came to Ottawa and gave addresses which pointed to the future direction of Ottawa's New Education movement. He outlined the industrial development of leading nations, such as Germany, the United States and Japan, and asserted that in their schools art and industry were inseparably connected.³⁷ He reiterated the American ideal of the cultured mind in combination with the trained hand. Since nine-tenths of public school pupils would have to earn their living by working at a trade, a technical school with a commercial and manufacturing

35 Ibid., Item 19, unsigned List of Schools having Domestic Science and Manual Training Classes, 1904 (pencil).

36 Ibid., Item 9, copy of letter from the Deputy Minister to Thomas McJanet, dated Toronto, February 12, 1904.

37 "Technical Education", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, May 17, 1905, p. 9; and see, P.A.O., Government Documents Education, Circular No. 7, July, 1909, Elementary Industrial Arts in Public and Separate Schools of Villages and Towns, Explanatory and Descriptive Circular, Toronto, Cameron, 1909, 32 p., includes pictures of paper and cardboard modelling, clay modelling, bent metal work, work in thin sheet copper and brass, and variety of items in woodwork, including Froebelian geometrical shapes (gifts), p. 6 and 21-28.

focus would be of great benefit to the city of Ottawa. This "Mechanical Arts High School" would do four things: offer a three-year course for boys and girls followed by a two-year continuation course for those who completed it in specific trades or occupations toward which they were inclined; combine in proper proportions literary and academic training with the practical work; and establish a system of practical evening classes for those actually engaged in artistic and industrial trades. The following year, in an illustrated lecture at the Ottawa Normal School, Leake warmly approved of the manual training work done in Ottawa but regretted the lack of provision in domestic and household science classes for the public school girls.³⁸ For the next five years the Ottawa Public School Board passed numerous

38 "Manual Training Classes Well Described", in The Ottawa Evening Journal, Ottawa, March 14, 1906, p. 5.

resolutions to set up this central school³⁹ and to offer the girls domestic science, but it took Putman's aggressive leadership in 1911 (and the possibility of extra grants under Dr. Seath's Industrial Education Act of 1911) to establish A School for Higher English and Applied Arts and begin domestic science classes for girls. As will be seen, despite strong objections from some Board members, Putman insisted on hiring an Art Supervisor immediately to implement Leake's idea of the importance of art and industrial design.

The idea of evening technical classes was put into effect by the newly-opened Carnegie Public Library in Ottawa. Under the prodding of Putman, who was serving on the Library

39 "Special Committee Report to take into Consideration the Advisability of Erecting and Establishing a Centre or two Centres for Manual Training, Domestic Science and Commercial Classes", dated January 10, 1907, in Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1907, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1906, Ottawa, Paynter & Tubman, 1908, p. 21 and p. 181; and see, "New School Is Proposed", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, January 11, 1907, p. 6;

"Report of Special Committee appointed to take into Consideration the advisability of erecting and establishing a centre or two centres for Manual Training, Domestic Science and Commercial Classes", dated August 27, 1908, in Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1908 and Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1907, Ottawa, The Ottawa Printing Co., 1909, p. 158; and see resolution of Ottawa Teachers' Association to this effect in Ibid., p. 111 and described in "Local Teachers Express Opinion", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, May 9, 1908, p. 11. The resolution was proposed by J. H. Putman; see, "The Teachers' Convention", in The Morning Citizen, Ottawa, May 9, 1908, p. 9.

Board, technical evening classes were opened in 1906.⁴⁰

Albert Leake gave direction also in solving the problem of an inadequate supply of manual training teachers and the inability of the Board to retain them. The practice of up-grading classes of teachers for salary purposes when there was a shortage in their supply, the bane of trustee-teacher relations, was put into effect when first-class manual training teachers were considered as first-class teachers in the salary schedule,⁴¹ at Leake's recommendation.⁴²

By 1909, Leake judged that Ottawa's manual training classes were the best in Ontario.⁴³ Perhaps on the strength of this, Ottawa's Supervisor of Manual Training, Caleb Medcalf, was given permission to hold a demonstration of manual training at the Central Canada Exhibition.⁴⁴

40 "For Technical Library Classes", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, October 30, 1906, p. 3; and see, "For Technical Instruction", in Ibid., November 16, 1906, p. 6; and, "Technical Classes", editorial in Ibid., January 23, 1909, p. 4.

41 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1908, p. 215.

42 "Report No. 1 of the School Management Committee", dated January 28, 1909, in Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1909, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1908, Ottawa, Paynter, Fortin & Gilhooly (printers), 1910, p. 10.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid., p. 128 and 138.

Medcalf was consulted at some length by Robertson's Royal Commission on Industrial Training, which began its hearings in 1911. He expressed the opinion that work with tools was too difficult for eight and nine-year old boys at the grade four level⁴⁵ (contrary to Putman who wanted to extend manual training into the lower grades). The Report reiterated the cultural thrust of Ottawa's programme and described its extent by 1913:

Manual training is appreciated in Ottawa because of the all round benefit rather than as industrial training. For the last few years an exhibition has been held at the Central Canada Fair, with a class of boys at work, and people generally seem to be very well satisfied.

In Ottawa there are 13 centres and 4 special teachers, besides 3 regular principals of schools who take the boys of their own class. The special teachers move about to the different centres, to save the boys' time, and thus take more boys.⁴⁶

During the first decade of the twentieth century the City of Ottawa increased in population fifty-three per cent, and ranked with the fastest-growing cities of its class on the continent.⁴⁷ As a result, its real estate values increased rapidly and the demands on the facilities of the

45 Canada, Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, Report of the Commissioners, Part IV, Ottawa, Parmelee, 1913, p. 2039.

46 Ibid.

47 "The Growth of Ottawa", lead editorial in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, September 7, 1910, p. 6.

public and separate schools were severe:

In the past five years the public and separate school boards of Ottawa have spent \$395,000 on new schools, and they are still in sore need. This season the Public School Board is spending another \$100,000. This is without reference to the quarter million addition being built to the Collegiate Institute this season.⁴⁸

At a time when accommodation was the primary concern (a teacher at Wellington Street School reported that he had 107 pupils in one room⁴⁹), the amount of money available for educational reforms was limited. In a number of practical ways, however, the Ottawa Public School Board advanced the cause of education in this first decade.

Because Ottawa suffered from one of the highest rates of consumption in Canada,⁵⁰ her schools were built to combat it. At the opening of Percy Street School, a lead editorial drew attention

48 "Schools Show City's Growth", in Ibid., April 18, 1908, p. 11.

49 "School is Overcrowded", in Ibid., November 6, 1908, p. 6.

50 "Many Deaths Here From Consumption", in Ibid., April 3, 1908, p. 1.

[...] to the aid which the modern schools of the city are giving to the battle against consumption. The schools and school additions erected in Ottawa within the past four or five years have been equipped according to the most modern ideas of sanitary science. Money has not been spared to provide a full and continued circulation of fresh air, and the heating and drainage have been handled in the most up-to-date manner.⁵¹

As a result, also, of major fire disasters in Cleveland and Hochelaga, and the frequency of fires in Ottawa, the new schools were erected with extra safety precautions.⁵² They included private fire alarms in every room, concrete floors in the basement, wide corridors extending from double exits at the back to ones at the front, and the practice of placing kindergarten and primary grades on the ground floor. All these extra features cost more money. But, with regular fire drills, the newspaper reported that parents could now be assured that no danger remained:

The schools of Ottawa are of modern construction, and contain every facility of exit, and, with the excellent training the children receive, it would only be a matter of two or three minutes to empty any of the buildings.⁵³

During Dr. Glashan's inspectorship, then, the main concerns of the Ottawa Public School Board had to be

⁵¹ "An Enemy to Consumption", lead editorial in Ibid., January 18, 1908, p. 4.

⁵² "Conditions in Ottawa Schools", in Ibid., March 5, 1908, p. 1.

⁵³ "Fire Drills in School", lead editorial in The Morning Citizen, Ottawa, March 10, 1908, p. 6.

practical. As one newspaper summarized it,

From an enrollment in 1876 of 3,000 pupils under 32 teachers in 6 buildings, he saw it grow to 7,000 pupils under 200 teachers in 24 buildings in 1910. Salaries of principals meantime had advanced from an average of \$900 a year to \$1,695; and those of women teachers from an average of \$350 to \$672.⁵⁴

But the prevailing note of Glashan's régime, and one which characterized the educational policy of Premier George W. Ross of Ontario, was that the curriculum was book-oriented and exam-bound, governed by the demands of the Ottawa Collegiate Institute. In the Ottawa Board,

A high standard in teaching qualification is insisted upon in teachers and as a result excellent results are attained. The examination results attest this while the success of those who go to the universities or other schools testifies to the sound training received in the primary schools of the city and the Collegiate Institute.⁵⁵

Naturally, this attitude tempered the New Education influence of the kindergarten and manual training teachers in the city. As a result, they were somewhat cut off from the mainstream of grade teachers and affected only the first and last years of the pupils' lives in the public schools, a situation Putman was to remedy quickly.

⁵⁴ "Thirty-Four Years As School Inspector", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, February 1, 1913, p. 19.

⁵⁵ "Capital's Numerous Places of Learning", in Ibid., August 15, 1908, p. 11.

Despite the examination emphasis, the regular grade classes had some exposure to a curriculum expanded beyond the three R's, particularly after the Conservative government of James P. Whitney came into power in 1906 and ushered in a reformist era in the public schools of Ontario. In that year the Ottawa Board hired its first music supervisor, James A. Smith, who was to follow Toronto's lead and establish singing classes based on the moveable doh system.⁵⁶ Within two years, the Board had invested a considerable sum of money in music books and equipment.⁵⁷ In 1908, as well, the annual public school concerts began.⁵⁸ At this first one the choir and a patriotic drill by the pupils of Wellington Street School were presented. By 1910, the public school concert reached the panache it was to maintain for many years. About six thousand people crowded into Dey's Arena to hear a twelve hundred voiced choir, representing schools from all over the city, render "The Maple Leaf", "John Bull's Children", and "Rule Britannia" in full voice.⁵⁹ Again, various

56 "Pupils To Be Taught Music", in Ibid., May 4, 1906, p. 6; and, "Jas. A. Smith Is Selected", in Ibid., July 6, 1906, p. 5.

57 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1909, p. 17 and 149.

58 "Public School Pupils' Concert", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, June 13, 1908, p. 4.

59 "Concert Was Big Success", in Ibid., June 11, 1910, p. 20.

drills interspersed the choruses. Now they included Indian club drills by thirty girls from First Avenue School, marches and counter-marches followed by dumb-bell drills executed by forty-eight boys from three schools, and a wand drill by one hundred children with red and blue ribbons. The new drill and gymnastic instructor James E. Collins, hired in 1909, after seven years as physical instructor in England,⁶⁰ had shown the future direction of Ottawa's physical education programme, away from sharpshooting and cadet drills,⁶¹ and toward more rhythmic exercises for girls as well as boys.

At the insistence of many parents and under the chairmanship of Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson, the Ottawa Public School Board began commercial classes in three schools - Kent, Waller and Glashan⁶² - in 1906. The next year a gold medal was offered by Trustee Stewart McClenaghan for competition in the graduating commercial classes of the School Board.⁶³ A fourth school, Osgoode, offered commercial classes in 1908 and a fifth school was urged, as the classes

60 "Criticism For School Board", in Ibid., February 11, 1909, p. 1.

61 "School Cadets Pass Muster", in Ibid., June 12, 1908, p. 6; and, "School Cadets Receive Trophy", in Ibid., November 23, 1908, p. 1.

62 "New School Is Proposed", in Ibid., January 11, 1907, p. 6.

63 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1907, p. 63 and 71.

had proven a great success.⁶⁴

Other innovations of the Ottawa Public School Board in this first decade, which would facilitate more democratic education in line with the New Education movement, were the institution of free text-books,⁶⁵ the purchase of a projector for illustrating lessons,⁶⁶ and the provision of fifty library books supplied by the Carnegie Library in the three highest classes of Osgoode, Wellington and Glashan schools.⁶⁷

Two programmes in neighbouring institutions were to affect the public school curriculum in the future. One was a pioneer project of teaching forty-five Kent Street boys to swim, offered by the Young Men's Christian Association at their pool.⁶⁸ It was to be financed by the Ottawa Board and extended to other schools in the future. The other was the beginning, in Carleton County, of the Macdonald School Gardens in 1903, under the Inspectorship of R. H. Cowley and

64 "Presentation of Diplomas", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, October 29, 1908, p. 6.

65 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1907, p. 150-151.

66 "For Public Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, October 25, 1910, p. 2.

67 "Mr. William Rea Resigns Post", in Ibid., May 7, 1909, p. 3.

68 "Will Teach Boys to Swim", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, April 21, 1910, p. 6.

directed by Mr. J. W. Gibson,⁶⁹ who was, in 1910, to set up the Ottawa Model School garden.⁷⁰ The latter movement struck a strong responsive chord in Putman, who urged the setting up of school gardens both while he was at the Ottawa Model and Normal Schools, and, successfully, for the Ottawa Public Schools in 1916.

By 1910, then, the Ottawa Public School Board was a moderately-progressive board, whose major efforts in educational improvement had been in the direction of kindergarten, manual training, music and commercial classes, and in the erection of a number of modern school buildings.

69 R. H. Cowley, "School Gardening", Appendix A of Robert Stothers, A Biographical Memorial to Robert Henry Cowley 1859-1927, Toronto, Nelson, 1935, p. 112-135; and see, Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1904, Part I (With the Statistics of 1903), Toronto, Cameron, 1905, p. xxix-xxx.

70 "Where School Gardening is Put in Practice", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, July 9, 1910, p. 7; included pictures of Model School garden and Mr. J. W. Gibson.

CHAPTER II

PUTMAN'S EARLY BIOGRAPHY

John Harold Putman was born just prior to the entry of New Education into Ontario. His rural upbringing, religious background, early education and teaching career, thus, were unaffected by either the kindergarten or manual training innovations. But this early part of his life, vividly portrayed by him sixty years later, embodied the values for which the New Educators were to strive: the moral worth of handwork, concrete experiences, and the out-of-doors in building the character of a boy. His own life, then, prepared him for the leadership role he was to assume in the New Education movement on his arrival in Ottawa in 1894. Using Putman's recollections, this chapter will recount first his rural and religious background. Then, documentary evidence will be cited for his early academic training and career. Throughout, those ideas or experiences which would lead into the New Education movement will be highlighted.

1. Rural Roots.

As most of his fellow Canadians at that time, Putman came from a rural background. He was born on September

seventeenth, 1866,¹ and spent his childhood on a fifty-acre farm in Lincoln County, Ontario.² He was proud of his rural background and wrote a series of twenty-one articles about it for The Citizen between March sixth, 1939 and February nineteenth, 1940. Despite the fact that they were written in the last year and a half of his life, they gave an excellent portrayal of the rural family values of nineteenth century Canada that influenced him profoundly throughout his life. As will be seen, these values were the Canadian foundation stones of the New Education movement. The Editor remarked of Putman's articles,

Dr. Putman had a country background. His boyhood was spent in a thrifty rural setting. It left an indelible mark on his character. He believed in honest effort and hard work, and he never lost his love of farm folk. These traits were revealed in the articles he wrote for The Citizen a few years ago in that clear, sparse English which he used.³

1 Public Archives of Canada (henceforth, P.A.C.), C-613, 'District No. 18, Subdistrict G No. 1', "Ontario", Census 1871, p. 87, #15-20; and see, "Dr. J. H. Putman South Ottawa Liberal Choice", in The Citizen, Ottawa, September 18, 1937, p. 1; Putman reported that the previous day was his birthday; see, Beechwood Cemetery, Record of Interments April 1921 - December 1953, No. 28441, "John Harold Putman", p. 183: recorded as 73 years, 11 months and 25 days at his death on September 12, 1940.

2 H. R. Page, Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Counties of Lincoln and Welland, Toronto, Page, 1876, p. 35; shows homestead of Lorenzo Putman, his father, at the Merritt Settlement near Smithville in Grimsby Township (Lot Two, Range II).

3 "Dr. J. H. Putman", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, September 13, 1940, p. 24.

Canada in this post-Confederation era was at the stage of what Arthur Lower has called "A sturdy yeomanry: Canada in the 'horse and buggy age'".⁴ He added, as well, that many retrospective testimonies by Canadians writing in the 1940's and 1950's attested to the excellence of this age.⁵ The belles lettres form of their essays (including Putman's) was particularly suited to an expression of a personal style of philosophy.⁶ Thus, one can trace the origins of Putman's New Education values through an analysis of these essays.

In a letter preceding the articles, Putman wrote of his grandparents' and his family's origins: "My great-grandfather Putman or Putnam (they are one family) came from near Albany. The name is not without honor in the annals of American history."⁷ His paternal grandfather, Albert,⁸ and

4 Arthur R. M. Lower, Canadians in the Making, Don Mills, Longmans, 1958, p. 327.

5 Ibid., p. 328.

6 Norah Story, The Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature, Toronto, Oxford, 1967, p. 62-63.

7 J. H. Putman, letter dated September 7, 1939, to The Citizen, Ottawa, September 8, 1939, p. 13.

8 P.A.C., C-1344, 'Wainfleet Township', "Lincoln County", Canada West Census 1842, p. 1; Albert is cited as married and owns his own property;

P.A.C., C-1081, 'District No. 3', "Wainfleet Township", Canada West Census 1861, p. 36, #20-24; Albert Putman is listed as a shoemaker, born in Upper Canada, married and fifty-seven years old; his sons included Lorenzo, classified as a farmer and twenty-three years of age. A neighbour, David Putman, born in the United States and seventy-eight years old was probably his father, in Ibid., p. 38.

father, Lorenzo, were born in the County of Welland, Ontario. But by 1871, Lorenzo Putman had married and left his family's home on the Welland River. His wife, Mary (née Graybiel), had borne him four children by this time, of which John H. (John Harold Putman), aged four years, was the eldest.⁹ Lorenzo's religion was Episcopal Methodist and his wife's, the Disciples of Christ. Her family, also of American origin,¹⁰ had among its members a number of school teachers.¹¹ From his maternal grandfather, too, came a tradition of responsible office-holding.¹² Putman wrote of his moderate reform politics and the influence of John Graybiel on himself:

9 P.A.C., C-613, 'District No. 18, Subdistrict G No. 1', "Ontario", Census 1871, p. 87, #15-20. See footnote #1 for discrepancy; presumably, the census had been compiled before Putman's fifth birthday on September 17, 1871.

10 P.A.C., C-1081, 'District No. 1', "Wainfleet Township", Canada West Census 1861, p. 1, #36-43; James and Delora Graybiel had five children of which the eldest was Mary.

11 Ibid., Mary and Irene taught at the log school on their property along with a relative, Eunice L. Bivins; fifty pupils were accommodated in the school which was also a place of worship.

12 Documents of Commissions of John Graybiel as appointed magistrate for the United Counties of Lincoln and Welland on November 17, 1837 and September 3, 1852, in possession of Miss Irene Putman, Ottawa; examined March 6, 1972.

This grandfather was also warden of the United Counties of Lincoln and Welland, and after the burning of the Parliament Buildings in Montreal and the mobbing of Lord Elgin, he was chosen to carry to Montreal expressions of loyalty from the people of the Niagara district. Later, he entertained Lord Elgin at his home on the shore of Lake Erie.

I am proud of this Pennsylvania Dutch grandfather born in Canada. He was a lover of truth, freedom, and liberty, and held Magistrate's Court for many years when such courts were a necessity.¹³

Another ancestor, whose politics influenced Dr. Putman, was mentioned also in the above letter and in an amusing essay in his retrospective series. He was Captain Vaughn, the father of his paternal grandmother. In both references he was described as a violent Tory whose bête noire was Yankees. Putman wrote,

I have always been glad he was a Tory. All my other far-off ancestors were either of pacifist Quaker stock or Gladstone Liberals and great-grandfather's high Tory notions when filtered down to me through three generations have served me well. This little trickle of Tory blood in my veins has just enabled me to get the viewpoint of my many friends who are not now Tories, but Conservatives. They were Liberal-Conservatives for many years but now they are 100 per cent Conservative.¹⁴

¹³ J. H. Putman, letter dated September 7, 1939, to The Citizen, Ottawa, September 8, 1939, p. 13.

¹⁴ J. H. Putman, "I Saw the Battle of Queenston Heights", in Ibid., April 8, 1939, p. 20.

Despite these concessions to his distant ancestors, Putman himself was a Gladstonian Liberal.¹⁵ He retained their interest in politics, though, serving as alderman for Rideau Ward in Ottawa in 1906,¹⁶ as one of four members of Ottawa's Board of Control in 1938 and 1939,¹⁷ and as unsuccessful Liberal candidate for Ottawa South with the promise of becoming Minister of Education in the Mitchell Hepburn Government of 1937.¹⁸

It was his farm home and its way of life, however, that played a more important role in Putman's early life. Lorenzo Putman's farm, in a mixed farming and dairying district,¹⁹ was a modest one. As his son described it,

15 Interview with the late Dr. Robert Westwater, Victoria, May 4, 1972. Dr. Westwater was a close family friend and served as Junior Inspector, 1937-49 and Chief Inspector, 1949-52, for the Ottawa Public School Board.

16 "James A. Ellis Re-Elected A Third Time to Fill the Mayor's Seat", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, January 2, 1906, p. 1.

17 "Dr. Putman Should Go Back", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, November 29, 1939, p. 16.

18 "A. H. Acres Opens His Campaign At Burritt's Rapids", in Ibid., September 25, 1937, p. 1; "Dunbar Wins South Ottawa and Leduc Has Huge Majority", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, October 7, 1937, p. 17; Putman lost by 893 votes.

19 J. H. Putman, "A Threshing Bee II", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 10, 1939, p. 18.

We had a fertile farm of only fifty acres while many of our neighbors had farms of 100 or 200 acres and therefore plenty of land for grazing. One fertile acre in corn will produce more food for animals than five or six acres on a run-out pasture. We never had less than five acres of corn and sometimes seven or eight.²⁰

In keeping with the "horse and buggy" label which Lower put on the age, Putman asserted that horses were a necessary, if not loved,²¹ form of power and mode of transportation:

My generation was horse-minded. We went to the pastures before breakfast to catch the horses. We worked with them day after day in the fields. We drove horses to church, to the village store, to market, to the grist mill and to visit friends. The younger man who had no horse and buggy to visit his girl on Sunday was a kind of rural wall-flower. My sister and I drove a horse three-and-a-half miles every winter while we attended the high school. Again and again as a boy I have listened to a group of men talk horse from supper time until bed time. They would tell over the different horses they had owned, the horse trades they had made, the tricks they had practised and the speed of certain favorite nags. The most of these men were 100 per cent honest in every transaction except a horse trade.²²

Horse-power was essential, not only in plowing, harrowing, marking out and cultivating,²³ but also in the threshing

²⁰ J. H. Putman, "Hoeing Corn", in Ibid., March 31, 1939, p. 20.

²¹ Putman also wrote, "I am certain that my father loved horses better than anything in the world except his family and his neighbors", in Ibid.

²² J. H. Putman, "From Ox-Cart to Airplane", in Ibid., October 28, 1939, p. 16.

²³ Putman, "Hoeing Corn".

bee operation. Putman wrote,

In my boyhood days and until around 1880 or a little later the threshing was done with a machine not essentially different from those in use today but driven by a horse-power consisting of five teams.²⁴

A team of horses was also necessary to take the grist to the mill on the nearby Jordan River,

[...] where the water from this little river turned the old-fashioned stones that ground our wheat into flour and crushed our oats, barley and maize into meal for hogs and cattle.²⁵

The typical Ontario farm of the 1880's, Lower stated, had a fair amount of machinery on it.²⁶ Putman mentioned the stump lifter, the first mowing and reaping machines, the revolving wooden hay rake, the sickle to cut corn, as well as indoor aids, such as the sewing machine.²⁷ There were also nearby services in the village of Smithville, such as a grist-mill, saw-mill, wagon-shop, tannery, a potash factory, churches, hotels, stores, shoemakers, a tailor, and undertaker, and a doctor.²⁸

24 J. H. Putman, "A Threshing Bee I", in Ibid., May 9, 1939, p. 18.

25 J. H. Putman, "Fishing in the Jordan River and Other Things", in Ibid., March 22, 1939, p. 16.

26 Lower, Op. Cit., p. 333.

27 J. H. Putman, "The Simple Life Has Vanished", in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 20, 1940, p. 14.

28 Ibid.

But the Putman family, as many farm families until recently, was largely self-sufficient:

Besides our laundry soap we produced all our own fuel, some clothing, nearly all our food, and our bedding. My father's generation made much of their furniture. We slept on feather-beds over home-made straw-mattresses.²⁹

They would barter their produce and their handiwork for goods in the village store. Putman listed the farm's assets as

[...] butter, eggs, poultry or grain. [...] dressed pork, cured hams and bacon, wool, honey, beeswax, lard, potatoes, woollen yarn, knitted socks and mitts, clover and timothy seed and sometimes [...] cord-wood.³⁰

The food was plentiful and at special events, such as a threshing-bee, sumptuous. Putman described an everyday supper as consisting of "hot biscuits, fried home-made sausages, saurkraut, baked potatoes, doughnuts, pickles, pumpkin pie and preserved peaches".³¹ And quantity was not at the expense of quality. The cooks were critically assessed at major events:

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Putman, "I Saw the Battle of Queenston Heights".

Dinner for thirteen or fourteen men at a threshing-bee was not an everyday affair. It came only once a year. It was sure to be talked about. It could not escape comparison with other dinners eaten by nearly the same company. There must be variety, quality and abundance. The family honor was at stake. Pies, puddings, sauces, and pickles were prepared days in advance. Usually a sheep or a lamb was killed. Or the meat might be the farmer's home-cured hams, boiled or roasted. Every vegetable and fruit the farm produced was on the table. The pyramids of bread, the plats of butter and the chunks of comb-honey that disappeared, would rival the turn-over of food at a free dinner given in the old days by a politician to his constituents on the eve of an election.³²

From this rich home background, then, one can understand Putman's later preoccupation with handwork, with manual-training classes to teach boys how to make simple furniture and tools, and with domestic science classes for girls, including both cooking and sewing.

Probably the example of Dr. Putman's father stamped these New Education values in his mind at an early age. Imitating the noted English idealist, Thomas Carlyle, Putman described his father in a significant essay entitled "Hero Worship". He was pictured as a man eminently competent in a variety of handwork skills:

32 Putman, "A Threshing Bee II".

He could plow a straight furrow across a ten-acre field; could use an axe, an adze, a broad-axe and a chalk-line to make squared timber for frames of buildings; and then build the structure except mortising the timbers; he could use a scythe to cut hay; a cradle to cut wheat and rake and bind 1,000 sheaves of it in ten hours; he could sow a bushel of clover seed evenly over a six-acre field; he could build a well-proportioned hay-stack or straw-stack that would turn rain or sleet; he could use a fro to split and a drawing-knife to shave pine shingles that would last forty years; he could graft and prune apple trees and make cider and vinegar; he could butcher sheep, pigs and beeves and cure bacon and hams; he could make maple syrup, care for bees and extract honey; he could dig a well and line its walls with stone; he could repair farm machinery, [...] shear sheep, [...] split rails to build a straight fence, put seats made of elm bark on chairs, cement a cellar floor and lay drain tile [...].³³

Putman described his relationship with his father as ideal:

Being the eldest in the family from the age of twelve or thirteen I was treated as though I were his equal in understanding. Many of my fondest recollections are of the days we worked together [...].³⁴

And, from the post-Depression vantage point of the 1930's, Putman assigned a strong moral value to the skills of his father. Comparing his father's skills with the

³³ J. H. Putman, "Hero Worship", in Ibid., April 21, 1939, p. 20.

³⁴ Ibid.

[...] less important things that I do badly or indifferently well, I feel that I have the key to the decadence of our moral and physical fiber, which has brought a people of eleven million souls, possessed of great natural resources, to a condition where one million of them are without decent homes, lack wholesome food, wear cast-off clothing and depend on organized charity for their daily bread. Over-industrialization, a worship of machines and a contempt for hand-labor and skilled handicrafts with their inevitable results, threaten our national solvency.³⁵

These notes of thrifty self-sufficiency and the worship of handwork as a means of moral improvement characterized New Education from its beginnings in Europe. In Putman, they appear to have evolved from his rural background.

Another characteristic of New Education, experiential as against bookish methods of learning, affected Putman at this early age even aside from the example of his father. He described a trip to the mill which illustrated this "learning-by-doing" educational philosophy:

35 Ibid.

This going-to-mill was a treat and its educational value far outweighed a day lost at the rural school. It was an all-day job and I always took a lunch. If a half-dozen customers were ahead of me I might have to wait four or five hours before my 'grist' could go into the hopper. This interval offered me plenty of time to gossip with the miller in his dusty cap, inspect the water-wheel, get weighed twice on the mill scales, examine the bolt of silk which separated the finely-ground wheat into bran, shorts and flour and perhaps explore the river above and below the mill. [...] I had a lesson in practical arithmetic when the miller weighed my 'grist' and scooped out one-tenth for himself as his lawful toll for grinding.³⁶

One could speculate on how much "[...] the touch of romance that still clings to the smithy that stood at the cross-roads near by boyhood home"³⁷ affected him. Or one could wonder whether the "social broadcasting"³⁸ and relief from tedium provided by the travelling pedlars and agents influenced his thrust toward field trips (see Chapter Three) or the experiential learning of the kindergarten-primary classes, which he pioneered (see Chapter Seven).

Above all, Putman, both boy and man, learned through all his senses and loved to be outdoors:

36 Putman, "Fishing in the Jordan River".

37 J. H. Putman, "The Blacksmith Shop", in Ibid., November 23, 1939, p. 20.

38 J. H. Putman, "Pedlars and Agents", in Ibid., January 16, 1940, p. 18.

In one way berry-picking is like fishing: you get more than just berries. You get sweet smells, fresh air, a sun-burn and always come home dead tired. You have heard the note of a new bird, seen its nest and peeped at its young, or avoided a queer little animal with a white stripe up its back. You started a partridge or nearly stepped on a snake. You saw a plant you never saw before or a brilliantly-colored moth that you had hoped to see again. You spill some of your berries getting over a rail fence and you scratch your arm on a brier when reaching for a plump raspberry.³⁹

And, like all boys, he enjoyed the pleasures of the nearby Twenty-Mile Creek:

When I look backward over sixty years I realize how many of my boyhood experiences and pleasures were either directly or indirectly bound up with this little river. We fished in its pools and rapids in April, washed our sheep in its deepest pools in May, bathed in it during June, July and August and skated on its smooth stretches whenever our erratic winter climate made ice.⁴⁰

Two stronger values were to emerge from his childhood which would continue to influence the rest of his life. These were the worthwhile discipline of hard work and the appreciation of beauty, especially in nature. In his descriptions of the threshing-bee and the hoeing of corn, the long hours (in the former, sometimes up to thirteen) and the discomfort involved (stifling dust from bearded barley and peas, or the heat, aching arms and shoulders resulting from

³⁹ J. H. Putman, "Picking Fruit: Especially Huckleberries", in Ibid., May 3, 1939, p. 20.

⁴⁰ Putman, "Fishing in the Jordan River".

hoeing) made one realize the hardships of farm life which he had to endure. But Putman appreciated its rewards and, perhaps, fashioned his philosophy from these experiences:

[...] there were compensations for aching arms and shoulders. A drink of cold water at the end of each round, the wholesome smell of mother earth, the distant hum of bees, the cawing of crows in the adjacent wood, the restful green of the young corn and the hope of the dinner-horn all these made for contentment if not for happiness. [...]

There were [...] other rewards. You had abundant time for contemplation and for cultivating acquaintance with yourself. I wonder if modern life with its rush, its bustle and its jazz allows a youth time to know himself! And especially I wonder whether the environment of modern cities encourages youth to think about the simple and fundamental and therefore the really important things of life!⁴¹

The need for thrift and respect for the rhythm of life remained with Putman throughout his life:

We could not afford to pay cash for help and if we had been able to pay for it no help at that time of year would have been available.

.....
 Everything ought to have a climax. Life would be intolerably dull if it were not for the ebb and flow of its pulse. There is a rhythm in the lives of all workers, even tillers of the soil.⁴²

This picture of Dr. Putman's ancestors and childhood shows how deeply his rural roots were engraved in his being. Lower believed this to be true of many Canadians

41 Putman, "Hoeing Corn".

42 Putman, "A Threshing Bee II".

even in the 1950's:

Most fundamental of all, perhaps, the patterns of life worked out in the country-side have gone deep into our outlook. Canada is no longer predominantly a rural country, but a high proportion of its people are still close to their rural origins; their family memories go back to the farm, and a good many of their values. The latter may be simple, but they have nearly always been wholesome.⁴³

2. Religious Heritage.

Another profound influence on Putman's educational philosophy was that of religion. Although he wrote only two direct references to religious influences, his thought was definitely affected by his Methodism. During the 1890's to 1920's the social gospel movement with its social service and reformist tendencies transformed Ontario Methodists and Putman's writing revealed it.

He described his family's religious environment thus:

I doubt if any part of Eastern Canada at Confederation had as many different religious denominations as the counties of Lincoln and Welland. [...] In addition to Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians (two kinds) and Lutherans there were Episcopal Methodists, Wesleyan Methodists and Free Methodists, orthodox and heterodox Quakers, Baptists, Mennonites, Dunkards, Disciples of Christ, United Brethren, Plymouth Brethren and Universalists.

Our neighborhood church was Wesleyan Methodist.⁴⁴

43 Lower, Op. Cit., p. 343.

44 J. H. Putman, "Churches and Camp Meetings", in The Citizen, Ottawa, September 13, 1939, p. 16.

In a tribute given at his funeral, the writer referred to Dr. Putman's "broad catholicity of of [sic] outlook which included all good in all forms of religion".⁴⁵ Its seeds, perhaps, were planted in the heterodox religious environment of his childhood.

The social aspect of Methodism, with the church serving as the community centre for nine-tenths of the population during the 1880's Putman described well in "Churches and Camp Meetings". Everyone, with the exception of only three or four families, attended the local Methodist church. For the young people there were, besides religious services and Sunday school,

[...] a well-conducted singing school from October to May and a Christmas festival during Christmas week. If the church and its activities had been blotted out our lives would have lost the main-spring of their most elevated joys.⁴⁶

Here may have started Putman's lifelong love of music and his community attitude toward both school and home.

The evangelism and individual moral concern of Methodism struck him particularly at the camp meetings of his childhood. He described the first one he attended when he was seven years of age; the preacher

45 "Impressive Parting Tribute Paid At Funeral of Dr. Putman", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, September 16, 1940, p. 14.

46 Putman, "Churches and Camp Meetings".

[...] was tall and gaunt, with a long grey beard and a sepulchral voice. Of course, I cannot remember his sermon. I only know it was about hell and the awful fate that awaited those who rejected salvation. Later, when I read Milton's Paradise Lost, I remembered that awful night. I was terribly frightened. [...]⁴⁷

As Goldwin French pointed out about John Wesley,⁴⁸ in this earlier stage of Methodism, political and social evils were looked on as the consequence of individual wrongdoing and could be eliminated only by improving the moral attitudes of individual men and women. Throughout his reports, Putman stressed that the chief end of education was individual moral reform.

Because both preachers and people worked within the context of a liberal gospel, French suggested, the spirit of Methodism was neither wholly conservative nor wholly liberal, but "a subtle compound, very susceptible to such pressures as might be exerted by those who sought power and by those who sought to give Methodism a government related to its faith [...]"⁴⁹ This intuitive-pragmatic approach, utilized by the early camp preachers, one of whom was Egerton Ryerson (see Chapter Four, section 3), was to carry over into the political and educational reform

47 Ibid.

48 Goldwin French, Parsons and Politics, Toronto, Ryerson, 1962, p. 11.

49 Ibid.

activities of both Ryerson and Putman. It was, perhaps, their Methodism which contributed to their social realism and moderate politics, as well as to their stress on individual initiative.

Putman, however, experienced the changeover of Methodism from this evangelistic, puritanical stage to the business-like mass-rally atmosphere of a later time:

In marked contrast to this first camp-meeting were scores of others I attended at Grimsby Park on the shore of Lake Ontario. This camping ground was in a beautiful wood. It began as an ordinary Wesleyan Methodist camp-meeting with services in a tent. Gradually people bought plots of ground and built permanent cottages. A large hotel was built and a huge covered amphitheatre erected that seated seven thousand people. Passenger boats gave a daily service to Toronto. In addition to eminent Canadian Methodist preachers - Dr. Potts, Ezra Stafford, Dr. Hunter, Dr. Ryckman and Prof. Workman, - outstanding men were brought in from the United States. For seven or eight years in succession DeWitt Talmadge came from Brooklyn Tabernacle and stayed nine days. He was a great, popular preacher with a good voice, an easy style and a keen sense of humor.⁵⁰

He described this camping ground as the Chatauqua of Canada, which educated thousands (implying also that the spiritualism of Methodism had evolved, in his thinking, into the rationalism of secular education). As S. D. Clark explained,⁵¹ by this time the increasing importance of Toronto as a

50 Putman, "Churches and Camp Meetings".

51 S. D. Clark, The Developing Canadian Community, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1962, p. 138-139.

Methodist centre had affected Methodism. Stronger, urban-oriented leaders emerged who used new techniques of attraction, such as the summer resort atmosphere and the religious journal. This new leadership had been strengthened by the union, in 1832, of the Wesleyan Methodists with the English Wesleyan Conference. Now, wealthier business men began to support the evangelical churches in the cities. With the shift in social status of the leadership came a shift in political attachment (towards increasing conservatism), as well as a change in the character of the city churches. When Putman arrived in Toronto in the 1880's, Metropolitan Church, which he attended, was at the height of its Victorian splendour:

Notice the long carpeted aisles, the rich upholstery, the comfortable seats, the lofty ceilings, the spacious gallery and the vast congregation. An unseen hand touches an electric battery, and in a moment hundreds of gas jets are aflame, and the place is filled with a blaze of lights. Now the great organ heaves its thrilling thunders, compressing air into music, and rolling it forth upon the soul.⁵²

The traditional Wesleyan impulse toward moral endeavours and responsibility for problems of the community⁵³ in the new urban, wealthy setting, resulted in the shift from the

⁵² Caniff Haight, Country Life in Canada Fifty Years Ago: Personal Recollections and Reminiscences of a Sexagenarian, Toronto, Hunter, Rose, 1885, p. 179-180.

⁵³ French, Op. Cit., p. 16.

earlier individualistic, evangelical concern to the collectivist bias of the social gospel in the 1880's.⁵⁴

Two organizations were established at this time which demonstrated this new interest and concern for the needy. In 1889 the Epworth League began as a logical outcome of a changing attitude toward education and the raising of children:

'Subjection' and 'thinking of none but childish things' were being replaced with the view that the child was to be encouraged to accept more and more adult responsibility at earlier ages [sic], although always under watchful paternal eyes.⁵⁵

Both the League and the Young Men's Christian Association were inspired by the conviction that the social environment of the child required the most careful manipulation, if his character was to be built properly. Putman's strong condemnation of corporal punishment and his receptivity to Froebel's and John Dewey's ideas (see Chapter Three, section 2) may well have been "set" beforehand by this Methodist movement. (It should be noted, on the other hand, that Putman's attitude to the Sunday School library, which often "consists of a few good books with a literary style beyond the grasp of the young folks and a mass of goody-goody

54 William H. Magney, "The Methodist Church and the National Gospel, 1884-1914", in The Bulletin, Number Twenty, Toronto, Ryerson, 1968, p. 4.

55 Ibid., p. 21-22.

stories and other fiction of questionable benefit",⁵⁶ certainly was not uncritical.) At this time, also, the Fred Victor Mission was established by the wealthy backers of Metropolitan Church. Although its initial aims were evangelical rather than charitable, "it was not long before it, too, had become involved in a great number of projects - especially the use of Methodist tracts to teach the poor to read and write".⁵⁷ By the 1890's, as Richard Allen wrote,

[...] a rude sort of environmentalism was creeping into the 'ideology' of prohibition, placing it in the context of a reform programme based on the strategy of reform Darwinism: that the way to reform the individual was through alterations in his environment.⁵⁸

This climate of reform, particularly with the school looked on as the spearhead of social change, also may have affected Putman's attitude and educational philosophy. He certainly suggested that this may have been the case:

56 J. H. Putman, "Country Schools", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention, Toronto, Rowswell & Hutchison, 1895, p. 316.

57 Magney, Op. Cit., p. 23.

58 Richard Allen, "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada: 1890-1928", in The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 49, No. 4, December, 1968, p. 387.

I must not omit some reference to the greatest educational influence which touched me during my term at Toronto Normal. It came from the pulpit and not from a schoolmaster. I had already a fair acquaintance with Methodist preachers, having heard the best in Canada at Grimsby Park [...]. But for me all these men were relegated to a back shelf when I listened to Ezra Stafford then pastor of the Metropolitan Church. Many times I went shortly after six o'clock to make certain I would get a good seat for the service at seven o'clock. I cannot now recall anything that Stafford said nor could I give any intelligible account of his philosophy or theology. I only know that for me he completely changed my conception of the universe and man's place in it. I think he must have been intellectually close kin to Professor Watson of Queen's because twelve years later when I first came under Watson's influence it seemed for me he carried on where Stafford left off. Both were idealists and both were disciples of Kant and Caird.⁵⁹

Dr. Stafford served at the Metropolitan Church, Toronto, between 1885 and 1887,⁶⁰ having come from Montreal and Winnipeg and having been elected president of their two annual conferences. One would suspect that Putman was attracted to his keen intellect, and to his independence of thought, originality and simplicity of delivery, as well as to his dislike of hypocrisy and dogma, all qualities which Putman developed in himself. In his sermons, Stafford

59 J. H. Putman, Fifty Years at School, An Educationist Looks at Life, Toronto, Clarke Irwin, 1938, p. 11-12.

60 United Church Archives, 'Obituaries - Rev. Ezra Adams Stafford, D.D., LL.D.', in "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Ninth Session of the Niagara Annual Conference of the Methodist Church", Minutes of the Conferences, 1892, Toronto, Briggs, 1892, p. 77.

stressed both the need to enter into a higher spiritual plane (the idealism Putman mentioned) and the importance of social questions. The former is illustrated in his published sermons, The Guiding Hand, in which not only spiritual ascent is described but also the need for discipline, education, effort and study to accomplish this rise from lower to higher degrees of excellence.⁶¹ These qualities Putman personified at this time as he improved both his professional and academic qualifications.

Thus, although the religious influences on Putman were more implied than overtly-expressed, his Methodism and the religious values it embodied, particularly the social gospel movement, influenced the direction of his educational reform activities. He was to continue the stress of Ryerson and Hughes⁶² on the moral goal of education and their optimistic belief that a Christian, democratic Canada could be created through the correct curricular and environmental reforms in the public schools.

61 The Rev. E. A. Stafford, The Guiding Hand: or Some Phases of the Religious Life of the Day, Toronto, Briggs, 1887, p. 137-138.

62 Bruce N. Carter, James L. Hughes and the Gospel of Education, A Study of the Work and Thought of a Nineteenth Century Canadian Educator, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1966, xv-513 p.

3. Early Education, 1884-1894.

During the 1870's John Harold Putman went to the local rural school at the Merritt Settlement. In the next decade he and his sister were among the fortunate few to attend the high school at Smithville. Then, as many aspiring but impecunious young men of his time, he chose the main route for self-advancement in the field of learning, the teaching profession. He attended the Lincoln County Model School during the summer of 1884 and began his teaching career that fall at the lowest status, on a third-class certificate, valid for three years only. Fortunately for Putman, the new Education Minister, George W. Ross, instituted regulations in 1885 to greatly improve the Collegiate Institutes and provide for the specialist certification of teachers. Putman took advantage of this, and as soon as he could afford it, attended St. Catharine's Collegiate Institute (1886-1887) and the Toronto Normal School (1887). Then, after a three-year principalship at Ancaster, he moved to Toronto in order to attend the University and acquire his specialist certificate in English and history (1891-1894). As his later academic career will reveal, Putman was among the first in the province to seize the educational opportunities progressively opened up by the Ontario government during the period 1885 to 1910.

After a brief description of the asceticism of his rural school, Putman assessed its real value, the quality of his teachers:

Our teachers in this little rural school were not liberally paid - \$240 a year for a woman and \$360 a year for a man - but luck instead of money did the neighborhood a good turn during the five or six years I attended this school. I remember three women - one of them is still living and enjoying life after ninety years of it - and one man. The women were gentle, devoted to their pupils and ruled by love. The man was capable, scholarly and kind, but a bit stiff and formal.⁶³

Throughout his inspectorship with the Ottawa Public School Board, Putman urged that quality teachers were needed and that the Board had to pay liberally to acquire them.

The two events which Putman cherished as the highlights of his elementary career were the annual public examinations in June and the dramatic entertainment in December.⁶⁴ No doubt he performed ably in both contests and showed the two talents, academic and dramatic, which he would need as a teacher.

In the early 1880's Putman and his sister attended the village high school, three and one-half miles away.⁶⁵ Again, the facilities were austere and Putman gained his

63 J. H. Putman, "Our Rural School", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 13, 1940, p. 14.

64 Ibid.

65 J. H. Putman, "Our High School", in Ibid., February 19, 1940, p. 16.

appreciation largely from the teachers:

Our high school had two masters and two rooms over the village public school. There were seventy pupils and both masters taught continuously from 9 to 12 and from 1.30 to 4. I can yet see the headmaster approaching the school along a plank sidewalk [...] sixty years ago. [...] This man was not a great scholar but was a good teacher. He was also a Christian gentleman.⁶⁶

For outside diversion, Putman mentioned that they had only a football (soccer) club, of which he was secretary-treasurer, and a debating society.⁶⁷ His overall assessment of his own high school career was candidly realistic. He stated that he was a

[...] graduate of an unpretentious, two-master high school which I had attended irregularly for parts of four years. My knowledge of science and technical English grammar was hazy, but I had a flair for composition, was confident of my ability to spell, to solve any ordinary problem in arithmetic or geometry, knew a little algebra, had read much history for a boy, knew a little Latin, no Greek or French, and had a smattering of chemistry, physics and botany. [...] my biggest assets were good health, enthusiasm and an intrinsic acquaintance with every phase of the farm life which was the sole occupation of the community.⁶⁸

The community to which he referred was a village in the Township of Seneca, County of Haldemand, in which Putman became the local schoolmaster (School Section Number Twelve) after a thirteen weeks' teacher training course at Lincoln

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.

68 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 1.

County Model School.⁶⁹ Here, the educational influence of four Scots parents and a trustee of the Board, Putman considered, were highly significant for his scholarship:

One man in particular, who had read everything written by Benjamin Franklin, Adam Smith and Thomas Carlyle and who would talk by the hour about the speeches of Gladstone and Disraeli, was for me both an inspiration and a humiliation [...]. He made me feel that great things were going on in the world about us, and that the newspapers contained a record of these things. I subscribed for the weekly editions of the Toronto Globe and Toronto Mail and began to read them carefully.⁷⁰

The more social English influence on Putman's life at this time came from the secretary of the Board:

He had crossed the ocean several times, and knew something of Montreal, Boston, New York and Paris. [...] He would talk by the hour about London, its people, its picture galleries, its shops, its churches, and its commerce. He gave most graphic pictures of the ocean liners and the life on them. [...] This man taught me the importance and social value of conversation on a plane above neighbourhood gossip, and he inspired me with a desire to travel and see the world. He lent me English papers and magazines and thus stimulated my desire to read something besides newspapers.⁷¹

Putman also recalled the pleasant afternoon teas he and his Irish wife offered, which taught the young Putman the value of simple social association.

69 Ibid., p. v.

70 Ibid., p. 2.

71 Ibid., p. 4.

After two years of teaching at School Section Number Twelve, Seneca, Putman had earned enough money to continue his education. As a result of his high school academic work, he held a second-class, non-professional certificate dated 1884.⁷² He had taught for two years on his third-class professional certificate obtained from the Lincoln County Model School. He now wished to acquire the first-class academic certificate, which would allow him to enter university. For this, he needed to attend a collegiate institute. Fortunately for Putman, Education Minister Ross had in 1883, just prior to Putman's model school training, extended the teacher training course from six weeks to three months and raised the qualifications of the examiners at the model schools.⁷³ Again, one year before Putman entered St. Catharine's Collegiate Institute, Ross improved the teacher training course by taking all academic training for first-class teachers out of the normal schools and giving this responsibility to the high schools.⁷⁴ As well, collegiate

72 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 31, XXXIX, Item 55, J. Harold Putman, application form for Departmental examinations for First-Class Certificate, dated St. Catharine's, 1887.

73 Ontario, Minister of Education, History of Education, Teachers' Manual, Toronto, Hunter, Rose, 1915, p. 222.

74 S. John Rogers, The Organization, Control and Administration of the Teacher Training System of the Province of Ontario: 1900-1920, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Ottawa, 1973, p. 16.

institutes were to be distinguished from high schools henceforth by having at least four specially qualified teachers in each of four different departments.⁷⁵ The latter regulation affected Putman because up to this time he had had no intention of entering the teaching profession as a life-long career.⁷⁶ At St. Catharine's Collegiate Institute, however, there were

[...] two outstanding teachers, John Henderson, the principal and classical master, and W. J. Robertson, mathematician, historian and political economist. Henderson was easily the most enthusiastic teacher I had ever met and his enthusiasm was contagious. I owe him much. Robertson influenced me even more. He was calm and serene, scholarly, never in a hurry, talked well and gave you the impression that he had great reserves of strength and learning. His lectures on history [...] were for me a revelation and a delight as well as a stimulation to read what he had read. [...] it was here I first got the idea that the profession of a teacher might be made to yield much satisfaction.⁷⁷

Putman graduated from St. Catharine's Collegiate Institute after taking the natural science option for the Senior Leaving certificate.⁷⁸ Two years later he obtained his first-class certificate, grade "C", from the Hamilton

75 Ibid., p. 17.

76 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 9.

77 Ibid., p. 9-10.

78 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 42, Item 17, letter of J. H. Putman to Hon. Dr. Ross, Minister of Education, dated Ottawa, May 12, 1899, p. 2.

Training Institute.⁷⁹ Putman applied to write these examinations in Toronto⁸⁰ and must have left Ancaster to do this in 1888. That he successfully passed them was attested in the Minister's Report for 1889.⁸¹

In the fall of 1887, Putman enrolled at the Toronto Normal School for a four-and-a-half-months' course. He found that

[...] after Henderson and Robertson the Normal School seemed flat, uninteresting and a waste of time. There was overmuch threshing of straw; too much chaff and too little wheat. There was no real challenge to test intellectual power.⁸²

As he wrote, the only redeeming feature was the Model School where two excellent teachers gave them shining examples:

Their poise, their naturalness of manner, the ease with which they controlled, the skill in questioning, the way they used pupils' answers, the little use they made of text books made young teachers feel that, after all, there was much to be learned about the art of teaching.⁸³

79 "New Inspector of Ottawa Public Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, October 7, 1910, p. 2.

80 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 31, XXXIX, Item 55, J. Harold Putman, application for examination for first-class certificate, dated St. Catharine's, 1887.

81 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) For the Year 1889 with the Statistics of 1888, Toronto, Warwick, 1890, p. 98.

82 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 10.

83 Ibid., p. 11.

There was one exception, though, in Putman's criticism of the Normal School. This was the influence that Miss Hart, the Kindergarten Director, had on him. She came from St. Louis, the centre of the kindergarten movement for North America, and, according to Putman, at the Toronto Normal School she was

[...] the biggest 'man' about the institution. She was steeped in Froebelian philosophy and believed in it thoroughly. My wonder then was, and always has been since, why so many of Froebel's disciples applied his theories to the Kindergarten only when they were meant to apply to the whole field of education.⁸⁴

At this point, then, Putman was exposed for the first time to the New Education movement and wholeheartedly espoused its ideas, as seen in the Kindergarten. They complemented the idealistic philosophy he was receiving from Stafford at Metropolitan Church at this time. He was later to promote the integration of the Kindergarten into the regular grades when he served on the provincial Kindergarten-Primary Committee (see Chapter Seven), which revised the curriculum in 1913. Perhaps this exposure to the future direction of education and the possibilities of his leadership here confirmed his earlier decision. He now strongly stated, "I left the Toronto Normal School with a definite decision to make

84 Ibid.

teaching my career".⁸⁵ With his future career mapped out, he returned home, married the girl he had courted all through high school,⁸⁶ Isabella Culp,⁸⁷ and then moved to Ancaster Village to serve as principal of the village school.⁸⁸ He was just twenty-one years of age.

Despite his success in this position, however, he decided to move his family to North Toronto in 1891, so "that I might be near the university with the possibility of attending Saturday or evening lectures. I had already by extramural study partly completed a course in honour English and history".⁸⁹ As a result of his work in Toronto,

85 Ibid., p. 12.

86 Interview with Miss Irene Putman, February 23, 1972, and examination of the marriage certificate of John Harold Putman and Isabella Culp, dated December 28, 1887, at the residence of M. O. Merritt (neighbour of Lorenzo Putman's family), Ontario, in Miss Irene Putman's possession.

87 P.A.C., C-614, 'Sub-district No. 4, Township of Grimsby, Division No. 2', "District No. 21", Census 1871, Ontario - Welland, Niagara, Lincoln, p. 46, #7; showed Isabella Culp, aged 6 years, living in household of Marcus Merritt, farmer.

88 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. v.

89 Ibid., p. 17. This must have been his work for the first-class, "C" certificate obtained in 1889 from the Hamilton Training Institute, replaced by the University of Toronto School of Pedagogy in 1890, as noted in Robin S. Harris, Quiet Evolution, A Study of the Educational System of Ontario, Toronto, University Press, 1967, p. 80.

Putman received his first-class "B" certificate in 1891.⁹⁰

As well, he gained considerably in scholarship. He studied in

[...] Toronto [where] I may modestly claim that I made a real advance in the study of English and history. I had access to the University Library and many times entered it with a lunch in my pocket when the doors opened on Saturday morning and left it only when closing time came. I learned the method and value of 'reading around' a subject. William Houston was then in charge of the library of the Legislative Assembly. [...] and [...] was never too busy to give me advice and assistance. He even allowed me to carry home many books that I could not afford to buy for myself.⁹¹

At this period of his life, Putman also was exposed for the first time to the mind of a university professor of excellent calibre. This was Professor W. J. Alexander, who had just arrived at University College as Professor of English Literature.⁹² In 1891, the year that Putman arrived in Toronto, Alexander began a new graduating course called English and History, destined to become one of the most important of the honour courses of the University of Toronto.⁹³

90 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) For the Year 1891 With the Statistics of 1890, Toronto, Warwick, 1891, p. 91.

91 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 24-25; and see, "Mr. William Houston", in The Canadian School Board Journal, Vol. 4, No. 10, September, 1925, p. 18.

92 George M. Wrong, "Professor W. J. Alexander", in University of Toronto Monthly, Vol. 27, No. 4, January, 1927, p. 151.

93 Ibid., p. 152.

It was greatly influenced by his classical studies and required, as honour subjects, selected portions of literature in Greek and Latin. In addition, the students were to take some modern history "and thus link literature with the record of man's life. The course was stiff. It attracted good students".⁹⁴ Alexander was very active, also, in giving Saturday lectures and promoting university extension work.⁹⁵ Here Putman was exposed to his classical scholarship:

I enjoyed one other great privilege. I attended several Saturday lectures in English given by Professor Alexander to his third-and fourth-year students. His charming manner, the breadth of his knowledge and his skill in reading poetry were an inspiration. I began dimly to grasp the idea that literature, especially poetry, is a searching criticism of life as well as a source of exquisite pleasure and that truth and beauty are one.⁹⁶

Once again, Putman was stirred by idealistic philosophy, this time in an aesthetic form.

In July of 1894, Putman was granted his specialists' certificate in English and history, and, it would appear, he had deserved it earlier:

94 Ibid.

95 Humphrey Milnes, Archivist, letter to the author dated University College, Toronto, December 10, 1971. He reported that his favourite topics were Browning, Shakespeare, Shaw and Burns, as well as literature of the period in general.

96 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 25.

Mr. Putman who holds a B, obtained in 1891, has now obtained 67% of the subjects to complete the course for Spec. certificate in English and History, and is accordingly entitled to the non-prof. standing in this Dept. When the Revising Board made its report on the subject of the non-prof. exams for specialists, it was not known to its members that Mr. Putman had a B. obtained under the Regl. of 1891.⁹⁷

In the Queen's University Student Register, Putman is listed as having received his first-class certificate in June of 1891 and his English and history specialists' certificate in 1894.⁹⁸ Thus, he had attained the highest grade of teaching certificate by his twenty-eighth year.

4. First Teaching Experiences, 1884-1894.

During these years of academic and professional improvement, Putman had advanced in his own teaching career. He began teaching in a rural school in 1884, but, after his Normal School training, became a principal, first at Ancaster Village School in 1887, and then, in 1891, at Eglinton School, Town of North Toronto. Despite the good recommendations he received, however, he admitted himself that his teaching was not inspired by new practices. His interests were largely academic. Only on his arrival at the Ottawa Model School in

⁹⁷ P.A.O., R.G.2, P-1, Board of Examiners for School of Pedagogy Normal School, 1894-1896, Vol. 5, p. 13, dated July 8, 1894.

⁹⁸ Douglas Library, Queen's University Archives, Student Register, p. 584, No. 3029, "John Harold Putman".

1894, did he begin to exhibit any influences of New Education ideas in his teaching.

As he wrote, his first teaching job was "a rural school, No. 12, in the Township of Seneca, County of Halde-
mand".⁹⁹ He had thirty-three pupils, five in the Fifth Form (Grades Nine and Ten), and he judged this experience very worthwhile:

I had to work hard to keep up with them. Fortunately I had few beginners. I realize now that the presence of these seniors was greatly to my advantage. They stimulated me to do my best and I learned more technical grammar in the first six months than in my whole previous schooldays. Many problems in book-keeping, arithmetic, geometry and algebra previously mastered in a sketchy way became clear as daylight when prepared for the instruction of my pupils.¹⁰⁰

In retrospect, he recounted two unconscious aids these students gave him. One incident, involving detaining a boy until seven-thirty at night to memorize a poem, taught him the uselessness of compulsory memorization to inculcate a love of poetry.¹⁰¹ Another experience he regretted for the rest of his life. It was the corporal punishment of a boy who later turned out to be innocent.¹⁰² Although his

99 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. v.

100 Ibid., p. 5.

101 Ibid., p. 6.

102 Ibid., p. 7.

later writings on corporal punishment and his benevolent practices with the Ottawa Board denoted a more relaxed attitude to corporal punishment than was usual at this time, Putman himself quickly grasped the need for strict discipline in the schools under his charge. This was revealed in two letters of recommendation written after his fifth and seventh years of teaching. The Chairman of the Board at Ancaster School wrote:

Prior to Mr. Putman's advent to our school certain refractory pupils, such as are found in most village schools had given a considerable amount of trouble, which, doubtless owing to Mr. Putman's methods of teaching and discipline has now happily ceased.¹⁰³

And his inspector at Ancaster, Mr. J. H. Smith, judged him to be "a strict disciplinarian".¹⁰⁴ Perhaps the seeds of Putman's lifelong interest in retarded children and auxiliary education were planted in these early experiences.

Putman related that he visited every home in the section during his first teaching appointment, even where there were no children, believing that the opinions of these people would be valuable to him as the teacher.¹⁰⁵ At this point his innate ability for public relations, which he was to

103 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 42, Item 17, E. Kenrick, letter of recommendation dated Ancaster, September 25, 1889.

104 Ibid., J. H. Smith, letter of recommendation for J. H. Putman, dated Hamilton, July 17, 1891.

105 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 8.

display so well in his annual reports and speeches in Ottawa, was coming to the fore. It paid off, as well, in the educational impetus he received from his Scots neighbours.

In an amusing letter to his sister, written at this time, he recounted the battle with his landlady to keep warm in twenty-eight below zero temperatures. The cold affected the size of his classes:

The weather has been so cold I have only had an average of about twenty-six for the last week. I have to work awful hard cant [sic] -find time for so many classes. Have had some visitors. They have about two 'shamborees' in the sections every week[.] I was out to one last week and froze one of my little ears.¹⁰⁶

Despite the hard work and narrow curriculum, varied only by the Friday afternoon spelling match,¹⁰⁷ Putman was evaluated in very favourable terms at the end of his two years at S.S. No. Twelve, Seneca. The trustees praised him as having given

[...] the best of satisfaction. We have found him energetic, kind, and faithful, and a true gentleman in every respect. We can heartily recommend him to any school board requiring the services of an efficient teacher and we are truly sorry that he will no longer remain in our service.¹⁰⁸

106 J. H. Putman, letter to "Ma chere soeur", dated "Iceland", February 16, 1885, in possession of Miss Irene Putman.

107 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 8.

108 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 31, XXXIX, Item 55, J. Harold Putman, re application for examination for First-Class Certificate, 1886, letter of Arthur H. Dawes, et al., dated S.S. No. 12, Seneca, December 14, 1886.

After his academic year at St. Catharine's Collegiate Institute, and four-and-one-half months at Toronto Normal, Putman accepted a position at the village school in Ancaster,

[...] one of the oldest settlements in Upper Canada. There were 120 pupils with three teachers. Again I had pupils doing high school work and had to teach forms III, IV and V of the public school course. I did this work for nearly four years, teaching my own classes, supervising the work of two other teachers, acting as unofficial attendance officer for the whole school, taking my part in the Wentworth Teachers' Institute first as secretary and then as president [...].¹⁰⁹

But Putman considered himself at this time to be a "'follower' and [I] took for granted that we had in Ontario the best system of schools in the world. The Minister of Education, George W. Ross, had said so on many occasions".¹¹⁰ He thus unquestionably accepted the prevailing evils of the system. An "educational adventure" which he pioneered through the Wentworth Teachers' Institute revealed this. He organized a team of teachers to exhaustively "cover" all possible entrance examination questions for English literature. As he described it, "Ten good selections of English literature [were] dissected and chewed up, ground fine and then ground again, served up like hash day after day for ten months!".¹¹¹

109 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 13.

110 Ibid.

111 Ibid., p. 16.

In retrospect, he believed it illustrated "how the examination system was already gaining a throttle-grip upon our elementary schools and it shows how eager I was as a young teacher to work this system for all it was worth".¹¹² He confessed that he firmly believed in the good effects of all kinds of examinations in 1890. Ten years later, at the Ottawa Model School, he was to begin his lifelong campaign against this "throttle-grip" of the exam-bound Ross era on Ontario education.

One important influence on Putman at this time was that of his inspector, J. H. Smith:

I was fortunate in forming a friendship with the local school inspector, J. H. Smith, who lived in the Village, and for the next quarter-century and until his death we were together whenever possible. He was not a scholar in the strict sense of that word but he had a keen intellect, a shrewd common sense, an appreciation of humour; he was a good teacher, a delightful companion and a loyal friend. I remember that he was not wholly satisfied with our educational system. He was keen for establishing in every county a number of advanced schools which would carry on from November to Easter continuing the education of farmers' sons and daughters. He had in mind something similar to the folk-schools of Denmark where English, history, music and science would form the backbone of the course. He would have added some instruction in domestic economy and agriculture.¹¹³

Smith may well have been one of the pioneers in the

112 Ibid., p. 15.

113 Ibid., p. 14.

continuation and consolidation school movements in the province, which the Whitney government was to promote. (He was president of the Ontario Teachers' Association in 1888.)¹¹⁴ As Putman asserted, "The continuation schools given us in 1907 were originally planned in part at least to carry out this idea".¹¹⁵ But he believed they failed because of their narrow curriculum designed to "cram" pupils through the Normal Schools' Entrance Examinations. They lost their cultural effect, as a result. Putman himself was to implement this idea of a cultural-technical central school for the Fifth Form in his School for Higher English established in Ottawa in 1911 (see Chapter Five). For the rest of his life he campaigned for consolidated rural schools, and recommended them in his British Columbia report of 1924¹¹⁶ and in his report on the Protestant rural schools of Quebec in 1938.¹¹⁷

Aside from the letter of recommendation from the trustees of Ancaster Village, already cited, Putman received

114 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 82, Item 115, Ontario Teachers' Association Programme, August 14, 15 & 16, 1888; on August 14, the President's Address was delivered by J. H. Smith, Ancaster.

115 Putman, Fifty Years At School, p. 14.

116 J. H. Putman and G. M. Weir, Survey of the School System, Victoria, Bañfield (printers), 1925, p. 300-302.

117 J. H. Putman, "Organization of District Boards", Appendix III of W. A. F. Hepburn, Chairman, Report of the Quebec Protestant Education Survey, (n.p.), 1938, p. 340-354.

a very complimentary assessment from his friend, Smith, who wrote,

Mr. J. H. Putman who has been in charge of the Ancaster Public School during the past three years and a half has proved himself to be a most exemplary Headmaster. He is a strict disciplinarian, a thorough organizer, well acquainted with the most approved methods of instruction and possesses teaching power of a very superior order. During the time he has been in charge of the Ancaster school thirty-three pupils have been prepared for the Entrance Examination of whom only two have failed to pass. In addition to this work he has conducted a fifth class of from seven to fifteen pupils to my entire satisfaction. In his intercourse with his assistants and pupils, he is gentlemanly in bearing, courteous in manner and firm in the discharge of his duty. From my personal acquaintance with him as a man and from my knowledge of his ability as a teacher, I can with the utmost confidence commend him to the favorable consideration of any Board of Trustees who may require the services of an efficient and trustworthy Headmaster.¹¹⁸

In July of 1891, Putman was offered three positions, "largely I think through the good offices of my friend Smith",¹¹⁹ and accepted the offer of the trustees of North Toronto to be Principal of Eglinton School (now called the John Fisher School in the City of Toronto).¹²⁰ Not only did he improve his education while in Toronto, but he had the chance to hear famous educators at that time, such as the

118 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 42, Item 17, J. H. Smith, letter of recommendation for J. H. Putman, dated Hamilton, July 17, 1891.

119 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 17.

120 Ibid., p. v.

Hon. George W. Ross, the Minister of Education, and James L. Hughes, Inspector of the Toronto Public Schools.¹²¹ But he mentioned only one really positive contribution to his knowledge of education while at North Toronto. This was

[...] a realization of the value of music as a school subject. Partly, this was because two of my own assistants taught music well and I saw how much it contributed to a good school spirit; partly, I was influenced by Lew Rees, who then taught a school at Lambton Mills just outside of Toronto. Rees brought his pupils to our Institute meeting in Toronto Junction and demonstrated what a skilful teacher could do. He later became director of music in Toronto, and the whole of Ontario owes him much for his contribution to the cultural value of music in elementary schools. He was a pioneer in a field which was up to that time almost uncultivated.¹²²

Rees, who was Putman's contemporary and was also trained at St. Catharine's, was judged by his Headmaster at Port Perry High School in 1885, "one of the best trained Public School Teachers that I have met".¹²³ When Putman came to the Ottawa Board in 1910, as has already been mentioned, he found that a well-established singing programme modelled on that of the Toronto Public Schools was in force. Under his leadership this was to be expanded and violin classes pioneered for the

121 Ibid., p. 18.

122 Ibid., p. 24.

123 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 66, Item 110, Llewellyn Rees, Director of Music for the City of Toronto, application for first-class certificate, 1887, letter from D. McBride, Headmaster, dated Port Perry, October, 1885.

first time in the province.

As in Ancaster, Putman found that "here the rigid written examination system was carried to its logical if absurd conclusion".¹²⁴ He thought the chief reasons for this were the lack of trust of teachers by those in authority, and "the desire of principals and teachers to escape responsibility".¹²⁵ He was to be the Ontario pioneer of the cure of this exam virus while inspector of the Ottawa Public Schools by making the recommendations of teachers and principals replace the written examination for the majority of entrance candidates (see Chapter Thirteen).

Despite his own negative evaluation of his Toronto sojourn, he was assessed in glowing terms by his inspector, D. Fotheringham, who seemed to regard him as an equal as he wrote,

124 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 22.

125 Ibid., p. 23.

Mr. J. Harold Putman has for three years had charge of the public school. [sic] Eglinton, North Toronto, as Principal. During all that time he has more and more impressed me as a man of marked fidelity and more than average tact and facility in conducting the classes and administering the affairs of the whole school.

Not only is Mr. Putman well up in the wide range of studies required of the holder of a modern, professional first-class certificate. [sic] He has while discharging all the obligations of Principal with entire satisfaction to all concerned pursued a course of reading and passed successfully the examination required for a specialists' certificate in English. At the same time he is well up in the most approved principles and methods of instruction.

The more I know of Mr. Putman as a man, the more highly am I learning to esteem him and more fully to lean upon him as a wise and valuable fellow-worker in one of the most useful and respectable of professions.¹²⁶

By 1894, the pinch of Depression and the needs of his family (the third child had just been born¹²⁷) urged Putman to apply for a position at the Ottawa Model School. His North Toronto Board members fully endorsed Fotheringham's recommendation and wished him well:

¹²⁶ P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 42, Item 17, letter of recommendation of D. Fotheringham, dated Toronto, July 10, 1894.

¹²⁷ Interview with Miss Irene Putman, February 23, 1972.

This is to certify that Mr. J. H. Putman has been Principal of our largest school for a number of years. During that time he has performed his duties with great credit to himself and satisfaction to the Board.

We consider him a man fully qualified and gifted to follow the profession he has chosen, and the only reason he is leaving us is that we cannot afford him such remuneration as he is entitled to.

We wish him success wherever he goes, and take great pleasure in recommending him to any Board requiring an efficient Principal or Inspector.¹²⁸

During his first ten years as a teacher and principal, then, Putman had married and acquired a family, had greatly improved his academic and professional qualifications, and had demonstrated his leadership ability. He had moved from a rural to an urban environment and his horizons had greatly widened with regard to the world and his place in it.

¹²⁸ P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 42, Item 17, letter of recommendation from F. H. Davis and Chas. Bonnick, dated North Toronto, September, 1894.

CHAPTER III

EMERGING EDUCATIONAL LEADER

In September, 1894, Putman was appointed to the staff of the Ottawa Model School as an assistant master. During the next sixteen years, while at the Ottawa Model and Normal Schools he continued to improve himself both educationally and professionally. He became known as an educational leader to be watched. His three speeches at the Ontario Educational Association, as well as his leadership on the Superannuation Committee during this period, denoted an aggressive, far-seeing liberal thinker. His letters to the Education Department and descriptions of his curricular practices at the Ottawa Model School revealed an active campaigner in the cause of New Education. At the same time, he was improving his professional skills, acquiring his Inspector's certificate in 1897, his Interim Specialist's certificate in 1898, his Bachelor of Arts from Queen's University in 1899, his Bachelor of Pedagogy in 1907 and his Doctor of Pedagogy in 1910. In his spare time, he was extending his leadership position, writing a history text-book, Britain and the Empire, in 1903, serving as secretary-treasurer of the Queen's Society in 1905, and as alderman of Rideau Ward in 1906. In that year, as well, he wrote a series of trenchant letters to the newspaper on the

subject of future directions of secondary education in Ottawa. He also served on the Boards of the new Ottawa Public Library and the Ottawa Horticultural Society and was a prominent Mason. In 1902, he became Headmaster of the Ottawa Model School, and from 1905 to 1909, served as Principal of the Departmental Summer Schools in Ottawa. He was appointed as lecturer at the newly-structured Ottawa Normal School in 1908. In his final year there, 1910, he wrote his thesis on Ryerson, which was to be published and cited as a scholarly reference on the subject for many years. Thus, on all fronts, educationally, politically and academically, John Harold Putman proved himself to be a leader to be reckoned with by 1910. This chapter; then, will discuss Putman's emerging leadership.

1. Professional and Educational Development, 1894-1908.

As was implied by the trustees of North Toronto, Putman left their Board because he believed himself over-qualified for his position and in need of a higher remuneration than they could afford.¹ Thus, he wrote, "In September, 1894, I was appointed to the Staff of the Ottawa Model School

¹ P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 42, Item 17, Putman's Application to Provincial Normal School, letter of recommendation of F. H. Davis and Chas. Bonnick, dated North Toronto, September, 1894.

by the late Sir George Ross who was then Minister of Education in the Government of Sir Oliver Mowat".² He began as Second Assistant in the boys' school, in which there were 135 pupils.³ Within four years he had attained his Inspector's certificate,⁴ his professional specialists' standing⁵ granted on examination by the School of Pedagogy, Toronto, and was appointed First Assistant at the Ottawa Model School.⁶ He had also reached provincial status by being granted a license as a member of the Departmental Board of Examiners.⁷ In this capacity, Putman began his long association with the Department of Education, particularly in the area of High School Entrance Examinations, in which he would enter fully as Inspector of the Ottawa Public Schools. (He was so respected for his work here that he was appointed

2 J. H. Putman, Fifty Years at School, An Educationist Looks at Life, Toronto, Clarke Irwin, 1938, p. v.

3 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) For the Year 1896, Toronto Warwick, 1897, p. 121.

4 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) 1898, With the Statistics of 1897, Toronto, Warwick, 1899, p. 168.

5 Douglas Library, Queen's University, University Archives, Student Register, No. 3029, "John Harold Putman", p. 584.

6 Ontario, Report of the Minister, 1898, p. 95.

7 "New Inspector of Public Works [sic]", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, October 7, 1910, p. 2.

as a one-man commission to investigate an examination scandal in Toronto in 1921.⁸⁾

His provincial leadership also was being established at the Ontario Educational Association. In 1895 Putman was appointed a Director of the Public School Department of the Association.⁹ That year, as well, he delivered an address on the subject of "Country Schools"¹⁰ (to be discussed later), marked by its forthright expression of New Education ideas. He was a pioneer of (OEAA. in the promotion of a superannuation plan for teachers of the province. In 1901, Putman gave notice to the Fortieth Annual Convention of the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this Association it would be in the interest of the Teachers of Ontario to have established some scheme of Superannuation under the control of the Department of Education."¹¹ This motion, which was

8 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1922, Box 89, 1-203, Item 11, J. H. Putman, "Report of J. H. Putman, Commissioner, On Certain Irregularities Connected With The Middle School Examination Held in the City of Toronto In June, 1921", dated Ottawa, January 25, 1922, 13 p.

9 Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention, Toronto, Rowswell & Hutchison, 1895, p. 3.

10 J. H. Putman, "Country Schools", in Ibid., p. 305-317.

11 P.A.O., "Minutes of the General Association, Fortieth Annual Convention, Tuesday, April 9, 1901", in Proceedings of the Ontario Educational Association, 1901 to 1904, Minute Book, (handwritten) p. 2.

carried, was to begin the long chain of events leading to the Ontario Teachers' and Inspectors' Superannuation Act of 1917.¹² Putman played a leading role in the setting up of this Act and as a representative of OEA¹. on the Superannuation Commission from its inception in 1917 until 1935.

In 1903, Putman, acting as Secretary of the OEA¹. Superannuation Committee, wrote a letter to the Minister of Education, Richard Harcourt, in which he enclosed an abstract of the plan which this Committee had presented to the Government.¹³ The next year, Putman reported verbally to the Annual Convention on behalf of the Committee and moved that it be discharged; this was carried.¹⁴ A more expanded Committee was created the next day and the three men who were to become the leaders of Ontario's Teachers' Superannuation scheme were appointed; they were J. H. Putman, Wm. Scott and R. A. Gray.¹⁵

12 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1917, Toronto, Wilgress, 1918, p. 351.

13 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 83, XXIX, Item 2, OEA¹ Suggestions re Superannuation, letter from J. H. Putman, Secretary of the Committee, to Richard Harcourt, Minister of Education, dated Ottawa, October 22, 1903, and enclosure, "O.E.A. Suggestions re Superannuation of Teachers", submitted by a Committee of OEA¹, (n.d.).

14 Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Forty-Third Annual Convention of the Ontario Educational Association Held in Toronto on the 5th, 6th and 7th April, 1904, Toronto, Briggs, 1904, p. 8.

15 Ibid., p. 10.

In 1908, Putman presented the Report of the Superannuation Committee, which was printed in the Proceedings.¹⁶ Again, the original Committee was disbanded on Putman's motion,¹⁷ and the next day a new Committee appointed by the President, on which were Putman, Gray and Scott.¹⁸ Thus, in his pioneering role in the superannuation campaign, as well as his three addresses¹⁹ (which will be discussed later) before this influential teachers' organization, Putman was emerging as a provincial leader. This leadership was to culminate in his Presidency of OEA in 1931-1932,²⁰ and an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from the University of Toronto for his services rendered to the Association, in 1936.²¹

16 Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Forty-Seventh Annual Convention Held in Toronto, 21st, 22nd, 23rd April, 1908, Toronto, Warwick, 1908, p. 11-12.

17 Ibid., p. 12.

18 Ibid., p. 13.

19 J. H. Putman, "Country Schools", in OEA Proceedings, 1895, p. 305-317; J. H. Putman, "Reorganization of Professional Schools", in OEA Proceedings, 1904, p. 282-294; J. H. Putman, "The Effect of Student Teachers Upon Model School Pupils", in OEA Proceedings, 1908, p. 309-317.

20 J. H. Putman, 'School Administration and School Finance in Ontario, Can They Be Improved?', "President's Address", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Seventy-First Annual Convention Held in Toronto On the 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st March, 1932, Toronto, Ball, 1932, p. 7-26.

21 Honorary Doctor of Laws Degree from the University of Toronto, awarded to J. H. Putman on April 14, 1936, in possession of Miss Irene Putman, examined February 23, 1972.

Within three years of his Ottawa Model School appointment, Putman was making overtures to move on. Two letters of recommendation written by his superiors at the Normal School, John A. MacCabe, Principal, and S. B. Sinclair, Vice-Principal, indicated that he was seeking "a wider field of influence and usefulness"²² than teaching Grade Three in the Ottawa Model School. Putman's numerous addresses on educational topics Sinclair considered to be "rational and progressive. There are few whom I can so confidently and cordially recommend."²³ Perhaps these letters led to Putman's appointment as First Assistant in the Ottawa Model School in 1898. But by 1899, Putman campaigned on his own behalf before the Minister of Education, Dr. Ross. In a long letter in which he outlined his accomplishments to date, he applied for any vacancy that would occur in the Provincial Normal Schools' staff.²⁴ He had obviously planned his studies

22 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 42, Item 17, Putman's Application for Provincial Normal School, copy of letter of John A. MacCabe, dated Ottawa, June 19, 1897.

23 *Ibid.*, copy of letter of S. B. Sinclair, dated Ottawa, June 22, 1897.

24 *Ibid.*, letter of J. Harold Putman to Dr. Ross, dated Ottawa, May 12, 1899, 2 p.

[...] along those lines most especially required for Normal School work. Recognizing that in this age, in addition to pedagogy, a broad foundation in the way of a general education is essential to success in Normal School work, I registered at Queen's College in 1897 and received the degree of B.A. in April 1899. I took second place in the junior year in French (Class I). [sic] and first place in Class I in the same subject in my final year. I took third place in Class I in the junior year in Mental and Moral Philosophy and fourth place in Class I in the final year.²⁵

In addition, he wrote that he pursued more science courses for his undergraduate course at Queen's. Significantly, he added,

I believe that the work I have done in Mental and Moral Philosophy under Prof. Watson, has given me a good groundwork for the psychology required in our Normal Schools. I feel quite confident that I could make a success of Eng. [sic] and kindred subjects. I have tried to keep my knowledge of mathematics fresh and am sure that competent judges would tell you that my methods in that branch are sound.²⁶

At home, he was "reading the pedagogy course in Toronto University and expect to complete it in a short time".²⁷ And, as a final indication of his future intentions, Putman somewhat unrealistically concluded with the assertion that

25 Ibid., p. 1.

26 Ibid., p. 2.

27 Ibid.

Should you consider my application favorable [sic] or give me any encouragement of an appointment, I would feel it incumbent upon me to make a somewhat extended visit to the best Normal Schools of U.S. and Britain before beginning active work.²⁸

(This was unrealistic in terms of the depressed state of the economy and the lack of opportunity that the Ontario Government provided even incumbent Normal School Principals to visit the United States until 1901.²⁹)

Putman received his opportunity to teach in the Ottawa Normal School in an unexpected way. Because of the extreme demands of his position as Vice-Principal, S. B. Sinclair became seriously ill in 1899 and wrote a number of letters to Dr. Ross begging to be allowed to resign.³⁰ According to the official records, he remained as Vice-Principal for 1900,³¹ and Putman as First Assistant at the Ottawa Model School.³² But Putman himself wrote,

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid., Box 43, II, Item 69, letter of MacCabe to Harcourt, dated Ottawa, October 12, 1901, pleading request to have himself and Principal Scott visit the Normal Schools of Chicago and possibly Albany, and Oswego, after ten years of routine work in their schools.

30 Ibid., Item 121, letters of Sinclair to Ross dated January 30, June 23 and July 26, 1899.

31 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) for the Year 1900, With the Statistics of 1899, Toronto, Cameron, 1901, p. 113.

32 Ibid., p. 114.

In January, 1900, I entered the Normal School as colleague of Principal MacCabe to teach mathematics, natural science and the science of education. As the school was then organized, lectures by the principal and myself were given to the whole student body as one group. The normal size of this group was about 100. Needless to say the lecture method was used very largely, although some attempts were made to have students discuss the topics under consideration. At that time and until September 1903, the normal course was completed in five months. I worked with MacCabe during three of these short term courses and then returned to the Model School to act as headmaster from May, 1902, until June, 1908.³³

In a photograph of the students and staff of the Ottawa Normal School for the Spring Term of 1900, Putman (and not Sinclair) is pictured as a member of the staff,³⁴ which would corroborate Putman's claim. Another photograph, taken in the Fall Term of 1901, shows Sinclair and not Putman as a member of the Ottawa Normal School Staff,³⁵ indicating that he had regained his health. In the summer of 1899 and in subsequent years, Putman also assisted MacCabe in teaching over one hundred nuns a refresher course in academic work.³⁶

33 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 34.

34 Ottawa Teachers' College Archives, Photograph of the Students and Staff of the Normal School, Ottawa, Spring Term, 1900.

35 Ibid., Photograph of the Students and Staff of the Normal School, Ottawa, Fall Term, 1901.

36 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 37.

The increased responsibilities did not greatly improve Putman's salary, however. As first assistant he earned in 1897, ninety-two dollars per month, or \$1,100 per year.³⁷ Two years later, his salary had increased by only three dollars per month and fifty dollars per year. In April of 1899, though, it was increased to \$115 per month and \$1,200 per year, probably as a result of his Queen's B.A. granted in this month.³⁸ For the next three years Putman remained at this maximum of \$1,200, despite his increased responsibilities at the Normal School.³⁹ As Headmaster of the Model School, his salary only increased to \$1,500 or \$125 per month.⁴⁰ Thus, he felt justified to write a strong letter to the Department complaining on behalf of himself and the Headmaster of the Toronto Model School about their depressed salaries. He noted

37 P.A.O., R.G.2, E-1, Box 4, File 5, Pay Lists Ottawa Normal and Model Schools, 1893-1908.

38 Douglas Library, Queen's University, Student Register, No. 3029, p. 584.

39 P.A.O., R.G.2, E-1, Box 4, File 5, Pay Lists, 1893-1908.

40 Ibid.

- [...] our chief claims for a re-arrangement.
- (1) The general advance in prices has been most noticeable in rent and food. This bears heavily upon a married man and in this way affects a headmaster more than his assistants.
 - (2) The salary I now receive, \$1500, was paid my predecessor twelve or fifteen years ago when money had a much greater purchasing power. Too much was paid then or too little now.
 - (3) The Headmaster has the heaviest class in the school. He also has the general management of the Model School in the way of arranging student-teachers['] lessons, conducting promotion examinations, collecting fees, looking after building and grounds. He gets but \$300 more than his male assistants who certainly do not get too much.
 - (4) The Headmasters now have charge of girls as well as boys but have no increase in salary, commensurate with increased responsibility.⁴¹

In this and a previous letter, which argued also for a general staff salary increase,⁴² he cited the salary increases of the Ottawa and Toronto Collegiate Institute Boards' assistants, as well as the general wage increases of fifteen to thirty per cent in industry, the Public School Board and the Dominion Civil Service. He asserted

41 Ibid., D-7, Box 10, Ottawa Normal School file, letter of Putman to Latchford, dated Ottawa, December 26, 1903, p. 1 and 2.

42 Ibid., letter of Putman to Harcourt, dated Ottawa, November 30, 1903.

I am not putting the matter too strongly when I state that every class of wage earners in the City of Ottawa, from common laborers to the highest rank of civil servant, with the exception of the teachers in the Model and Normal School, have received increased pay during the past four years. They have simply been given their fair share of the general prosperity of the country.⁴³

Finally, he argued that "As I am the only member of the teaching staff in this school who has the responsibility of providing for a large family",⁴⁴ (by this time there were seven Putman children, an aunt as well as a large property on Rideau Terrace to look after⁴⁵) he felt his demand for a salary of at least \$1800 for 1904 to be fair. But it took a change of government before Putman got his request and, even then, he was granted only \$1700 in 1906.⁴⁶ By 1908, his salary had increased to \$1,880.⁴⁷ In that year, though, he was successful in obtaining a position on the Ottawa Normal School staff. Putman's aggressive militancy regarding his own and his staffs' salaries was to continue throughout his career, with the result that the Ottawa Board was able to attract and retain many top quality teachers and

43 Ibid., p. 1 and 2.

44 Ibid., p. 1.

45 Interview with Miss Irene Putman, March 1, 1972.

46 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, E-1, Box4, File 5, Pay Lists Ottawa Normal and Model Schools, 1893-1909.

47 Ibid.

supervisors.

Putman engaged in another well-worn path for professional and pecuniary advancement, the writing of a text-book. In 1902, he spent most of his free time writing a book, Britain and the Empire,⁴⁸ designed for public school history classes. He undertook the project after the Minister announced a change of text-book policy in 1902. Henceforth, instead of one person being selected to write the authorized text-book, the writing and publishing would be open to competition and the suitability of a text-book decided upon by a committee of teachers after a six months' trial period.⁴⁹

Putman's book was issued by his publisher, Morang and Company, Limited, on April fourth, 1903, and widely distributed throughout the province.⁵⁰ The price asked for was sixty cents. In November, the Minister sent Putman's book to six readers asking for their opinion regarding its

48 J. H. Putman, Britain and the Empire, Toronto, Morang, 1906, xxii-431 p.

49 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1903, Part I, (With the Statistics of 1902), Toronto, Cameron, 1904, p. xviii; and copy of Order-in-Council, dated October 11, 1902, changing Section 105 of the Regulations of the Education Department, in Ibid., p. 98.

50 P.A.O., R.G.2, D-9-A, Box 7, June-December, 1904, letter from Morang and Company, Ltd., to Harcourt, dated February 10, 1904.

suitability as a school text-book.⁵¹ Principal D. Young of Guelph replied, "I have read 'Britain and the Empire' by J. Harold Putman, and [...] I am much pleased with it. I think it a most suitable work to be used as a school text-book".⁵²

A more lengthy report on it was submitted by Inspector R. H. Cowley. He wrote,

In subject matter, arrangement, and general attractiveness I consider 'Britain and the Empire' an excellent text for use in our elementary schools. I am confident that the book will prove much more interesting to children and hence a more profitable medium of instruction than the present authorized Public School History. While there are a number of minor defects that might be noted I consider this work better worthy of authorization for public schools than any other I have seen. The weight of the book is objectionable. A careful revision might also cut out one fifth the amount of printed matter with advantage.⁵³

But the most comprehensive review of the book was given by Inspector H. H. Burgess of Owen Sound. He and his teachers and pupils approved of the book, which they considered "good throughout. [...] The simplicity of the style seems to make it a very readable book for school children.

51 *Ibid.*, copy of letter of Minister to R. H. Cowley, Ottawa; D. Young, Guelph; J. S. Carstairs, Harbord St. C.I.; F. C. Colbeck Toronto Junction; H. H. Burgess, Owen Sound; and W. D. Spence, St. Marys.

52 *Ibid.*, letter of D. Young to Jenkins, Registrar, Department of Education, dated Guelph, December 10, 1904.

53 *Ibid.*, letter of R. H. Cowley to Jenkins, dated Carleton County, December 29, 1904, p. 1.

[...] the language is within the comprehension of the ordinary school pupil [...]"⁵⁴ He particularly commended Putman's elaboration of the social history of each period. "The paragraphs dealing with the religious movements, and the various church bodies (this with some teachers and in some schools requires careful presentation) has been carefully and wisely treated."⁵⁵ In his final paragraph Burgess highlighted the added features of Putman's book over the austere authorized text-book, W. J. Robertson's Public School History of England and Canada.⁵⁶ Of Putman's text he wrote,

54 Ibid., letter of H. H. Burgess to Jenkins, dated Owen Sound, January 2, 1905, p. 1.

55 Ibid., p. 1-2.

56 W. J. Robertson, Public School History of England and Canada, Toronto, Copp Clark, 1892, 273 p.

Mr. Putman has kept in view the growth and the extension of the Imperial idea, while the two appendices contain much valuable information not always within the reach of the rural teacher. The preparatory [sic] table of important events and dates enhances the value of the book. On the whole the book should do as it claims, provide school children with an elementary knowledge, and create a desire for wider knowledge of the subject. The book is certainly attractive and finely printed and the illustrations add very much to its value as a book for school purposes. I have not seen any other school history so abundantly illustrated; and I know from Experience [sic] that a few good illustrations are worth whole pages of printed matter. For pupils in our public schools I think the book is much in advance of any I have yet seen, and I think it suitable to be placed on the list of authorized books for use in the public schools, but for public schools only.⁵⁷

But Putman's book was to be doomed first to departmental delays,⁵⁸ then to a fire which destroyed almost the entire edition at the publishers.⁵⁹ This was followed by extensive revisions on the part of the publisher,⁶⁰ and a re-submission of this manuscript to the Department. In the meantime, however, the Department had lost the original contract of the authorized Public School History with the Copp

57 P.A.O., R.G.2, D-9-A, Box 7, June-December, 1904, letter of Burgess to Jenkins, dated Owen Sound, January 2, 1905, p. 3-4.

58 Ibid., letter of Putman to John Millar, dated Ottawa, February 23, 1905, and copy of reply of Millar to Putman, dated Toronto, February 24, 1905.

59 Ibid., Box 8, 1906 file, letter from Morang Co. to Dr. A. H. U. Colquhoun, dated Toronto, May 10, 1906.

60 Ibid.

Clark Company⁶¹ and so could not cancel this publication until 1910.

The text-book situation was further complicated by a freeze on all school book contracts while the new Whitney Government fulfilled its election promises and established a Text-Book Commission to investigate the price and monopolistic practices in School text-books.⁶² As part of its mandate, the Commission considered the history text-books submitted to the Department, including Putman's. Its Report was more critical than Putman's confrères had been. The good and bad points were listed; first, as to the merits of the book,

61 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 84, Item 35, Agreement, Memo on Geo. W. Ross' policy re de-authorization 1904-6, Memo to Minister of Education from H. M. Wilkinson, dated February 22, 1906.

62 P.A.O., Whitney Papers, MSS, 1906, July 1-6, and July 12-22.

- (1) The Book covers the course in Forms IV and V.
- (2) It gives a clear account of the method and form of Government in Great Britain.
- (3) It gives a summary of the Empire in its various parts.
- (4) The story on the whole is well told.
- (5) The type, paper and illustrations are good.

ITS DEMERITS.

- (1) The language on the whole is not so graphic, suggestive, and smooth generally as that of Tappan and Saul's but is rather more heavy and general (compare Chap. 1 in each: also the Spanish Armada in each).
- (2) There is no summary at the end of each section or reign.
- (3) In some cases too great an accumulation of facts.
- (4) Though not making positively false statements, his choice of facts and way of putting them, tend to suggest what is not according to the whole truth from the Catholic standpoint. See pp. 161, 157, 164, 165, 167.⁶³

After concluding that Tappan and Saul's text was the most suitable one for the province, the Committee recommended that a text-book was needed in the subject of civics. (In answer to this, in 1919 Putman wrote a children's booklet, City Government Ottawa,⁶⁴ which began the study of civics at the local level.)

On July 18, 1910, an Order-in-Council was issued which authorized the Morang Educational Company for the

63 P.A.O., Whitney Papers, MSS, 1907, October 1-11; copy of Report by the Committee on Public School Text Books adopted by the Advisory Council, October 10, 1907, p. 4-5.

64 J. H. Putman, City Government Ottawa, Ottawa, (Jas. Hope & Sons, Printers), 1919, 74 p.

printing of the Ontario Public School History of England and the Ontario Public School History of Canada.⁶⁵ In 1917, Putman, in a "Report on the Present Authorized Textbooks in British and Canadian History" is reported to have commented on this authorized text:

I do not feel free to report upon the English section of the present Ontario Public School History because nearly half this work is taken from a book which I prepared myself for the Morang Company. [underlining and exclamation mark in blue pencil on typed copy] This opinion, however, I shall give its defect arises from the fact I have mentioned, i.e., that the story is the work of three different writers [sic, underlining], each having his own peculiarity of style. It is, however, couched in simpler language than any of the texts submitted for criticism, with the possible exception of Nelson's.⁶⁶

Despite the demise of the original publication, Putman's Britain and the Empire, in its day, demonstrated a new, more interest-oriented history text-book style. To Putman, history was a fundamental study which taught direct and explicit lessons on duties of citizenship and gave training in

65 P.A.O., R.G.2, D-9-A, Box 9, copy of Order-in-Council, dated July 15, 1910.

66 Ibid., P-3, 1917, Box 34, 3-182, Item 1, Putman's Report on History Texts, J. H. Putman, "Report on the Present Authorized Textbooks in British and Canadian History", (n.d.), Ottawa, 1 p. (stamped, "Received November 16, 1917" on "Report on MacMillan's Public School History of England and Canada", by J. H. Putman, p. 1.)

character.⁶⁷ He believed that the authorized text-book was dull and uninteresting and led to a dislike of the subject. Thus, he pioneered a new format, with many (168) illustrations, (eleven) maps and charts. As well, instead of dealing only with political history, he dared to open up social and religious questions for discussion by the pupils. From the foregoing comments of his critics, there was mixed feeling about whether or not this would be acceptable in the separate school climate of Ontario at that time. The question as to the progressiveness of Putman's thought, as expressed in Britain and the Empire, will be discussed in the next chapter, but certainly the style and format of his text-book were pioneering ventures for 1903.

In the community of Ottawa, Putman also played an active role. From 1905 to 1907, he served as secretary-treasurer for the Queen's Society in Ottawa,⁶⁸ during which time they raised fifty-four thousand dollars⁶⁹ for necessary

67 "Hygiene in City Schools", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, May 12, 1906, p. 11; Putman is reported to have read "a splendid paper on History" to the Teachers' meeting at the Normal School on May 11.

68 "The History and Work of Queen's University", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, October 21, 1905, p. 4; and, "Queen's University", in The Morning Citizen, Ottawa, October 19, 1907, p. 11.

69 "The Endowment Fund of Queen's", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, December 20, 1905, p. 11.

university expansion. During 1906, he proved himself a progressive member of Ottawa's City Council in his aldermanic role as a representative of Rideau Ward.⁷⁰ In this capacity he became involved in the newly-opened Ottawa Public Library,⁷¹ and was responsible for a motion to issue a debenture of fifteen thousand dollars for new books.⁷² (This motion was subsequently amended to \$7,500 and later quashed in Toronto.) Putman's association with the Public Library Board was to extend over many years, after he joined the Ottawa Public School Board. In 1906, he was responsible for an important innovation, the institution of evening technical classes at the Public Library.⁷³ Here Putman began the long campaign he was to wage for technical secondary education in the City of Ottawa. He was to continue this drive by spear-heading the establishment of evening technical classes in the Collegiate Institute and elementary schools of the city in 1912, and by establishing the School for Higher English in 1911

70 "Valedictory of Ex-Mayor Ellis", in Ibid., December 18, 1906, p. 3.

71 "The Standing Committees", in Ibid., January 8, 1906, p. 1.

72 "Garbage Collection by Day Labor System", in Ibid., February 20, 1906, p. 4; and see, cartoon picturing Putman by McRitchie, "Back From the Legislature", in Ibid., May 3, 1906, p. 1.

73 "For Technical Library Classes", in Ibid., October 30, 1906, p. 3.

and the Manual Arts School in 1913, which carried on day technical classes until the Ottawa Technical High School finally was erected in 1917. Putman's library service was rewarded by his re-appointment in 1907.⁷⁴ In that year, too, he was serving as an officer of the Scottish Rite Masons of Ottawa,⁷⁵ an association he was to pursue until he reached their highest order.⁷⁶ Even in these early years, however, he was considered for senior offices, being named as a candidate for grand senior warden in 1913.⁷⁷

In Putman's professional and political roles, then, he had attained a prominent position in the community by 1908. Educationally, he sought a higher status and pay, but his speeches were listened to with respect by his peers and he had assumed provincial leadership in the superannuation campaign. His educational practices entered a dynamic stage, as well, and they moved definitely in the direction of New Education ideas and methods.

74 'Library Committee, 1907', in "Librarian Report", in Ottawa, Annual Departmental Reports of the Corporation of the City of Ottawa, For the Year 1906, Ottawa, The Ottawa Printing Co., 1907, p. 383.

75 "Many Masons at Banquet", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, March 8, 1907, p. 1.

76 "Impressive Parting Tribute Paid At Funeral of Dr. Putman", in Ibid., September 16, 1940, p. 14.

77 "Masonic Positions May Go To Ottawa", in The Citizen, Ottawa, July 17, 1913, p. 1.

2. New Education Leadership.

During the 1894 to 1908 period, Putman revealed the influence on his school methods of the New Education movement. His formerly complacent attitude to educational theory received an abrupt jolt when he had to assess the students, all of whom were experienced teachers, from the Ottawa Normal School every Thursday afternoon:

[...] I was poorly equipped for my work, and, as I thought, in an awkward fix. [...] I had never thought seriously of the teacher's work as an art or a science based on accepted principles. [...] my aim up to this time was the acquisition of knowledge and the giving of this knowledge to my pupils [...].⁷⁸

Fortunately, Putman was quick enough to grasp the nature of his problem and the way to its solution. His analysis of it was, "I must discover to what extent my own teaching was based on traditional empiricism, and how far, if at all, it rested upon laws which had universal application."⁷⁹

Two radical educational thinkers, John Dewey and Dr. Stanley Hall, affected Putman's thinking and educational practices dramatically from 1894 on. He acknowledged his debt to Dewey as follows:

⁷⁸ Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 27.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 28.

I received material assistance from an unexpected source. John Dewey of Chicago was creating a great stir in educational circles. He was questioning the very basis not only of educational practice but the fundamental values of the subjects of study. In one sense he was carrying on where Herbert Spencer left off. The school must not be a cloistered retreat for the acquisition and transmission of a closed system of knowledge; it must be closely integrated with the life about it; its first aim must be to meet the immediate needs of its pupils. Physical exercise, handwork, gardening, nature study, and art (including music) were not frills to be added where possible to a curriculum of study. They were the very core, the backbone of a rational course of study. Reading, writing, composition, and number ought naturally to grow out of these other studies and activities. And above all the child's effort must be based upon a natural interest in the subject. These doctrines were revolutionary.⁸⁰

Thus, specific educational practices, centering around the needs and interests of the children, were to be undertaken. From this time on, Putman aggressively promoted changes in the tightly-controlled Ontario curriculum. By letter and practice in both the Model School and, later, with the Ottawa Public School Board, he pioneered handwork education, school gardening, nature studies, physical education, and expanded art and music programmes. These subjects were to become the outward characteristics, along with manual training and domestic science, of New Education in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

80 Ibid., p. 28-29.

The introduction of the child-study movement was to be another characteristic. Putman explained that,

While Dewey was teaching educational heresy in Chicago another voice was crying out from New England. Dr. Stanley Hall of Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, was proclaiming by voice and by pen the doctrine that effective educational practice must be based on a study of the child. Many dry and ponderous volumes (always excepting those of William James) had been written on psychology, but Stanley Hall held that only by a study of children could teachers lead them by a natural road to a knowledge of the world around them.⁸¹

Under the influence of this child-study pioneer, then, Putman realized that the child rather than the subject-matter should be his first consideration. And, instead of education being the exercise of various faculties, or subject-oriented, it was to become the natural expansion of the interests of the pupils. As he concluded,

[...] I can see that these two men influenced me very much and assisted me to rationalize my educational practice and give student-teachers criticism based on principles. Their pragmatic philosophy was doubtless very different from that of Froebel, Spencer and Kant, but their educational theories were the logical American expression and application of much that was implicit in Pestalozzi, Froebel and Spencer.⁸²

Putman recognized, therefore, the mutation of the idealistic philosophy of the first wave of New Educators into this

81 Ibid., p. 29.

82 Ibid.

second, pragmatic phase.

He recorded the effect it had on his Model School practices. Because his thirty-three boys of Form III were largely "sons of cabinet ministers, judges of the Supreme Court or prominent civil servants",⁸³ and were nearly all of good ability and well read, he found that

[...] our lessons on geography, history, literature, and nature study owed more from the standpoint of interest to the boys than to either the teacher or the text-book. Those lessons revealed to me the importance of a wide and careful preparation and of drawing as much as possible from the experience and knowledge of the pupil. Our lessons largely became informal round-table discussions with the teacher as a guide.⁸⁴

Fortunately for Putman, Ottawa, because of its natural environment and its federal government facilities, was a thriving natural science research centre.⁸⁵ The Ottawa Field Naturalists' Club became a meeting ground between the scientists and interested laymen. As Putman recounted, not only did they give illustrated lectures in the winter months, but the Club arranged Saturday field trips, led by professional scientists, such as Dr. H. Ami, Professor John Macoun or Dr.

83 Ibid., p. 26.

84 Ibid., p. 32.

85 "The Ottawa Field Naturalists' Club and its Interesting History", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, May 2, 1908, p. 11.

James Fletcher.⁸⁶ As Putman wrote,

Geology, botany, zoology, ornithology, and entomology were the chief topics studied and talked about. I think Ami and Fletcher could discuss any field I have mentioned. Needless to say the many activities of this nature study club made a strong appeal to a young teacher in charge of young boys and I cannot over-estimate the benefit I received from it [...].⁸⁷

As a result of this impetus, Putman expanded his natural science classes at the Model School from fifteen minutes per week to one hour.⁸⁸ It also led to a request by him to visit the centre of the American elementary science and nature study movement at the Oswego School in New York, before taking up Sinclair's science classes at the Normal School in January of 1900.⁸⁹ His trip launched him on what were to become periodic visits to the United States in search of new ideas and practices. It also must have exposed him for the first time to the American nature study movement, which the Ontario Department of Education was beginning to write about and describe in the Minister's Reports from 1901

86 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 32.

87 Ibid., p. 33.

88 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 43, II, Item 40, J. Harold Putman's request to go to Oswego Normal School for course in training, letter of Putman to Harcourt, dated Ottawa, December 22, 1899.

89 Ibid., letters of Putman to Harcourt, dated Ottawa, December 11, 1899 and December 22, 1899.

on.⁹⁰ Putman's trip may well have influenced MacCabe's urgent request for a visit to Oswego, Albany and the New Normal School in Chicago in 1901.⁹¹

The nature study movement probably led both Putman and the Department into a correlative drive for school gardens. It will be recalled that the Macdonald Fund had established rural school gardens as a pilot project in the nearby Carleton County in 1903.⁹² In 1904, the Department issued a revised course of study which allowed many New Education subjects, such as nature study, art, manual training and household science on the curriculum.⁹³ The previous year, rural school gardens had been approved by departmental regulation.⁹⁴ Thus, Putman proposed to the newly-appointed Principal, J. F. White, of the Ottawa Normal School, that a school garden be built for the systematic study of nature by

90 A. Croal, The History of the Teaching of Science in Ontario, 1800-1900, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1940, p. 95.

91 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 43, II, Item 69, letter of MacCabe to Harcourt, dated Ottawa, October 12, 1901.

92 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1904, Part I (With the Statistics of 1903), Toronto, Cameron, 1905, p. xxix.

93 Ibid., p. xvii-xviii.

94 Ontario, Minister's Report, 1903, p. 99, 82, and xxxii-xxxvii.

both the Model School pupils and the Normal School students.⁹⁵

Not only would it give them

[...] some practical acquaintance with floriculture and horticulture [but in] my opinion the child who raises a single pansy bloom from seed has received a most valuable lesson. The moral and aesthetic sense of young children will be more benefited by teaching them to care for growing plants than by giving them elaborate lessons upon specimens brought into the classroom.⁹⁶

Putman submitted detailed plans for a plot 160 feet by eighty feet around which he would build 240 feet of fence.

He offered his services as gardening teacher,

While I feel that I already have plenty of work yet the management of a garden would afford a complete change and be something of a recreation. I feel besides that my acquaintance with the work both from the practical and from the scientific standpoint would warrant my undertaking it with some hope of success.⁹⁷

He then outlined his proposal, month by month, which included a month's study at Guelph Agricultural College and a month touring American summer schools. He planned to begin the garden in 1905, and submitted an initial expense account for preparation in 1904. Although his proposal was supported by

95 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 43, II, Item 67, Children's Garden to be started Ottawa Model, 1904, Memorandum of Putman to J. F. White, (n.d.), 4 p.

96 Ibid., p. 1.

97 Ibid.

both Sinclair⁹⁸ and White,⁹⁹ the Model School garden did not begin until 1908¹⁰⁰ and then it was put in charge of Mr. Wesley Gibson, Carleton County's ex-superintendent of rural gardens.¹⁰¹

But Putman did become Principal of the Department's Summer Nature Study School held in Ottawa from 1907 to 1909.¹⁰² And from 1906 on, he was recorded on the prize lists of the Ottawa Horticultural Society for his own plants.¹⁰³ He served as second vice-president of the Society in 1908 and was their delegate to the Central Canada

98 Ibid., letter of S. B. Sinclair to Principal White, dated Ottawa, December 1, 1903.

99 Ibid., letter of White to Millar, dated Ottawa, February 13, 1904.

100 "Enlargement of School Grounds", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, January 3, 1908, p. 1.

101 "School Garden at Normal", in The Morning Citizen, Ottawa, August 25, 1908, p. 7; and in, "Free Course for Teachers", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, March 19, 1909, p. 12, and, "Training Teachers in Elementary Agriculture and Horticulture", in Ibid., October 23, 1909, p. 6 and 7; and, "Where School Gardening is Put into Practice", in Ibid., July 9, 1910, p. 7.

102 "New Inspector of Ottawa Public Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, October 7, 1910, p. 2.

103 "Fruit Growing in the City", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, August 15, 1906, p. 7; and, "An Exhibit of Flowers", in Ibid., August 3, 1910, p. 3.

Exhibition Association.¹⁰⁴ At both his home on Rideau Terrace and his cottage at MacGregor Lake (after 1916), Putman maintained quarter-acre gardens, where he grew especially hollyhocks, roses and sweet peas as well as vegetables and fruit.¹⁰⁵ As will be seen, gardening afforded him both a recreational outlet and a spiritual uplift. He was to carry out his original educational idea with the Ottawa Public School Board's gardens, which were begun in 1916.

During the period 1901 to 1904, the Minister's Reports, reflecting a parallel American preoccupation with the failure of agriculture in the 1890's,¹⁰⁶ contained a number of articles on the nature study movement in the United States.¹⁰⁷ The Regulations of 1901 suggested that nature study be taken up in conjunction with geography.¹⁰⁸

In the spring of 1905, Putman wrote a letter to the parents of children at the Model School outlining a proposed

104 "Ottawa City At The Top", in Ibid., January 22, 1908, p. 5; and see, "Ottawa Horticultural Society and its Work in Beautifying the Capital of Canada", in Ibid., October 10, 1908, p. 12 (picture of Putman included).

105 Interview with Miss Irene Putman, March 1, 1972.

106 Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School, Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957, New York, Random House, 1961, p. 75.

107 Croal, Op. Cit., p. 95.

108 Ibid.

ten-week session of field trips from April to October for Forms One to Three.¹⁰⁹ Each class would be accompanied by its regular class teacher assisted by four student-teachers from the Normal School, and would be split into small groups. They would travel by street-car. In an accompanying memorandum, Putman outlined the theoretical foundations of his plan, which strongly revealed its scientific and Deweyan derivations. His first purpose was to provide the pupils an "opportunity for accurate observation of Nature".¹¹⁰ To this end, he made specific suggestions for preparatory work by both the teachers and the class:

[...] it is expected that when a class goes out for study, the pupils and teachers go with well-defined plans, and with one or more definite objects in view. Where possible teachers should make a visit to locality to be studied before they take their classes. Suggestions as to work follows.

1. STUDY OF TREES. buds how developed, how unfolded, leaf forms, bark of trees, arrangements of branches, inclination of branches to trunks, common names of trees, are certain trees always found in certain places? Are all trees of same species of same general shape? If not, why not? [...]¹¹¹

Undoubtedly following the suggestions of Dewey, Putman "hoped that the field excursions will furnish a basis for

109 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 42, Item 3, Nature Study and Geography, 1905, letter of J. H. Putman to the Patrons of the Provincial Model School, Ottawa, (n.d.).

110 Ibid., unsigned memorandum "Field Work in Nature Study, 1905", Provincial Model School, (n.d.).

111 Ibid.

language lessons both oral and written and also for drawing and color work".¹¹² Specimens of plants were to be carried home and used in drawing lessons. Early training in geology would be undertaken:

2. SOIL. By using a strong trowel or spade we may study crust of earth to a depth of a foot or more. Pupils get an accurate knowledge of such things as humus or vegetable mould, sand, gravel, clay, hard pan, loam, evidences of animal life in soil.¹¹³

The influence of the Ottawa Field Naturalists can be seen in Putman's fourth suggestion regarding the observation of animal, bird and insect life, the recording of their homes and habits and the use of nets to gather specimens. Finally, adhering to the Departmental suggestions of integrating geography with nature studies, Putman concluded that

A very important advantage of these field trips will be the aid pupils will receive in Geography. They will get elementary notions at first hand. The compass will be in constant use to teach direction. Such natural objects as, soil (in all its forms), rock, granite and limestone, boulders, brooks, swamps, springs, rivers, waterfalls, hills, valleys, shore, river bed, beach, bluff, island, cape, peninsula, bay, water-shed, river-mouth, tributary, lake, outlet, bog - all these are within easy reach and may be studied at first hand.¹¹⁴

Thus Putman, in his natural science, gardening and field trip curricular innovations was in the vanguard of provincial

112 Ibid.

113 Ibid.

114 Ibid.

reforms.¹¹⁵

In one other curricular area, that of the introduction of physical education for girls, as well as boys, and into the lower grades of the school, Putman pioneered needed change. He wrote a letter to Harcourt in 1903 proposing that Mr. Jones, who instructed Form Two boys, be allowed to instruct Forms Three and Four after three o'clock and to Normal School students on Saturday mornings.¹¹⁶ There had been complications regarding the previous system of using either special physical culture teachers,¹¹⁷ or special drill instructors on loan from the army.¹¹⁸ Putman's suggestion foreshadowed the Strathcona Trust Plan (in a competition for which he was to win a seventy-five dollar essay

115 Croal, Op. Cit., p. 139; and see, P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 80, LXII, booklet, "Summer Schools For Teachers, 1908", Toronto, Department of Education, 14 p.

116 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 43, Item 7, letter of Putman to Harcourt, dated Provincial Model School, January 7, 1903.

117 Ontario, Minister's Report, 1898, p. 95: Mr. A. E. Paisley was hired as teacher of Physical Culture for the boys of the Model School; and in, Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) For the Year 1899 with the Statistics of 1898, Toronto, Warwick, 1900, p. 117: Miss Elizabeth Keyes was hired as physical culture teacher of the girls.

118 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 43, II, Item 7, letter from MacCabe to Harcourt, dated Ottawa, September 15, 1902.

prize in 1909¹¹⁹), adopted by Ontario schools in 1910, whereby classroom teachers would train both boys and girls of all the grades in a combination of physical exercises as well as drill. During his régime with the Ottawa Board, Putman pioneered the expansion of physical education to include even eurhythmic and folk dancing.

The Ontario Department of Education must have been aware of Putman's aggressive leadership at this time. In two strong exchanges, one regarding the amount of responsibility by the Model School staff for marking student-teachers, and the other an outburst at the Ontario Educational Association, Putman fearlessly railed against the over-centralization of the Department.

Two days before MacCabe's successor at the Normal School, James F. White, assumed the Principalship¹²⁰ on January 1, 1903, Putman wrote John Millar, the Deputy Minister, about the weight of the Model School teachers' marks out of the four hundred allocated for the practice teaching

119 "Prizes For Best Essays", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, December 13, 1909, p. 5; and see, P.A.C., R.G. 24, Vol. 6612, H.Q. 8251-2-2; Vol. 1, 'Section 19, Competition', in "Annual Report of the Executive Council of the Strathcona Trust For the Encouragement of Physical and Military Training in Public Schools", April 5, 1909, to June 30, 1910, p. 11.

120 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1902, Part I (With the Statistics of 1901), Toronto, Cameron, 1903, p. 101.

of the student-teachers. He complained,

I learn [sic] within the past month that the marks obtained by each student out of this 400 for term work are not entered in the final reports of the Ottawa Normal School as awarded by the Model School teachers. Indeed it seems that they never correspond. The marks really entered here have been awarded by the Principal and the Vice-Principal of the Normal School.¹²¹

During his three terms of acting as Vice-Principal of the Normal School he assisted MacCabe in grading the students on the basis of four hundred marks, "but I was given to understand that this was a confidential report upon the student's work generally and I never suspected that I was a party to usurping the functions as I understand them, of the Model School teachers".¹²² Then Putman came to the crux of the matter, the question of the responsibility of Model School teachers in failing incompetent student-teachers:

I have wondered again and again during the past eight or nine years, how it could happen that certain students, pronounced incapable by Model School staff, should invariably or almost invariably, receive certificates.¹²³

He squarely questioned Millar and asked for a definite answer:

121 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 43, II, Item 8, letter of Putman to Millar, dated Ottawa, December 30, 1902, p. 1.

122 Ibid.

123 Ibid., p. 1 and 2.

Will you kindly place this matter before Dr. Harcourt and give me definite instructions. Have or have not the Model School teachers any responsibility in the matter? They are supposed to be competent teachers of ripe experience and sound judgment. They give their whole time during a student's lesson to a careful observation of his work. They spend much time afterward in making out his report and awarding his standing.

I shall bow with a good grace to a decision from the proper authorities but I wish to know how far I am responsible.¹²⁴

As a result of Putman's persistence, the Deputy Minister wrote letters to the Principals of the Toronto and London Normal Schools, asking whether the two practice-teaching marks did in fact correspond.¹²⁵

F. W. Merchant, Principal of the London Normal School, denied that there was any difference in the marks sent in by the model school staff and those assigned by the Normal School and sent to the Department.¹²⁶ More correctly, William Scott, of the Toronto Normal School, quoted page 147 of the regulations of 1891, which stated that marks were to be based both on the teaching ability assessed by both the Model School observations and the results of the Normal

124 Ibid., p. 2.

125 Ibid., copies of letters to William Scott, dated Toronto, January 3, 1903, and to F. W. Merchant, dated Toronto, January 5, 1903.

126 Ibid., letter of F. W. Merchant to Wilkinson, dated London, January 5, 1903.

School sessional examination papers or professional work.¹²⁷ He concluded, "Hence the marks are not absolutely the same in all cases but are modified as directed".¹²⁸ The Deputy Minister replied to Putman that the above inquiry was taking place, and "hoped that some uniform arrangement may be reached".¹²⁹

This indefinite response, as well as the general atmosphere of the Education Department, must have irked Putman. John Rogers described Ontario's teacher training system at that time as "politically worry-free, and thus [marked by an] educationally sterile state of uniformity, [with] standardized procedures, multiple rules, and deferred decisions".¹³⁰

By 1904, as Rogers noted,¹³¹ even Departmental officials were publically criticizing the Minister for his lack of leadership in the much-needed reform. But, as he pointed out,¹³² Putman's 1904 OEA address, "Reorganization of

127 Ibid., letter of William Scott to Wilkinson, dated Toronto, January 6, 1903.

128 Ibid.

129 Ibid., copy of letter from the Deputy Minister to Putman, dated Toronto, January 8, 1903.

130 S. John Rogers, The Organization, Control and Administration of the Teacher Training System of Ontario: 1900-1920, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Ottawa, 1973, p. 55.

131 Ibid., p. 106-107.

132 Ibid., p. 108.

Professional Schools",¹³³ was far more blatant and obvious in intent. His "outburst" was partly the result of the practice since 1900 of having model school teachers supplement the work of part-time public school inspectors in holding the final practical tests, two twenty-minute lessons per student, in each Normal School. Obviously, Putman's previous inquiry of Millar as to where his responsibility lay had not been answered satisfactorily, so he drew his own conclusions that

Normal Schools should undertake to make some selection among would-be teachers. [...] I have been ten years connected with a training school, which during that time has graduated nearly 1,800 teachers, and I can count upon the fingers of one hand the students to whom certificates have been absolutely refused. [...]

Some students should be rejected at entrance because of physical weakness. The school-room is no place for consumptives, confirmed dyspeptics, dull ears, stammering tongues, raspy voices or unsightly deformities. Teaching is a strenuous life, and only healthy, vigorous, big-hearted, optimistic men and women can hope for real success.¹³⁴

He cited divided responsibility among Normal School staff, the inspectors who hear the teaching and the Departmental Examiners of the final written work, all of whom had a voice in the student's final standing.¹³⁵ As a result,

133 Putman, "Reorganization of Professional Schools", in OEA . Proceedings, 1904, p. 282-294.

134 Ibid., p. 293.

135 Ibid., p. 293-294.

Each can shift the responsibility upon the other. The Normal School masters are the ones who really know a student's worth. They should be wholly responsible for his graduation or his rejection, and should be held to strict account if students utterly unfitted for teaching are given certificates.¹³⁶

As Rogers concluded, "Such an airing of departmental dirty linen by a civil servant would hardly be tolerated in modern times".¹³⁷

Reform was to come, however, with an election victory for the Conservatives. Rogers summarized the changes in power as follows:

On February 8, 1905, after a third of a century in office and nine victories at the polls for the Liberals, power passed from them to the Conservatives; George W. Ross handed over the reins of office to James P. Whitney; and Richard Harcourt transferred responsibility for the Department of Education to Robert A. Pyne, M.D., MPP for Toronto East, and formerly a member of the Toronto Board of Education.¹³⁸

In the ensuing three years, the teacher-training system of the province was revamped and Putman was able to take part in the enlarged Ottawa Normal School of 1908.

136 Ibid., p. 294.

137 Rogers, Op. Cit., p. 111-112.

138 Ibid., p. 118-119.

3. Ottawa Normal School, 1908-1910.

In July of 1908, Putman was appointed to the Ottawa Normal School as a lecturer in psychology and English.¹³⁹ He had prepared himself for this position in 1907 by taking advantage of the newly-offered Queen's University's Bachelor of Pedagogy degree. Putman actually passed Sections C (first and second papers), and A of this degree in April of 1907,¹⁴⁰ the month that Principal Gordon finally received word that he would receive financial support for Queen's Faculty of Education.¹⁴¹ By September of 1907, Putman had completed Section B and was in the first class to be awarded the Bachelor of Pedagogy degree¹⁴² from this new Faculty. He graduated just as the sweeping reforms of the teacher-training system were completed throughout the province. As Rogers commented of the year 1907,

139 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1908, Toronto, Cameron, 1909, p. 338 and 371.

140 Douglas Library, Queen's University, Student Register, No. 3029, p. 584.

141 Rogers, Op. Cit., p. 142.

142 Douglas Library, Queen's University, Student Register, No. 3029, p. 584.

Closing down forty model schools, doubling the number of normal schools, and opening training facilities in two universities, all in the space of a year, constituted a large undertaking by any standard.¹⁴³

Putman described the effects on the Ottawa Normal School when he wrote that

In September, 1908, I re-entered the Normal School to teach English literature, English history and the science of education. By this time the attendance had increased and a wholly changed organization had been effected. The teaching staff was doubled, the students divided into groups of 40 to 50, and an attempt was being made 'to teach' instead of 'to lecture'.¹⁴⁴

This final two years of the four that he spent as a normal school teacher proved to be a consolidation period for Putman while he worked on his doctoral degree at Queen's. As he expressed it,

I can conceive of no other teaching experience that could have helped me as much with the problems which I had to solve during the succeeding quarter-century. I had more leisure for professional reading than ever before; I had the urge to read in order to satisfy the daily demands of my students and I had an opportunity to see how far theory and practice could be reconciled.¹⁴⁵

By now, Putman was able to look objectively at his student-teachers, analyze their problems and pinpoint the exact solutions needed. He realized, first, that his

143 Rogers, Op. Cit., p. 146.

144 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 34.

145 Ibid., p. 35.

students lacked

[...] any rational aims in the teaching of literature and history, and contact with these students, especially after 1908, convinced me that there were two main causes of this aimless groping. In the first place these subjects were taught too largely with examinations in view. Literature was something for dissection and analysis rather than something beautiful to be appreciated. Too much the appeal was to the understanding and too little to the emotions. The aesthetic qualities of literature were subordinated to its logic; its music and rhythm were of less importance than its figures of speech and its syntax.¹⁴⁶

His studies in idealistic philosophy and literature with Professor Alexander in Toronto, and, at this time, with Professor John Watson at Queen's, had taught him the value of the aesthetic over the prevailing Herbartian emphasis on questioning and methodology, beginning to grip the Normal Schools at this time.¹⁴⁷ Perhaps Putman's exposure to Dewey's pragmatism influenced his criticism of their history teaching. He claimed that for his student-teachers, "History had been a mere learning of facts with too little appreciation of their human significance and their bearing on present-day problems".¹⁴⁸

146 Ibid.

147 Ervin Ernest Newcombe, The Development of Elementary School Teacher Education in Ontario Since 1900, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1965, p. 56.

148 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 35.

Another problem, he realized, was the absence of a general cultural education, such as he himself had acquired since 1887, in his student-teachers. Putman assessed their shortcomings as not only a lack in the teachers themselves, but a proof of the examination virus to which their education had exposed them. As a result,

They lacked breadth and perspective. They had read too little of either literature or history. They had never read 'around' a subject. Many of them came from continuation schools or small high schools where their teachers were comparatively immature and where the pressure to pass examinations was the ever-present driving force.¹⁴⁹

Putman decided, therefore, to provide, not a methodology course, but model lessons, and "to teach literature and history in such a way that they would appreciate the one as an expression of man's criticism of life and appreciation of truth and beauty and the other as a record of his achievement in the attempt to live with his fellows".¹⁵⁰ By this time, then, Putman's curricular philosophy was established. In a wedding of idealism and pragmatism, that was to be reflected in his curriculum at the School for Higher English, he believed that these subjects were to be the vehicle to guide the students' growth both spiritually and practically. He reported that after four months three-quarters of his

149 Ibid., p. 36.

150 Ibid.

student-teachers "did have this appreciation and left the Normal School with a feeling of some confidence in their power to inspire a like appreciation in their own pupils".¹⁵¹

As mentioned previously, another influence on Putman at this time and earlier was that of the hundreds of nuns whom he taught. In 1899 and in subsequent years, he had given a three-weeks' "refresher" course in academic work to the teachers of the Congregation of Nôtre Dame in their convent in Ottawa.¹⁵² This course was established after the Privy Council's decision "that teachers who were members of religious orders must have Ontario certificates to qualify them for service in Ontario separate schools".¹⁵³ In the summer of 1907, Putman acted as principal of the English departmental bilingual school set up by the Department of Education for religious teachers in Ottawa.¹⁵⁴ He also taught them mathematics, the science of education and school management. During 1908 to 1910, he had numbers of sisters from different orders and of all ages attending his normal school classes. He regarded them very highly:

151 Ibid., p. 37.

152 Ibid.

153 Ibid.

154 "Summer Schools", in The Morning Citizen, Ottawa, June 26, 1907, p. 4.

I owe them much and am proud to number them among my friends. Their uniform courtesy, their gentle speech, their high ideals, their enthusiasm, their devotion to duty, their singleness of purpose, made them model students and outstanding teachers. Their native talent was not above that of their fellow students, but the qualities I have emphasized enabled them to do better average work. Their cloistered life imposed upon them some handicaps but its implications yielded compensation. I doubt very much whether to-day the parents of their own pupils throughout Ontario fully realize the great work they do for education without any thought of personal reward. They are just as truly missionaries as were the Jesuit Fathers, Lalemant and Brebeuf.¹⁵⁵

By this time, Putman noted, experimentation was beginning to take place in the lessons taught by his student-teachers. The effects on him, as their critic, were very salutary. He noted that

[...] observing the reaction upon young children of the lessons taught, especially the revolutionary ideas of Dewey, and trying to reconcile these ideas with those of Plato, Aristotle, Froebel and Herbert Spencer - all this forced me, as never before, to clarify and systematize a theory and practice of education for myself.¹⁵⁶

For the first time in his teaching career, Putman worked with very young children. As a result of his normal school experience in observing and teaching primary and kindergarten classes, he felt that he gained "an insight into this work which I could never have got any other way".¹⁵⁷

155 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 38.

156 Ibid., p. 38-39.

157 Ibid., p. 39.

It led to his work on the Kindergarten-Primary Committee of 1913, because he observed that the Kindergarten "was something grafted on our system rather than an integral part of it".¹⁵⁸

On leaving the Normal School in 1910, Putman concluded, [...] I was thoroughly dissatisfied with many things in our educational system and practice but I think I realized even then that improvement could come best through evolution rather than revolution and that we had much which was worth preserving.¹⁵⁹

By this time, Putman had been granted his Doctor of Pedagogy from Queen's University.¹⁶⁰ Professionally and academically he had attained the highest qualifications. His New Education leadership in nature studies, school gardening, field trips and physical education, as well as his reading and experimentation with the ideas of Dewey and Hall, showed him to be a curricular reformer with a decidedly progressive viewpoint. His wide-ranging community activities demonstrated his liberal attitude and political skill. Finally, his promotion of the superannuation policy, as well as his fearless criticism of the Department, marked him as an aggressive leader to be watched. He was to assume his

158 Ibid.

159 Ibid.

160 Douglas Library, Queen's University, Student Register, No. 3029, p. 584.

full leadership role as Inspector of the Ottawa Public School Board in October, 1910.

CHAPTER IV

DEVELOPING IDEAS, 1895-1910

After his arrival in Ottawa, Putman began to speak and write on current educational issues. In 1895, Ontario educators were concerned about rural school education, so Putman addressed the Ontario Educational Association on the advantages of "Country Schools". By the turn of the century, as has been described, the history text-book for the province was badly in need of up-dating. In answer to this need, Putman undertook to write Britain and the Empire with a new, more interesting format. Two years later, the teacher-training system of the province had reached a crisis point, and Putman again addressed the OEA, this time on the "Re-organization of Professional Schools". In 1907, the campaign to establish technical secondary schools in Ottawa was just beginning. Thus, Putman wrote a series of letters to the newspaper on the subject of proposed future directions of secondary education in the city. These letters, and Putman's OEA speech, "The Effect of Student Teachers Upon Model School Pupils", in 1908, revealed the aggressive, future-oriented thinker that was developing. Putman's thrusts towards de-centralization of authority, and a variety of administrative practices in secondary and student-teacher education, were not to be implemented,

in some cases, until the 1960's, but they denoted how far-reaching was his thought even at this early stage. Finally, his pedagogical courses at Queen's University and his doctoral thesis on Ryerson indicated a committed liberal democrat with secure philosophical foundations. As he himself remarked, this was a period of intellectual development in his life in which theory and practice were integrally wed.

1. New Education and Liberal Democracy.

In Putman's first address to the Ontario Educational Association in 1895 he revealed the three major influences on his thought to this date. They were his rural background, the exposure to the manual training movement then sweeping North American educational circles, and the effect on his thinking of the revolutionary ideas of John Dewey and G. Stanley Hall.

"Country Schools",¹ even in its title, struck the major theme in Putman's experience to this point. In his opening sentence, he stated the basic assumption in Canadian society then:

¹ J. Harold Putman, "Country Schools", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention, Toronto, Rowswell & Hutchison, 1895, p. 305-317.

If I were to start with such a commonplace assertion as that the future of Canada depends to a large extent upon her country schools, you would almost feel that I was taking a very bald text and one that needed no proof [...].

Is the general trend of educational development and improvement in a line that would show to even a careful observer that our hope for the future is, to any considerable extent, the rural school?²

After forcibly assessing the high failure rate of the Public School Leaving Examination and its cause - the poor qualifications of rural teachers (sixty-one per cent held only third-class certificates) - he came to the crux of his address, the belief in the superior advantages of the rural over the urban environment. In what was to be the foundation stone of his educational thought Putman asserted:

The ideal Public School is a country school; it always will be. The ideal life is a country life, and let us sincerely hope that this, too, may always be. Let us be thankful that as yet the mass of Canadians enjoy rural homes and natural surroundings. [...] Let the teacher, whether in the city or country, take every opportunity to impress on his pupils the dignity of honest toil, whether of the hand or head, and let him in particular lead them to place a high estimate upon the independence, the freedom and the importance, of a successful farmer.³

Aside from the natural advantages of the environment in offering "lessons in natural history, botany, and every study bearing on plant and animal life"⁴, Putman extolled

2 Ibid., p. 305.

3 Ibid., p. 308.

4 Ibid., p. 309.

the more important advantage of the well-educated rural teacher to influence the child towards a more virtuous life. Even more than his city counterpart, the country teacher was

[...] the embodiment of all wisdom and every virtue. How very necessary that the teacher who is thus unconsciously influencing so many young lives should possess not only every moral and social virtue, but also that he should have that knowledge and culture which will enable him to give them broad and comprehensive ideas of mankind and his various relations and duties.⁵

Revealing his Protestant and middle-class value system, Putman praised the country home environment over the city's in reinforcing the moral habits which he thought the rural school cultivated:

Not only are the pupil's surroundings during school hours of a very desirable kind, but the chances are that his home surroundings are more conducive to the formation of good habits than are those of a city child. The majority of rural school pupils come from homes of competency rather than of wealth, and this alone is no mean advantage. [...]

Pupils who live in the country often have work for their spare moments [...] the teacher and wise parent [...] will offer thanks for the little chores that keep a restless boy out of mischief, and at the same time train him in habits of industry. [...] A boy who has earned a dollar by the sweat of his brow begins to realize that time is money, and is less likely to fritter away his time in school than the one who estimates the value of a dollar only by the amount of pleasure it will secure him.⁶

5 Ibid., p. 308.

6 Ibid., p. 309.

In contrast to the reigning educational panacea then, manual training in public schools, Putman believed the country environment did not need this artificial enrichment:

Advocates of manual training will tell us that the clay-modelling, sawing and cutting, teach accuracy and develop a keen perception of form, but the farmyard and kitchen require services that have their peculiar educational advantages, and it yet remains to be proved that the moulding of an old-fashioned doughnut will not have as much educational value for a girl as moulding one out of clay or putty, or that the country boy may not train his eye as much in making straight paths and beds in the garden as the city boy in trying to saw a board at right angles.⁷

Thus Putman preferred skill-training arising naturally from the services required on the farm, as had happened in his own experience. Citing the philosophical base of the manual training reformers as the hope that it "will restore harmony between the growth of the physical and intellectual natures",⁸ he himself believed

[...] the main reasons for advocating manual training have arisen from the conviction on the part of educators that young people should have something useful to do; that during the period from nine or ten to fourteen years of age, boys and girls are all the better for being initiated into the secrets of the bread and butter business, and that boys, especially, who have nothing to do outside of their studies are likely to become somewhat listless, and pass through a period varying from one to three years, when they are in a kind of comatose; stand-still, won't-be-interested-in-anything condition.⁹

7 Ibid., p. 310.

8 Ibid., p..309.

9 Ibid., p. 310.

This particular pre-adolescent stage Putman was to become preoccupied with during his Ottawa inspectorate. He set up the School for Higher English, the Manual Arts School, auxiliary classes, and eventually, intermediate schools based on the rotary system, primarily to capture the interest of this age group (see Chapters Five, and Thirteen). The curriculum in all these cases included liberal doses of handwork and practical courses in imitation of the more ideal country work situation.

Finally, revealing the influence on his thinking of John Dewey, Putman stressed the advantages in rural school practices over their urban counterpart. Originality, the powerful theme of the manual training advocates, was built into the rural classroom:

The pupil of the rural school is already surrounded by many influences that tend to originality. He is much left to himself, and must solve his problems and conquer his difficulties by original methods. He is generally unable to get the same amount of help at home as city boys and must investigate and think for himself. He spends much time apart from his playmates, and this in itself helps to make him original in his manner. Last, but not least, the teaching he gets is likely to have a certain freshness and originality in manner.¹⁰

And, closely connected with originality, was the advantage the country school had in fostering habits of independence.

10 Ibid.

Putman scathingly decried the "sugar-coated pill"¹¹ advocated by modern (Herbartian) methodologists. "Again and again have I heard teachers in High Schools say they could tell the boy from the country by his sticking-power and ability to help himself".¹²

Putman's exposure to the child-study approach of Dr. Stanley Hall is revealed in his praise of the country teacher's humanity and knowledge of children's "ages and stages":

The country teacher, with all grades to teach, must read very widely if the work is to be well done. Not only does his work demand wide reading but it makes heavy calls upon his sympathies with child life. He deals with every age of child and every stage of development. He lives his childhood over every day and keeps in constant touch with child-nature.¹³

As well, the pupils benefited from the personality of a strong teacher,¹⁴ whom the child would get to know (and vice versa) over several years.

All these advantages, plus those of small classes (rural schools had an average of twenty-six pupils per classroom, as against forty to sixty in the city¹⁵) with the

11 Ibid., p. 311.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid., p. 312.

14 Ibid., p. 313.

15 Ibid.

chance of more individual instruction resulted in "a class of pupils whose individuality has not been crushed. Here I believe we have an explanation of one of the most marked advantages of rural schools".¹⁶

Putman admitted that rural schools suffered from poor teachers, irregular attendance and lack of apparatus, books and magazines.¹⁷ But he believed that a determined teacher could do something to overcome the lack of good literature. In fact, he held that the teacher was the key to the educational process:

We want teachers not appliances, the living voice not the book, the magnetic influence of a great soul not a patent desk that will fold up when you look at it; a sympathy deep enough to fathom the perplexities of that backward boy not a complicated geographical chart that works automatically. [...] Better a hundred times over, that a boy should receive his training from a great teacher in the old-time log-school with rude benches and scanty furnishings than to receive it from a teacher who is only one wheel in a great machine, even though that machine be a modern Public School fitted up without regard to cost.¹⁸

The point of the educational process hinged on the inspiration of this teacher. This was to have

16 Ibid., p. 314.

17 Ibid., p. 314-315.

18 Ibid., p. 315.

[...] our pupils leave school [with] a desire to read and gain more knowledge [...]. Much better that a boy should leave school full of curiosity and eager to learn more about himself and the world in which he lives than to have accumulated a mass of facts at the expense of a deadened sensibility and a worn-out interest.¹⁹

Putman concluded by re-affirming his first statement that he believed "the best schools in Ontario are to be found in the progressive rural districts".²⁰ He regretted that there were so few of them and called on the educators present to put on a concerted drive to increase their numbers through demands for well-educated and well-trained teachers.²¹

The themes of higher qualifications of teachers, regeneration of rural schools, the advantages of handwork, natural surroundings, and personality development over book work Putman continued to strive for throughout his career. Their roots were to be bound in the rural, middle-class value system from which he had come and they were deemed even more urgent in the face of urban delinquency and industrial displacement at the turn of the century. As has been noted, they were part of a general cultural trend loosely termed "New Education".

19 Ibid., p. 316.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid., p. 317.

To face the urban problems he encountered, Putman turned to another source, English social history, and particularly the reforms of the Gladstonian Liberals. In his history text-book, Britain and the Empire,²² Putman revealed a good deal of his thought and outlook at this time (1902). Dr. Robert Westwater described him as a Gladstonian Liberal²³ and a great admirer of British historical progress. This can be seen particularly in Chapter Eight, "The House of Brunswick", in which Putman described Gladstone as the ideal statesman:

William Ewart Gladstone differed from all three of his great contemporaries in his intense interest in domestic legislation and in social and political reforms. He was much more anxious to raise the masses of the people than to play a great part in the politics of the world. One of his strongest desires was to keep Britain at peace, and to impress the nations that his country, though strong, was just. He began his political life as a Conservative, but at the time of the abolition of the Corn Laws became a free-trader, and very soon a Liberal of the most advanced type.²⁴

Putman believed that Gladstone was responsible for "a great deal of the most important legislation of the last sixty years. [...] he never hesitated to do what he thought to be

22 J. H. Putman, Britain and the Empire, Toronto, Morang, 1906, xxii-431 p.

23 Interview with the late Dr. Robert Westwater, Victoria, May 4, 1972.

24 Putman, Britain and the Empire, p. 369.

right".²⁵

Differing from the political approach of the authorized text-book, W. J. Robertson's Public School History of England and Canada,²⁶ Putman described in some detail the great legislative and social reforms of the nineteenth century. They included the extension of the franchise, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, the progress of education,²⁷ as well as the social, material and cultural progress of the Victorians.²⁸

He also dealt with economic matters and explained them in simple language that a child could understand:

A British workingman earns less than a similar worker in Canada, but on the whole he can buy more with the same money. His food may cost a trifle more, but his rent, clothes, fuel, taxes, tools, car fare, and amusements cost less. Usually, too, he has special advantages in the way of free libraries, lectures, and picture galleries.

It is doubtful if any European factory workers are as well fed as those in the British Isles. They have meat at least once a day, wheat bread, vegetables in abundance, some fruit, and many luxuries. Sixty years ago they often went without meat, and ate coarse rye or barley bread. Drunkenness used to be very common. Now the labourer buys less beer and more meat.

Crime has very much diminished [...].²⁹

25 Ibid.

26 W. J. Robertson, Public School History of England and Canada, Toronto, Copp Clark, 1892, 273 p.

27 Putman, Britain and the Empire, p. 371 374.

28 Ibid., p. 381-386.

29 Ibid., p. 380.

This concern for the common working man Putman retained throughout his life. In 1911 the Ottawa Public School Board sponsored a free lecture series aimed at the labourer and enabling him to enjoy "literary treats, which in the majority of instances are available only to the well-to-do classes".³⁰ The moral intent was made obvious. "The average man enjoys a good lecture on a live topic, and it is hoped that many young men who spend their evening wandering about the streets could easily be induced to attend."³¹ Later, Putman gave talks on proportional representation³² and on the British Labour Party.³³ In the 1920's, he helped form a workers' extension association in order to instruct members of labour unions in a broader, more humane kind of education than the evening technical courses could offer.³⁴ In all these cases, the liberal democratic example of Gladstone, applied to public education, was kept in mind.

30 "Free Lectures on Live Topics For All Classes", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, September 29, 1911, p. 12.

31 Ibid.

32 "Dr. Putman Speaks In Support Of The P. R. Civic System", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, December 15, 1915, p. 9; and J. H. Putman, "Proportional Representation", letter to the Editor in Ibid., December 31, 1915, p. 7.

33 "Unselfish Platform British Labor Party", in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 22, 1919, p. 7.

34 "Dr. Putman Heads the Workers' Assn.", in Ibid., December 8, 1920, p. 3.

Another innovation in Putman's text-book, that of appendices giving statistics on "The National Debt of Great Britain",³⁵ and "Typical Budgets"³⁶ from the Napoleonic War to the Boer War, illustrated the increasing complexity of the modern industrial state. It also showed Putman's concern for economic budgeting and prevention of waste, pre-occupations which would be heightened by the efficiency cult to sweep North America in the second decade (see Chapter Fifteen) and reflected in the statistical tables in Putman's annual reports.

Despite Putman's liberal reformist tendencies, he was not a revolutionary. He believed in preserving what was worthwhile in the past and reforming through evolutionary means. His text-book was written at the peak of the Edwardian era and Putman's justifiable pride in the size and civilizing institutions of the British Empire at its height is reflected in Chapter Nine, "The Empire As It Is To-Day".³⁷ Regarding the Indian Empire (in the days before "colonialism" was a pejorative word), he wrote:

35 Putman, Britain and the Empire, p. 413.

36 Ibid., p. 413-415.

37 Ibid., p. 395-406.

After the Indian Mutiny the crown assumed the whole responsibility. Such a responsibility has never before been undertaken by any government. It seems almost beyond belief that one nation, with the aid of a few thousand soldiers and civil servants, should be able to rule a people made up of many nations and numbering three hundred millions of souls. The marvel is the greater when we consider that the ruling nation and the subject peoples are separated by the greater part of two continents. It is a magnificent tribute to the genius of the British race for government, but its explanation is very simple: Britain rules India not from selfish motives, but from a desire to benefit the country. Without the firm control of a guiding power, India would be torn by internal strife and exposed to the greed and trickery of powerful neighbours.³⁸

This reflection of Victorian paternalism, considered arrogant and exploitative today, significantly was admired by Putman. His own style of leadership tended toward this strong, benevolent role. It presented a paradox against his liberating reform endeavours.

Putman was not uncritical of Great Britain, for he condemned its "disgraceful war with China"³⁹ over the opium trade and the "badly managed"⁴⁰ Crimean War. But, above all, Putman admired Britain's parliamentary institutions and legislative system. Chapter Ten, "The Imperial Parliament",⁴¹

38 Ibid., p. 401.

39 Ibid., p. 355.

40 Ibid., p. 361.

41 Ibid., p. 407-411.

demonstrated his opinion that

The British Commons is the most important legislative body in the world. Its rules of procedure have been substantially adopted by every colonial legislature in the Empire, and copied by the legislatures of the several States in the American Union.⁴²

Throughout the text-book, Putman used both illustrations and biographical details to make individual leaders come alive for the reader. He had obvious respect and admiration for many British leaders in authority, such as the Royal Family, and listed the Prime Ministers of Great Britain since 1702 and "Ministers of Cabinet Rank in the Salisbury Government of 1895"⁴³ in Appendix One. Yet he was more an admirer of British law, order, and civilizing institutions than of the British race. He explained,

Of the total population of the Empire only about fifty-two millions, or one in eight, are of British blood. Unless we grasp this fact clearly we cannot appreciate the wonderful work being done in civilizing and enlightening the millions of subject people, comprising hundreds of races, each with its own language, customs, and religion. Rarely, if ever, does Britain coerce her subject peoples. Even their prejudices are respected. Their religion, their social customs, and local laws are seldom interfered with unless for the purpose of preventing crime and abolishing brutal customs. In this lies the secret of Britain's empire-building. Since the American Revolution her aim has been to give her colonies as great a measure of self-government as their loyalty, intelligence, and general circumstances warrant.⁴⁴

42 Ibid., p. 409.

43 Ibid., p. 416-419.

44 Ibid., p. 395-396.

Perhaps Britain's example of de-centralization and granting of responsible self-government to those countries able to assume it influenced Putman's attitude to his top staff members. As Dr. Westwater put it, he believed in hiring a good teacher and then leaving her alone.⁴⁵ Putman was to press for de-centralization and loosening of the reins of control from Toronto throughout his Ottawa Inspectorate, aiming for responsible self-government.

Thus, although Putman's 1895 OEA address and his text-book, Britain and the Empire, had explicit lessons to communicate, they also implied his own value system. As revealed earlier, Putman's values by this time were definitely in line with the New Education movement, and liberal democratic political theory.

2. Reform of Teacher and Secondary Education.

In two further speeches at the Ontario Educational Association, Putman addressed himself to the critical problem of teacher education. An equally serious problem, that of more democratic secondary schools in Ottawa, he tackled through a series of newspaper articles. In all cases, he was emerging as a forcible and progressive thinker in his

⁴⁵ Interview with the late Dr. Robert Westwater, Victoria, May 4, 1972.

proposals for reform.

The year 1904 marked a change in the Ontario curriculum for both public and high schools. As a result, as Putman stated in his address, "Reorganization of Professional Schools", to the OEA, the "training of teachers must adapt itself to the demands of the age".⁴⁶ He believed the present system could be simplified and made more efficient.

In the first place he deplored the artificial separation between the high school and the elementary school. Were they not both based on the same rational educational principles?⁴⁷ In his opinion, all teachers should "begin in small and easily managed schools and win promotion by merit and hard work".⁴⁸ Thus high schools would receive only experienced teachers of proven merit. As he assessed the situation,

Is it not true that the failures and mediocrities in our large High Schools and Collegiate Institutes are usually inexperienced graduates of the Normal College who are placed in trying situations without having served any apprenticeship, and who are trying to walk without ever having learned to creep?⁴⁹

46 J. H. Putman, "Reorganization of Professional Schools", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Forty-Third Annual Convention of the Ontario Educational Association Held in Toronto, 5th, 6th, and 7th April, 1904, Toronto, Briggs, 1904, p. 284.

47 Ibid., p. 285.

48 Ibid., p. 286.

49 Ibid.

Putman then turned his attention to the normal schools of the day. In his estimation, "it is a moderate and conservative statement to say that as a class they do not compare favorably with the classes of ten or twenty years ago".⁵⁰

Among the complex causes for this state of affairs, he listed, "unprecedented commercial prosperity"⁵¹ as the chief factor. "Young men of ability have quite turned their backs upon the elementary schools."⁵² Another cause was the low academic standard of thirty-three and one-third per cent required for university entrance.⁵³ Referring again to the examination virus which permeated all high school teaching, Putman considered it an injustice to the community to subject all students to a "High School programme that is warped and twisted to make its course centre upon teachers' examinations".⁵⁴ But the High School should not have to accept the sole responsibility. Remembering probably his own experience in teaching English and history to student-teachers, Putman asked,

50 Ibid., p. 287.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid., p. 287-288.

54 Ibid., p. 288.

Is it not also reasonable and natural that the Normal School should broaden and strengthen this foundation, and assume full responsibility for its solidity before placing upon it an official seal of approval?⁵⁵

Instead of just concentrating on knowing the child, Putman asked, "Is it not quite as professional to know the subject matter of instruction?"⁵⁶

On another tack, Putman wondered aloud how efficient the normal schools were with only two masters in charge of teaching one hundred or more students. He concluded, "They cannot properly supervise the foundation work of professional training for one-half of one hundred students".⁵⁷ He quoted a table of statistics comparing Ontario's with similar American normal schools and demonstrated our false sense of economy:

[...] I believe our training schools to be handicapped, partly for lack of instruction and partly because of our narrow conception of professional training, and because more instructors mean a larger expenditure. I wish to show that we are paying much less for the training of teachers than is being paid by people with similar problems to solve [...].⁵⁸

Having reviewed the weaknesses of the current professional training system, Putman then made twelve suggestions

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid., p. 289.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid., p. 290.

for its improvement. First, because he agreed with educationists in Ontario who believed that practical experience was necessary before sound professional training could be given, the model school training should be kept to a minimum.⁵⁹ The number of model schools, Putman held, should be substantially reduced by consolidation with adjacent counties.⁶⁰ Model school principals should have their salaries increased by the Government, to attract able men and prepare them for a further career as public school inspectors.⁶¹

Dealing with the model school course of study, Putman scathingly criticized the current text-book in psychology, which he urged "should either be cut out entirely or founded upon some text-book more suitable than the rudderless, inconsistent patchwork of Baldwin".⁶² More time and attention should be given to concrete model lessons and use of visual aids, library resources and simple experiments in nature study.⁶³

59 Ibid., p. 291.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid., p. 291-292.

Putman urged that model school graduates be restricted to small schools or positions as assistants.⁶⁴ In line with his earlier criticism, he stated that the normal schools needed more teachers and that there should be specialists in the departments of English, science and mathematics.⁶⁵ The students of the normal school should have it impressed upon them that they were preparing themselves for a serious business, and not just enjoying "a sort of picnic season".⁶⁶ Again, based probably on his own experience, Putman made definite recommendations about the professional examinations:

Lectures should be given on the History of Education but certainly no written examinations. It then becomes purely a memory test. It now stands on the list of Departmental Examinations without a rival as a 'cram' subject.

If students are graduated by means of final written tests, the character of these tests should be materially changed. I refer especially to English, science, history and geography. The questions should be specific enough to test matter as well as method.⁶⁷

As he analyzed before, "Method or theory without matter is like husks without grain".⁶⁸ Putman always insisted on the wedding of the practical with the theoretical, based on the

64 Ibid., p. 292.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid., p. 293.

"understanding of first principles".⁶⁹

In the previous chapter, Putman's rather sensational criticism of the selection of would-be teachers was described. Referring back, probably, to his unsatisfactory reply from Millar, he blamed divided responsibility among three levels of examiners for "the ease with which incompetents can graduate".⁷⁰

Finally, he touched on one other Departmental sore point, the separate status and prestige of the Normal College, which trained high school teachers, from the Normal Schools. He frankly would have abolished the former:

I should like to see the Normal College made into a Normal School. In addition to Normal School training, we might then logically demand that candidates for positions as principals of High Schools or Collegiate Institutes and inspectors of Public Schools should take the pedagogy course in the Provincial University. If the Normal College remains as it is, two important changes should be made. Its inexperienced graduates should not receive certificates valid in all Public Schools, and its final examinations should be open to Normal School graduates who hold the necessary non-professional certificates.⁷¹

Putman deemed the problem of the adequate training for teachers to be a critically serious one in Ontario in

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid., p. 294.

1904.⁷² He concluded,

If our training schools are to fulfil their high mission, if they are to keep our own teachers in the front rank, and give inspiration in Canadian schools beyond provincial boundary lines, they must be progressive, broad-minded and thorough. True inspiration and intelligent enthusiasm can come only from accurate scholarship.⁷³

As Ervin Ernest Newcombe related, although earlier attempts (in 1903) were made to extend the normal school course,⁷⁴ it took a change of government in 1905 and the leadership of the new Minister of Education, Dr. Robert Pyne and his dynamic Superintendent, John Seath, to bring about the needed reform.⁷⁵ Many of Putman's (and others') suggestions were implemented including the closing down of most model schools, the expansion of the normal schools (four additional ones were built), improvements in the academic standing of normal school staff allowing some specialization, and more exacting admission standards (sixty per cent aggregate and forty per cent in each subject).⁷⁶ There was greater de-centralization of examinations and practice teaching

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid.

74 Ervin Ernest Newcombe, The Development of Elementary School Teacher Education in Ontario Since 1900, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1965, p. 29-31.

75 Ibid., p. 46.

76 Ibid., p. 47-52.

assessments, as well.⁷⁷

By and large, though, Newcombe characterized the reform thrust in teacher education as cautious regarding the child-study movement, and tending towards Herbartian formalism. In reference to Putman's dynamic views toward John Dewey and G. Stanley Hall at this time, Newcombe concluded,

Though, as with the United States, it might be said that Ontario's philosophy is pragmatism, it has been cautious and slow moving, requiring almost forty more years for views such as Putman expressed to become popular.⁷⁸

In another address before the Ontario Educational Association, "The Effect of Student Teachers Upon Model School Pupils",⁷⁹ Putman cast a retrospective glance back at his model school experience before going on to his new normal school appointment. He considered that the disadvantages of having student-teachers in the classroom were offset by the fact that superior training was given the pupils by their regular model school teacher.⁸⁰ The lessons were

77 Ibid., p. 54.

78 Ibid., p. 55.

79 J. H. Putman, "The Effect of Student Teachers Upon Model School Pupils", in Ontario Education Association, Proceedings of the Forty-Seventh Annual Convention Held in Toronto, 21st, 22nd, 23rd April, 1908, Toronto, Warwick, 1908, p. 309-317.

80 Ibid., p. 316.

also of short duration, therefore could not cause undue harm.⁸¹

He anticipated future problems, however, under the newly-organized normal schools because they would now be filled with inexperienced student-teachers. If these students were required to teach a minimum of twenty-five lessons as specified on the normal school curriculum, the strain on a small school would be great.⁸²

Putman offered four radical recommendations to meet this situation. Hitting the weakness of Ontario's uniform system, he asked,

Why should a curriculum say that every student must teach, at least, twenty-five lessons for criticism and grading? A student-teacher is not like a piece of furniture, which requires to pass through twenty-five processes before it is ready to crate for export.⁸³

Instead, he urged that the staff of the practice school be given some latitude, be allowed to excuse competent student-teachers from further formal tests, and allocate them to wherever their services were needed. The results would be to the student's advantage:

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid.

She would not get less, but probably more practice in teaching, but there would be this important difference. The lessons are no longer planned to suit her; she gives herself up wholly to the needs of the children [...] she shows her individuality more clearly, and gains greatly in confidence.⁸⁴

Four years later, after the new normal school programme had been put into effect, Putman changed his mind on the required amount of practice-teaching time:

In my opinion, an inexperienced teacher cannot profitably devote a whole school year to professional training unless she spends much more than twenty-five half-hour periods in actual teaching.⁸⁵

He advocated a fifteen weeks' course for these inexperienced, or Grade B teachers, who would receive an elementary diploma, valid only in small schools (as suggested in his 1904 speech).⁸⁶ In January, the second half of the training would be offered to experienced teachers holding these Grade B diplomas, after one year of teaching. Their diploma, granted after a five-months' course, would be valid in any public school. Thus, the supply of teachers would be increased by five hundred and a much better teacher would be graduated.⁸⁷ This suggestion of an interim certificate

84 Ibid.

85 J. H. Putman, "How to Provide Adequate Supply of Teachers for Rural Schools", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Fifty-First Annual Convention, Toronto, April 9, 10, 11, 12, 1912, Toronto, Briggs, p. 371.

86 Ibid.

87 Ibid.

followed by experience in teaching before a permanent one was granted, Putman repeated regarding proposed Kindergarten Summer School reforms in 1918,⁸⁸ but the Department only introduced it in 1925, after a second petition from the Men and Women Teachers' Federations complaining about the overcrowding of the profession.⁸⁹ Thus, it took a glut on the market, instead of the 1912 shortage, to make the Department introduce Putman's recommendation.

In his third 1908 suggestion, grouping of the pupils, Putman revealed a new technique that he probably had tried in his Ottawa Model School lessons (see Chapter Three). He wrote that it worked best with senior classes where pupils had developed self-control:

Instead of giving a student-teacher a whole class, or the whole of one section of a class, give him a few pupils. Six, eight or ten, selecting those who need the instruction. Allow the others to work at seats during the teaching period. The next recitation, or the next day, a different group of pupils will be chosen. The student gets the full amount of practice, but the individual pupil spends less time under student-instruction, and more time at seat work, a form of work, which in my opinion, should never go out of fashion.⁹⁰

88 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1918, Box 51, 8-37, Item 1, letter of Putman to the Deputy Minister, Ottawa, July 31, 1918.

89 Doris French, High Button Bootstraps, Toronto, Ryerson, 1968, p. 60-61.

90 Putman, "The Effect of Student Teachers Upon Model School Pupils", p. 317.

This tied in with his final recommendation, "that student-teachers should have increased opportunity to supervise seat-work in the practice school".⁹¹ One can see here Putman's concern to develop flexibility and thoroughness in his teachers, and independence as well as individualized methods of instruction for his pupils. But, even under the new régime, this autonomy from the Department's rigid control was not to be. As John Rogers outlined in his chapter, "The System Under Strain, 1907-1920",⁹² the new Superintendent, John Seath, made sure that greater centralization, more detailed uniform regulations and careful inspection were put into effect. Many of Putman's suggestions regarding the reform of practice teaching would have to wait until the 1960's to be implemented.

The same could be said of his secondary school recommendations. In a series of three very frank letters⁹³ to the newspaper Putman reviewed the current collegiate institute scene and critically assessed the Board's plans to

91 Ibid.

92 S. John Rogers, The Organization, Control and Administration of the Teacher Training System of Ontario: 1900-1920, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Ottawa, 1973, p. 148-153; and see Newcombe, Op. Cit., p. 53.

93 J. H. Putman, "Secondary Education", letter to the Editor, in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, July 2, 1907, p. 4; J. H. Putman, "Secondary Education II", in Ibid., July 3, 1907, p. 5; J. H. Putman, "Secondary Education III", in Ibid., July 4, 1907, p. 7.

spend two hundred thousand dollars for extensive improvements to the existing building (Lisgar Collegiate Institute). He asked that the question be debated publicly before being undertaken. "Its consequences will be serious because what is done will largely determine the trend of secondary education for the next generation."⁹⁴

True to his liberal democratic beliefs, what Putman really objected to was the élitist, grammar-school policy of the Ottawa Collegiate Institute Board:

The great majority of the Ottawa taxpayers are humble people against whose children the Collegiate doors are barred and double-barrred by the exorbitant fees. They are already paying taxes to support a school open only to the well-to-do and the rich.⁹⁵

More particularly, joining the campaigners throughout the province for free technical secondary education, Puman asked,

Is any attempt to be made in this new building to give technical instruction? Is there to be a modern commercial course and will it be free? [...] In short will the school be of the twentieth century or will it continue to cling fondly to the traditions of the old Grammar School established in 1843?⁹⁶

Agreeing with the optimistic beliefs of the large number of

94 Putman, "Secondary Education", in Ibid., July 2, 1907, p. 4.

95 Putman, "Secondary Education II", in Ibid., July 3, 1907, p. 5.

96 Ibid.

environmentalists⁹⁷ of his day, Putman stated why he advocated these differentiated types of secondary schools. They were to answer the needs of the disaffected adolescent who tended to leave school at fourteen and drift from one dead-end job to another:

In a large city like Ottawa a technical and commercial school should form as essential a part of the secondary school system as algebra, Latin and history. The Ottawa Collegiate Institute is partly filled to-day with boys who are a constant source of trouble to both parents and teachers, wholly because they are forced into courses of study for which they have neither aptitude nor inclination. Nature decreed that their wits should be sharpened by 'doing things' and 'making things'. Parents and teachers say that they must be educated by studying books and the result is disappointing.⁹⁸

97 This prevalent attitude was well illustrated in an editorial urging the establishment of a juvenile court: "Let it be remembered that no child is a criminal. Youth is unmoral rather than immoral. A childish misdeed is more misdirection than mischief. It is the outcome of outside influences much more than inner motivation. The influence of environment is strong, and the child's power of resistance is weak [...]. It takes years to morally root oneself firmly so as to be able to resist temptation. All of this must be realized in dealing with juvenile delinquents.", lead editorial in The Morning Citizen, Ottawa, March 21, 1908, p. 6.

98 Putman, "Secondary Education III", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, July 4, 1907, p. 7.

Thus Putman began his pragmatist's attack on the classical bastions of the Collegiate Institute Board.⁹⁹ Through his promotion of evening technical classes, the School for Higher English, and the Manual Arts School, he was able to crumble these walls, but it took until 1917 before the Ottawa Technical School finally was established.¹⁰⁰ Ten years earlier, Putman outlined what could be done. Twenty thousand dollars could be used, along with the increased government grant to adapt the central Collegiate Institute into a technical and commercial school.¹⁰¹ Then, for \$150,000 the Board could erect a second building to accommodate seven or eight hundred pupils interested in a matriculation or general culture course.¹⁰²

99 Ottawa's Collegiate Institute was one of the most distinguished in the province, particularly in the fields of mathematics and classics; see, "Three Quarters of a Century of Education in Bytown and the Capital City of Ottawa", full page historical outline in Ibid., August 1, 1907, p. 10.

100 H. R. Cummings and W. T. MacSkimming, The City of Ottawa Public Schools, A Brief History, Ottawa, The Ottawa Board of Education, 1971, p. 72.

101 Putman, "Secondary Education III", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, July 4, 1907, p. 7; in rebuttal to this a "prominent collegiate supporter" is quoted as saying that although a technical school would be a good thing, at least \$100,000 would be necessary to strengthen the floors and ceilings and install the heavy machinery required: see, "Defends Policy of Collegiate", in The Morning Citizen, Ottawa, July 9, 1907, p. 4.

102 Putman, "Secondary Education III", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, July 4, 1907, p. 7; this would cost at least \$250,000, estimated the collegiate supporter and would be impossible to finance: see, "Defends Policy of Collegiate", in The Morning Citizen, Ottawa, July 9, 1907, p. 4.

But Putman's most revolutionary proposal was one that advocated secondary education facilities for Ottawa's French-speaking population:

Especially I ask should the thirty thousand French citizens of Ottawa, who make little or no use of the Collegiate, be taxed to educate the children of English-speaking people? Can the English-speaking people preserve their self-respect and accept this help?

Will any attempt be made to make the school popular with the French people by providing French teachers who will give their instruction wholly in French?¹⁰³

He claimed that, "Every public-spirited citizen wishes that the two races should be brought closer together, not by coercing the minority and forcing them to lose their own language and tradition, but by meeting on common ground".¹⁰⁴

As another Gladstonian Liberal, the early Sir Wilfrid Laurier,¹⁰⁵ Putman believed optimistically that equality of opportunity would solve what he frankly admitted was a race problem in Ottawa.¹⁰⁶ Thus,

¹⁰³ Putman, "Secondary Education II", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, July 3, 1907, p. 5.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Arthur M. Lower, Canadians in the Making, Don Mills, Longmans, 1958, p. 224, 254 and 326.

¹⁰⁶ Putman, "Secondary Education III", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, July 4, 1907, p. 7.

[...] there must be a Collegiate to meet the special needs of the French people. Why not build one? The Ontario government will surely grant permission to do that which is honorable and just. To be born French ought not to be a misfortune in a country where the French people were guaranteed equal privileges. And no one can say that the French of our city do enjoy equal rights if they are taxed to support secondary schools, and yet denied one which they can use.¹⁰⁷

If the school were built in the centre of the French population, staffed with at least half French-speaking teachers having "the same high standard of scholarship as teachers in corresponding classes, in the purely English school",¹⁰⁸ Putman predicted that scores of English-speaking students would voluntarily choose to enrol at the school. As well, after three years in operation, he believed that many French-speaking students would elect to attend English schools to perfect the second language. "Then by a constant interchange of pupils, French and English will come together without either sacrificing their self-respect, and both will have better opportunities to perfect themselves in a second language".¹⁰⁹

107 Ibid.

108 Ibid.; to this, the collegiate supporter replied that it was impossible to find even one fully-qualified French teacher, and the cost of the school would be at least \$150,000: see, "Defends Policy of Collegiate", in The Morning Citizen, Ottawa, July 9, 1907, p. 4.

109 Putman, "Secondary Education III", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, July 4, 1907, p. 7.

Putman's "equal rights" proposals both for the poor and for the French-speaking population of Ottawa, aside from being impractical economically at that time,¹¹⁰ were somewhat naive about the political realities both of the Irish-French separate school controversy of the time,¹¹¹ and of the Ontario Government's policy which was to crystallize in F. W. Merchant's Report of 1912 (Regulation Seventeen).¹¹² Putman himself had a difficult time against the Orange Lodge members of the Ottawa Public School Board in introducing French as a subject in the School for Higher English in 1917.¹¹³

110 "Defends Policy of Collegiate", in The Morning Citizen, Ottawa, July 9, 1907, p. 4.

111 Manoly R. Lupul, "Educational Crisis in the New Dominion to 1917", in J. Donald Wilson, et al., Ed., Canadian Education: A History, Scarborough, Prentice-Hall, 1970, p. 283; from 1895 the Christian Brothers controversy had inflamed the separate school scene; the 1906 Judicial Committee decision against them had just been passed.

112 Ibid., p. 284.

113 "French Teaching High Classes of English Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, September 7, 1917, p. 7; and, "French In The Schools", lead editorial of The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, October 6, 1917, p. 4: deploras the defeat of this motion. In 1922, when the motion for teaching French after school was re-introduced, Trustee Shipman is reported to have said that "the teaching of French was so closely connected with Roman Catholic teaching that it was detrimental", in "Scrappy Session of Public School Board Over Teaching Of French In Extra Classes", The Citizen, Ottawa, April 7, 1922, p. 2. Fortunately, Shipman's objections were defeated by 1922 and French classes were begun: see, Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1922, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1921, And The Senior Inspector's Report For 1922 (n.p., n.d.), p. 71 and 76.

In his tolerant approach to the problem, however, he proved himself to be a liberal reformer, seventy years in advance of events.

3. Queen's University, 1907-1910.

Between 1896 and 1910, Putman was registered at Queen's University as an extra-mural student, completing his Bachelor of Arts in April 1899, as previously mentioned in Chapter Three, his Bachelor of Pedagogy in September, 1907, and his Doctor of Pedagogy in May of 1910.¹¹⁴ He was in the first graduating classes of the latter two degree courses. As he suggested, the most powerful intellectual influence on him at this time was Professor John Watson, a disciple of Kant and Caird. Although Putman's thesis on Egerton Ryerson reflected to a certain extent the idealist's (Carlyle's "hero") approach to history, it revealed, fundamentally a more scientific form of historiography, mirroring influences to which he was exposed in his course work, influences of the pragmatic philosophers and laboratory-trained psychologists.

As Putman mentioned in 1899, Professor John Watson's classes in mental and moral philosophy gave him a good

¹¹⁴ Douglas Library, Queen's University Archives, Student Register, No. 3029, "John Harold Putman", p. 584.

groundwork for all the psychology teaching required in the Normal School.¹¹⁵ He was registered in the Senior Philosophy, Division I class in 1899.¹¹⁶ The First Department undertook a critical study of the philosophy of Immanuel Kant, using Watson's and Caird's texts on the subject.¹¹⁷

Putman was very fortunate to be in Watson's class, for as John Grant wrote, John Watson

[...] was known to fellow-scholars as a leading Kantian and to his students as an unusually stimulating teacher. Queen's in the late nineteenth century combined religious and moral earnestness with a spirit of free inquiry, emphasizing philosophical idealism in its undergraduate course [...]. Its period of eminence represented [...] a transplantation to Canada of Scottish intellectual vigour. It had an immense influence, however, in awakening students to questions that had seldom interested Canadians before.¹¹⁸

A generation of teachers, Grant continued, arose "who regarded it as an important part of their duty to help students to come to terms with biblical criticism and Darwinism without abandoning their Christian commitment [...]".¹¹⁹ For at

115 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 42, Item 17, Putman's letter of application dated Ottawa, December 5, 1899.

116 Douglas Library, Queen's University Archives, Calendar of Queen's College and University For the Year 1899-1900, Parts I and II, Kingston, (n.p.), 1899, p. 154.

117 Ibid., p. 68.

118 John Webster Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era, Toronto, McGraw Hill, 1972, p. 60.

119 Ibid.

this time these two attacks were being waged on religious beliefs:

More corrosive of Protestant orthodoxy than uncertainties about biblical authorship, perhaps, was a widespread conviction that for the religious person moral imperatives carry more weight than revealed doctrine.¹²⁰

Watson voiced this more rational approach because, as John A. Irving related, "[...] he preferred to regard Christianity as an ideal of conduct rather than an historical theology".¹²¹ His Speculative Idealism Watson defined as a doctrine that affirmed that man was capable of knowing Reality as it actually is and when it is so known it is absolutely rational.¹²² In the name of his religious idealism he was constantly on the warpath against the American pragmatists, as well as Tyndall, Nietzsche and Spencer.¹²³ He was devastating in his criticism of positivism and materialism.¹²⁴ To Putman, who had just begun to read Dewey's writings and who visited American science classes in Oswego at this time (see Chapter Three, section 2), Watson's attacks

120 Ibid.

121 John A. Irving, "The Development of Philosophy in Central Canada from 1850 to 1900", in Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 31, No. 3, September, 1950, p. 274.

122 Ibid.

123 Ibid., p. 273.

124 Ibid., p. 272.

must have raised many questions in his mind. He was able to reconcile these conflicting views because, as mentioned previously, Putman concluded that Hall and Dewey were "the logical American expression and application of much that was implicit in Pestalozzi, Froebel and Spencer".¹²⁵ As Irving concluded about nineteenth century idealism, Putman must have recognized then that

[...] idealism could perform its distinctive philosophical function only from the standpoint and in the name of a reality transcending all human and temporal limitations.¹²⁶

He retained the moral preoccupation of Watson and idealism, though, for Putman's writings constantly referred to the fact that moral instruction and character formation were the ultimate goals of education (see especially, Putman's 1915 Inspector's Report¹²⁷).

In his 1906-1907 "Special Course for Teachers" (so listed because Queen's had not yet been granted authority to have a Bachelor of Pedagogy course), Putman was exposed now in his course work to an admixture of idealism and pragmatism.

125 J. H. Putman, Fifty Years at School, An Educationist Looks at Life, Toronto, Clarke Irwin, 1938, p. 29.

126 Irving, Op. Cit., p. 285.

127 J. H. Putman, "Moral Instruction in Public Schools and the Curriculum of Studies", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1915, Ottawa Public School Board, Ottawa, January 26, 1916, p. 6-20.

Section A referred back to the mental and moral philosophy "General Course" and suggested readings in Plato, Aristotle, Kant and Hegel.¹²⁸ In Section B, as well, the philosophers examined in the fields of logic, ethics and aesthetics were largely idealists. They included Hegel, Bradley, Green, Schiller and Ruskin.¹²⁹ (Putman acknowledged his debt to Ruskin in his appreciation of art.¹³⁰) In the psychology paper, however, Putman was exposed to the latest scientific laboratory approach in Wundt's Physiological Psychology and its American development in William James' Principles of Psychology.¹³¹ Section C, on the History and Science of Education, indicated a number of "modern" and child-centred educators to be studied, such as Rousseau (Emile), Pestalozzi, Herbart, Horace Mann, Froebel, Sir Joshua Fitch, Harris and Dewey (School and Society).¹³² Question Two in the examination Putman wrote in April, 1907, for Section C, dealt specifically with the question of science: "Compare the views of Spencer and Fouillée as to the value of science

128 Douglas Library, Queen's University Archives, Calendar of Queen's College and University For the Year 1906-1907, Kingston, 1906, p. 121.

129 Ibid., p. 122.

130 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 72.

131 Douglas Library, Queen's Calendar 1906-1907, p. 125.

132 Ibid.

in education."¹³³

In his 1909-1910 doctoral programme, Putman was introduced to Seashore's Laboratory Course in Psychology, as well as to Ward's Applied Sociology,¹³⁴ thus continuing the practical scientific balance to what Newcombe labelled the "heavily theoretical B. Paed. and D. Paed. courses".¹³⁵ The critical notes on "Leibniz's Influences" that Putman was able to write at the back of his Leibniz text,¹³⁶ however, showed that the philosophical foundations which he had acquired from his Queen's courses allowed him to compare different philosophical systems most effectively. This intellectual training would stand him in good stead for his future public school work.

In the fall of 1912, Putman's doctoral thesis, Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada,¹³⁷ was

133 Douglas Library, Queen's University Archives, Calendar of Queen's College and University for the Year 1907-1908, Kingston, 1907, p. 130.

134 Ibid., "Appendix - Faculty of Education", in Calendar of Queen's College and University For the Year 1909-1910, Kingston, British Whig (printers), p. 24.

135 Newcombe, Op. Cit., p. 65.

136 John Dewey, Leibniz's New Essays Concerning The Human Understanding, A Critical Exposition, Chicago, Griggs, 1888, xvii-272 p.; Putman's signature and handwriting identified by Miss Irene Putman, May 31, 1972.

137 J. Harold Putman, Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada, Toronto, Briggs, 1912, 270 p.

published. A review of it in the local newspaper noted "that Mr. Putman has been most painstaking in searching old records with which to verify every statement he has made".¹³⁸ Because the history of early education in Ontario was so closely linked to Ryerson's administration, the reviewer noted the fact that Putman dwelt a great deal on Ryerson's character. He concluded,

Mr. Putman has given an uncolored account of these early days in education and his volume will be of great historical value. With a subject comparatively involved and closely woven with a mass of detail he has produced an intensely interesting book.¹³⁹

A more scholarly review of it was written by a fellow educator, W. Pakenham.¹⁴⁰ He began by declaring that "this sketch"¹⁴¹ was very welcome, particularly following Dr. Hodgkin's three-volume compilation which tended to lack historical detachment. Putman's work, on the other hand,

138 "Inspector Putman on Early Education in Upper Canada", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, November 27, 1912, p. 4.

139 Ibid.

140 W. Pakenham, "Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada. By J. Harold Putman. Toronto: William Briggs. 1912, Pp. 270.", in George M. Wrong, Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada, Vol. 17, Publications of the Year 1912, Toronto, University Press, 1913, p. 216-218.

141 Ibid., p. 216.

[...] is not a compilation, but a work with both purpose and plan. It is, moreover, a whole whose parts are kept in due proportion, and throughout whose parts Ryerson appears merely as an instrument in the evolution of the educational system of Upper Canada.¹⁴²

Commending Putman on the skilful ordering of the material, Pakenham then summarized the overall arrangement: a brief biographical sketch of Ryerson, followed by three chapters which outlined education in Upper Canada ("and tell it better, perhaps, than it has been told by anyone else"¹⁴³), then seven chapters dealing particularly with Ryerson's legislative accomplishments. He especially liked Putman's realistic assessment of Ryerson as not being a scholar, nor a popular man, being autocratic in method with no real sympathy for popular government, and not having a creative mind.¹⁴⁴ "To have said as much as this is to shatter some fond traditions in Upper Canada. Dr. Putman has said it, and, to all appearances, proved it",¹⁴⁵ Pakenham concluded.

Thus, Putman succeeded in his primarily pragmatic purpose:

142 Ibid., p. 217.

143 Ibid.

144 Ibid.

145 Ibid.

The object of this volume is to give a succinct idea of the nature and history of our Ontario School Legislation. This legislation is so bound up with the name of Egerton Ryerson that to give its history is to relate the work of his life.¹⁴⁶

And, as a teacher, he "hoped that this volume may encourage teachers in service and teachers in training to acquire a fuller knowledge of their own educational institutions".¹⁴⁷

Throughout the book, Harley Cummings believed, shone Putman's admiration for Ryerson:

Undoubtedly Dr. Putman saw himself as another Ryerson and consciously, to some extent at least, followed Ryerson's methods. Both men were born on farms. Both were essentially optimistic and laboured like giants to build a better school system. Ryerson's 'Journal of Education' had its modern counterpart in Dr. Putman's annual reports which informed the public and persuaded acceptance of changes which he deemed desirable.¹⁴⁸

And yet, was this necessarily the "hero" approach to history imitative of Thomas Carlyle, as Donald Wilson suggested,¹⁴⁹ or did Putman, as Wilson himself, not portray history in the perspective of social and cultural evolution?

146 Putman, Egerton Ryerson, p. 3.

147 Ibid., p. 4.

148 H. R. Cummings, Dr. J. H. Putman 1866-1940, Ottawa, (n.p.) June, 1969, p. 7.

149 J. Donald Wilson, "The Ryerson Years in Canada West", in Wilson, Canadian Education, p. 214.

Putman's thesis can be contrasted sharply with the more contemporary thesis of Sylvia Carlton on Ryerson.¹⁵⁰ Putman's material was arranged chronologically to match the legislative evolution he was outlining (see chapter arrangement, as described above). Her approach was thematic and used Ryerson's letters, drafts, and memoranda much more extensively. These unpublished primary sources were not available in Putman's day. According to his bibliography,¹⁵¹ he had access only to Ryerson's correspondence with provincial secretaries found in the Canadian Archives, Ottawa, as well as numerous published letters, reports, journals, books and newspaper articles. Putman's more social approach is easier to follow and recorded the changes in Ryerson's life and thought more vividly, especially during his last years when he faced heavy charges of autocracy. On this score, Putman was able to criticize Ryerson, who

[...] had so long and so successfully wielded an arbitrary power that he could not acquiesce in the system which made his Department subordinate to a responsible Cabinet. In 1873, Oliver Mowat became Attorney-General, and he, too, found Ryerson obdurate.¹⁵²

150 Sylvia Carlton, Egerton Ryerson and Education in Ontario, 1844-1877, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1950, vi-416 p.

151 Putman, Egerton Ryerson, p. 270.

152 Ibid., p. 31.

But Putman could appreciate the difficulties of the old man to change his ways. He believed that Ryerson,

Even had he wished to do so, [...] never could have divested himself wholly of the character of priest and pedagogue. He was always either shouting from the pulpit or thumping the desk of the schoolmaster.

His environment after 1844 strengthened and developed his natural tendency to be autocratic.¹⁵³

Putman's portrayal of Ryerson and his legislative environment throughout the book, despite his lack of modern research facilities, corresponded in facts and interpretation more closely with Wilson's social approach¹⁵⁴ than to Carlton's ideational one. (She claimed that previous studies did not give enough weight to what Ryerson gleaned from foreign countries,¹⁵⁵ yet Putman wrote of Ryerson's debt to other educators as follows: "His Report contains comparatively little that is original, being made up of ninety per cent. of quotations from Horace Mann's Report and from reports of eminent European statesmen and educators."¹⁵⁶) Putman used quotations extensively from Ryerson's speeches,

153 Ibid., p. 265.

154 Wilson, Op. Cit., p. 190-239.

155 Carlton, Op. Cit., p. 4.

156 Putman, Egerton Ryerson, p. 110; Putman frequently placed a period after "per cent." to indicate its abbreviated form.

reports and legislative acts to buttress his points.¹⁵⁷ His great forte was an ability to summarize the main provisions of an Act and then interpret them succinctly. This could be seen, especially, in Putman's discussion of the Education Act of 1843, in which he listed five principal weaknesses.¹⁵⁸ He constantly kept in mind the social context of the educational reforms he was outlining and interpreted their success or failure on their suitability for that time:

Looking at the matter three-quarters of a century later, we can see that really good schools were not then immediately possible. Schools, like everything else, cannot be created at command. They are the result of evolution.¹⁵⁹

Thus, despite his more limited documentary resources, Putman chose an overall historical approach to the topic, which emphasized Ryerson in the setting of his time and interpreted his speeches and legislative acts critically and succinctly. Pakenham criticized Putman for his hasty research and

157 Ibid., p. 107-108, Ryerson's speech on non-sectarian universities; p. 70-72, Ryerson's 1831 proposal for the Upper Canada Academy in the Christian Guardian; p. 78-79, Ryerson's approval of plan of taxation in 1834; p. 120-122, seven powers of the government quoted from Ryerson's First Report of 1847; p. 129-130, quoted Ryerson on the evils of the old school rate bills, arguing that rates should be levied upon the property of the section.

158 Ibid., p. 103-104.

159 Ibid., p. 96; and see, p. 97, 108-109, and p. 245-246.

resulting few errors of name, place and date,¹⁶⁰ but he did not fault him for lack of supporting evidence: "[...] Dr. Putman is never without an argument or quotation in support of his views."¹⁶¹

But, the question could still be asked, did Putman not reflect any biases in his portrayal of Ryerson and the educational reforms for which he was responsible? Pakenham pointed out several areas in which Putman's strong point of view might cause dissension:

Of course, the reader may not always accept Dr. Putman's conclusions. He is impatient, for instance, with Dr. Strachan's indifference towards the common schools, forgetting that, as President of King's College and as Bishop, Strachan's first interests lay elsewhere. He is severe in his condemnation of the exclusive tendencies of Upper Canada College and of King's College even after 1840, but has no words of condemnation for other academies and universities which were more exclusive in organization, and yet were clamorous for state aid. Few will follow him in his description of the Council of 1839 as 'hide-bound worshippers of European traditions'.¹⁶²

Putman made no mention of Bishop Strachan's 1815 report recommending a system of common schools for Upper Canada,¹⁶³ nor his 1819 amendment to the Grammar School Act pressing for free tuition for all children who showed

160 Pakenham, Op. Cit., p. 218.

161 Ibid.

162 Ibid., p. 217-218.

163 Wilson, Op. Cit., p. 203.

promise.¹⁶⁴ As well, Putman only reported on the final phases of Strachan's university negotiations: "He there issued an appeal to the English people for aid on the ground that the proposed College would be largely occupied in educating clergymen for the Anglican Church."¹⁶⁵ And he did not investigate Strachan's original plan, blocked by the Reformers, to have a university without religious tests or qualifications for either students or professors.¹⁶⁶ In fact, as Wilson noted, this was the only provision that remained of Strachan's original plan, "that the professors, excluding members of the Divinity School, did not have to be Anglicans except those who would be appointed to the College Council".¹⁶⁷ Thus, Putman, in his assessment of Strachan, was somewhat too willing to accept Ryerson's point of view and paint the Anglican bishop as a black protagonist.

In his treatment of the separate school question, Putman also tended to be biased by his Protestant background as well as by, perhaps, Victorian reticence over sensitive issues.

164 Ibid., p. 203-204.

165 Putman, Fgerton Ryerson, p. 56.

166 Wilson, Op. Cit., p. 206.

167 Ibid.

Putman's whole thrust was, as Ryerson's, towards the position that separate schools should eventually die out. He twice stated that "Separate Schools were at first grudgingly granted as a privilege, but not as a right".¹⁶⁸ He made no distinctions, either in his statistics or in his exposition, between three kinds of separate schools then in effect, for linguistic groups, for special racial groups and for special "denominational" groups.¹⁶⁹ Thus, growth of special denominational groups, for instance, which was the one Putman meant, could not be assessed properly. In his outline of the development of separate schools in Upper Canada he followed Ryerson's Acts and intentions closely.¹⁷⁰ He also brought in the influence of political exigencies on the question.¹⁷¹ He noted, as well, the tendency, since the passing of the Taché Bill of 1855 and the Scott Act of 1863 of "the Separate Schools [being brought] into closer harmony with the principles governing Public Schools".¹⁷² He even brought the separate school question up-to-date, outlining

168 Putman, Egerton Ryerson, p. 183; and see, p. 180.

169 C. J. Jaenen, "French Public Education in Manitoba", in Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, Vol. 38, No. 1, 1968, p. 20.

170 Putman, Egerton Ryerson, p. 173-203.

171 Ibid., p. 193-195.

172 Ibid., p. 198.

the Privy Council decision of 1906 to have similar academic training and standing of separate school as public school teachers.¹⁷³

Putman pointed out that Ryerson's principles in one respect proved wrong. Ryerson believed that the 1853 Act was final and that without municipal machinery for collecting separate school taxes the Roman Catholics eventually would have seen that their children were being deprived and would join the public system.¹⁷⁴ But, as Putman outlined, events proved him wrong.

In the main, though, Putman tended to follow Ryerson's analysis of the separate school problem and did not try to gain any objective distance by bringing in the great Catholic and Evangelical revivals,¹⁷⁵ which were behind the separate school issue and led to George Brown's famous debate over "Dr. Wiseman's Manifesto". Nor did Putman point out Brown's voluntaryist¹⁷⁶ Orange attitude (except by quoting his attacks on Ryerson) as against the position of the Canada West

173 Ibid., p. 203.

174 Ibid., p. 192-193.

175 Wilson, Op. Cit., p. 235.

176 Ibid.: "voluntaryism, the principle that no church or sect should receive state aid in any form but should be supported solely by voluntary contributions. This was a typical Non-Conformist, Victorian liberal view and flew in the face of the traditional Catholic and Church of England attitude towards church-state co-operation."

Catholics. Finally, Putman made no mention of the Ottawa Valley separate school controversy which flared up in the press, particularly between 1886 and 1906.¹⁷⁷ Thus, his silence on these questions and resulting lack of historical perspective led to a Protestant (Ryersonian) interpretation of separate schools which detracted from the over-all scholarship of his thesis.

To Wilson's charge that Putman may have been influenced by "the 'hero' theory of history made familiar by Thomas Carlyle",¹⁷⁸ it has been shown that Putman was not uncritical of Ryerson. In his assessment of Ryerson's achievements, however, Putman's judgment was influenced decidedly by his Protestant value system:

In one department of work Ryerson stood in a class by himself. He was without peer as an administrator. His intensely practical mind was quick to discover the shortest route between end and means. His energy, his system and attention to details, his broad personal knowledge of actual conditions, his capacity for long periods of effort, his thrift, his courteous treatment of subordinates, and even his sensitiveness to criticism were factors which enabled him to administer the most difficult Department of the Government with ease and smoothness.¹⁷⁹

He could not fault, as well, those aspects of Ryerson's

177 Ibid., p. 236; and see, Lupul, Op. Cit., p. 283.

178 Ibid., p. 214; and letter to the author from Professor Donald Wilson, dated Thunder Bay, October 13, 1971.

179 Putman, Egerton Ryerson, p. 267-268.

character which Clara Thomas termed "awesomely serious" and "obsessionally devoted to both learning and the Godly life".¹⁸⁰ He would have agreed with her on Ryerson's strength as being "his willingness to see necessity and to adapt to it, particularly when he was persuaded that a constitutional, legal principle was involved",¹⁸¹ but he did not notice Ryerson's vulnerability to attack because of this.

In effect, Putman greatly revered Ryerson:

He gave us lofty ideals of the meaning and purpose of life, and he had an abiding faith in the power of popular education to aid in a realization of these ideals; he fought for free schools in Upper Canada when they needed a valiant champion. Let the present generation of men and women honour the memory of the man who wrought so faithfully for their fathers and grandfathers.¹⁸²

And he justified Ryerson's paradoxically autocratic behaviour in pushing through his liberal reforms¹⁸³ on two bases: he was able to retain the confidence of the people, and he was able to completely construct his educational system for the province over a period of thirty years with no

180 Clara Thomas, Ryerson of Upper Canada, Toronto, Ryerson, 1969, p. 31.

181 Ibid., p. 83; and see Putman's admiration of this in Egerton Ryerson, p. 24.

182 Putman, Egerton Ryerson, p. 268.

183 Thomas, Op. Cit., p. 92; she pointed out that his benevolent paternalism as against his progressive thrust (characteristics which Putman also exhibited) presented an unusual paradox.

interruptions.¹⁸⁴ In conclusion, therefore, Putman's judgment of Ryerson was based on his pragmatic success:

Every man must be judged according to the way he makes use of his opportunities, and by such a standard no man in Canadian public life has ever measured higher than Egerton Ryerson.¹⁸⁵

Perhaps a more accurate assessment of Putman's historiography would be to say, as Thomas declared of Ryerson himself with respect to the charge of heroism, that it was tempered with the pragmatism of his Methodist heritage. Of Ryerson she wrote that he

[...] could not possibly have been heroically, independently reckless of consequences. By nature, by conviction, and by training he was quite unlikely to fall into any heroic stance, because he, and Methodism, made very sharp distinctions between man and God, men and heroes. Likewise, he, and Methodism, assessed very realistically the powers and pressures affecting men. Methodism moulded men to act with an independence of conscience voluntarily limited, within a framework of corporately determined 'law'. As within the Discipline and the Conference, so within the state: a man's responsibility was to push where his conscience dictated pushing, but also not to push to the breaking point the order which sustained him.¹⁸⁶

By 1910, then, Putman's scholarship and intellectual development had reached a high level. He had contributed incisively, and in some cases, radically to educational

184 Putman, Egerton Ryerson, p. 266.

185 Ibid., p. 24.

186 Thomas, Op. Cit., p. 71.

debates on teacher-training and secondary education. His recommendations regarding equal opportunities in technical education for the poor and secondary education in their own language for the French-speaking population of Ottawa indicated that he was a liberal democrat far ahead of his time. He had pioneered a new format of history text-book, Britain and the Empire, which revealed the Gladstonian Liberal origins of his democratic political philosophy. In his course work at Queen's University, Putman was given a good grounding in idealistic philosophy and contemporary laboratory-oriented psychology. His thesis on Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada not only was reviewed favourably when it was published as a book, but it contributed substantially to educational history. Putman graduated in 1910 as a Doctor of Pedagogy with a thorough grounding in the theory and practice of education up to this time. His writings revealed a clear thinker and a dynamic practical administrator. He was ready for his future career as Inspector of the Ottawa Public School Board. He had prepared himself very effectively for this new challenge in educational leadership.

PART II

NEW EDUCATION IN A PROGRESSIVE CURRICULUM

During the first twelve years of Putman's term of office as Inspector of the Ottawa Public Schools, the curriculum of the schools under his jurisdiction shifted in a most progressive fashion. From a largely book-oriented course of studies, under Dr. J. C. Glashan's régime, the thrust under Putman's guidance was much more toward handwork. The isolated efforts of the manual training and kindergarten movements in this New Education direction now were expanded into the regular grades. All children in the Ottawa Public Schools were exposed to sewing, woodwork, clay and construction work, nature studies, art, music and physical education. Senior boys could take metal-work and girls cooking classes. Many of these handwork studies were integrated with the other courses, and interesting community models, or projects, appeared in the early 1920's.

In this second stage of the New Education movement, the handwork ventures lost much of their idealistic and spiritual overtones and became more pragmatic. The writings of John Dewey and G. Stanley Hall, and the visits of Dewey and his follower, William Wirt of Gary, to Ottawa for the Dominion Educational Association meeting in 1917 undoubtedly hastened this shift of New Education into more progressive

directions. Part Two, therefore, will trace the development and pragmatic orientation of Putman's New Education curriculum throughout the Ottawa Public Schools from 1911 to 1923.

CHAPTER V

A SCHOOL FOR HIGHER ENGLISH AND APPLIED ARTS

On November first, 1910, Dr. John Harold Putman became Inspector of the City of Ottawa Public Schools. From his academic and professional background he could assess the Ottawa schools in a realistic manner. He judged them to be moderately-progressive but in need of a number of important changes. One of his first measures, then, was to begin the School for Higher English and Applied Arts, which embodied in its curriculum his idealistic-pragmatic philosophy. It also acted as a pilot centre for his educational reforms. Ideas which were developed here, such as domestic science classes for girls, a greatly expanded manual arts programme, art integrated with other subjects, and intermediate "rotary" classes, were later offered to all schools in the city.

The School also demonstrated Putman's strong leadership capacity. Within a year of its establishment he had quashed his opponents. The record of the School for Higher English proved to the taxpayer of Ottawa that there was a clear need for a public institution which offered a free commercial and humanistic course to Grades Nine and Ten students, as long as the Collegiate Institute continued to charge fees and to exact high examination results from its Entrance candidates.

1. Putman Appointed Inspector.

After a month of deliberating over the applications of twelve candidates, several of high calibre and four of proven experience in Ottawa,¹ Dr. John Harold Putman was elected on the first ballot to succeed Dr. J. C. Glashan as Inspector of the Ottawa Public School Board.² "The knowledge of Dr. Putman's splendid record as a teacher is understood to have helped the trustees of the Ottawa Public School Board [...] in deciding to give him the appointment as inspector."³ After outlining his "most brilliant academic and professional career",⁴ The Citizen predicted a fine future:

1 "Many Seeking Inspectorship", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, September 30, 1910, p. 8; and see pictures of candidates in Ibid., p. 1, as well as comments on their abilities in "Notes and Comments", Ibid., October 8, 1910, p. 6.

2 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1910, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1909, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, 1911, p. 160 and 167.

3 "New Inspector of Public Works [sic]", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, October 7, 1910, p. 2; and see, "Dr. J. H. Putman Is Inspector" with picture, in Ibid.

4 "New Inspector of Ottawa Public Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, October 7, 1910, p. 2; and see Ibid., p. 1.

Mr. J. H. Putman, the new inspector of public schools in this city, is eminently qualified for the responsible position to which he has been appointed. Mr. Putman's experience will prove of the greatest value to the board and under his direction it is expected that the institutions within his jurisdiction will attain a degree of efficiency in keeping with the growth and importance of the city as an educational center. The public school board is to be congratulated on its choice, a particularly difficult one in view of the many excellent applicants for the position.⁵

Putman's own evaluation of the Ottawa public schools as they were in 1910 no doubt affected his decision to apply for the inspector's position:

From the beginning many things favored me. The Ottawa schools were good schools before I had any connection with them, probably as good as any in Canada. The ratepayers were intelligent and ready to support any movement which promised a better education for their children. My predecessor had selected a good staff of teachers including a number of school principals of outstanding ability. The school buildings were rapidly being remodelled and modernized. The Board had already engaged competent supervisors for music, manual training and military drill. The Board itself was composed of progressive business and professional men who had a keen sense of the importance of education. I had lived more than sixteen years in Ottawa and my own children had attended its schools.⁶

But he cited a number of "shadows upon the picture".⁷ As noted previously, he thought too few were entering

5 "Comment", editorial page of Ibid., October 8, 1910, p. 6.

6 J. H. Putman, Fifty Years at School, An Educationist Looks at Life, Toronto, Clarke Irwin, 1938, p. 40.

7 Ibid., p. 41.

secondary school. The content of the curriculum held little interest for normal boys and girls up to fourteen years of age; "the major portion of the teachers' time even in the senior classes was devoted to sharpening the tools of learning instead of the acquisition of useful knowledge".⁸ There were too many retarded pupils in the primary and intermediate classes with no special classes for the sub-normal. "The Entrance examination, the culmination of the school course, was exercising a baneful influence over the whole curriculum".⁹ All except the youngest children had to undergo uniform written tests set by outside examiners. Sometimes half the teacher's time was spent in teaching arithmetic. There was no leadership in art and it was taught "in a perfunctory manner".¹⁰ Manual training for boys was well established but little was offered to girls in domestic economy except "a little knitting and sewing taught as an extra by a handful of enthusiastic women".¹¹ There was little influence of the well-organized Kindergarten on the handwork and games of the primary grades. "Hockey and football were made much of for the older boys but organized games for girls and younger

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

children had been neglected".¹² Good classroom equipment was lacking and "supplementary reading especially for the primary classes was a crying need".¹³ Finally, he criticized the fifth form commercial classes as follows:

Fifth forms had been established with a narrow programme of studies of which the backbone was stenography, penmanship, typewriting, and bookkeeping. There were too many of these classes for the total number of pupils and while the teachers were excellent, they lacked the technical knowledge required for instruction in commercial subjects.¹⁴

It was this problem that Putman was to attack first. The establishment of a central school for Higher English and Applied Arts with specialist teachers was to be in effect within eleven months of his taking office. The other weaknesses in the curriculum that he noted would be corrected in the ensuing six years (see following chapters). In many cases they were pioneered first at the School for Higher English before being spread throughout the Ottawa Public School system. Thus, this school became the showpiece for Putman's reforms in education.

Putman made one more observation, which was to affect his future policy with respect to the hiring practices and salaries of the teachers, first in the School for Higher

12 Ibid., p. 42.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

English, and later (outlined in Part Three) throughout the public schools of Ottawa. A believer in the idea that the key to the educational process was the teacher, he began by praising the calibre of Ottawa public school teachers:

The highest asset of the Ottawa schools in 1910 was a body of teachers sound at the core and with high ideals. The salaries were low, and it was apparent that unless they were increased a high standard in the teaching force could not be maintained. Already the custom of accepting teachers merely because they lived in Ottawa was becoming a matter of deep concern to some members of the Board and the salaries offered were too low to draw strong competition from outside points.¹⁵

Two editorials in The Citizen of 1909 paralleled Putman's assessment of the Ottawa schools very substantially. The Editor praised the excellent men on the Board and the first-class teachers and principals.¹⁶ He criticized the fact that there were no areas for playgrounds and that there was no technical or industrial school.¹⁷ He thought that the Public School Board should centralize its commercial classes and thus save itself two thousand dollars per year. There should be a better supply of reference books for teachers and pupils. "Especially ought the children to have

15 Ibid.

16 "Our City Schools", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 2, 1909, p. 6.

17 "Our City Schools II", lead editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 3, 1909, p. 6.

better texts for supplementary reading in history and geography".¹⁸ Good pictures were needed to adorn the very bare walls of the new schools. The new art curriculum suggested by the Education Department was directed by special supervisors in Toronto and London public schools. The Editor recommended using the two thousand dollars saved by centralizing the commercial classes to employ an art director for Ottawa public schools. He stressed the importance of handwork, especially for city children who had less opportunity to "do things".¹⁹ Although Ottawa was one of the first school boards in Canada to begin manual training classes, they were confined largely to the upper grades. He believed boys eight to ten years of age should use equipment which lay idle four days out of five. Girls needed handwork, as well. He urged regular sewing lessons and the use of kindergarten teachers to provide handwork to pupils in the primary grades. Finally, the Editor questioned whether one inspector was adequate for the present size of the Ottawa public schools:

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

We have one inspector who has given satisfactory service for a long term of years. He cannot possibly at his age thoroughly inspect all the classes and give adequate reports to the board upon nearly 200 teachers, many of whom are comparatively inexperienced and much in need of advice and encouragement.²⁰

This editorial proved to be a blueprint for Putman's reform measures in the next twelve years. One wonders whether his campaign for the Ottawa inspectorship had not started a year and a half before his appointment. Certainly, he was given prominent newspaper coverage as the keynote speaker at the Carleton East Teachers' Association at the end of September. He spoke on his favourite themes of "History in the Elementary School" and "Literature and Supplementary Reading".²¹ Within a week Putman was appointed Inspector of the Ottawa Public schools and could begin his reform measures on taking office November first, 1910.

2. Conception of the School.

Although the City of Ottawa had been a leader in the early campaign for domestic science²² and technical secondary

20 Ibid.

21 "History Not Taught Enough", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, September 30, 1910, p. 10.

22 Robert Miles Stamp, The Campaign for Technical Education in Ontario, 1876-1914, unpublished Doctoral thesis, The University of Western Ontario, London, 1970 (National Library of Canada, Thesis 6181), p. 99.

education,²³ and although several committees had been formed by the Ottawa Public School Board to follow up Albert Leake's 1905 suggestion of a central "Mechanical Arts High School" (see Chapter One, Section 2), nothing had been accomplished by October of 1910. At the beginning of the year Leake had reiterated his earlier recommendation:

It is hoped that the Board will be able to consider the establishment of an industrial course for boys from fourteen to sixteen years of age. On leaving school such boys are too young to enter any trade or industry, and these two years are generally wasted as far as the life of the boy is concerned.²⁴

In the meantime, two developments were to aid the Ottawa cause. On the federal level, it was announced on January twenty-eighth, 1910, that the government would set up a Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education,²⁵ headed by the promoter of the Macdonald Fund, Dr. James W. Robertson. (In later chapters, Putman's reports to this commission on manual training and the community use of schools will be outlined.) Provincially, the government had announced in August of 1909 that Superintendent John Seath was to tour the United States and Europe and to

23 Ibid., p. 118-119.

24 P.A.O., R.G.2, F-3-H, Vol. 4, 1909-11, Albert H. Leake, Report on Manual Training in the City of Ottawa 1910, stamped received January 3, 1910.

25 Stamp, Op. Cit., p. 237.

recommend a system of technical education for Ontario.²⁶ This was to be the first step leading to Ontario's Industrial Education Act of 1911. Robertson's recommendations were not enacted until Canada's Technical Education Act of 1919²⁷ was passed, but when the report came out in 1913, it received wide publicity. Putman, acting as Secretary-Treasurer of the Dominion Education Association (a post he was to hold for sixteen years),²⁸ for his first five years was under Robertson's presidency and took an active part in promoting the tenets of his report.

In the meantime, the Ottawa Public School Board was becoming impatient. No secondary school initiatives seemed to be forthcoming. For the third time it appointed a special committee and by October twenty-fourth, a week before Putman assumed office, it submitted its report:

26 Ibid., p. 232.

27 Ibid., p. 238.

28 Freeman K. Stewart, Interprovincial Co-operation In Education, The Story of the Canadian Education Association, Toronto, Gage, 1957, p. 164-165.

[...] your Committee, after full and careful consideration, believe it desirable that there be established a well equipped technical school under the control of the Public School Board for the instruction of pupils who have passed the standard of the Eighth Grade (the Senior Fourth Class) in our Public Schools, in Manual Training, Domestic Science, Commercial Knowledge and Business Transactions, Practical Studies in the various processes of the local manufactories with a view to preparation for skilled service therein, and such other special courses as may from time to time be suggested by investigation of the requirements of local industries.²⁹

The Committee recommended that a memorial be presented to the Minister of Education to this effect, inquiring whether any provincial grants could assist them to build and maintain the school.³⁰ The covering letter was sent two weeks later, when Putman had assumed office, by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Board asking what grants would be forthcoming.³¹ The reply from the Deputy Minister was non-committal:

29 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1910, p. 177.

30 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 8, I, Item 16, Ottawa P.S. Board, Erection and Establishment of One or Two Centres, 1910, copy of letter from Chas. Macnab to Ottawa Public School Board, dated Ottawa, October 24, 1910.

31 Ibid., letter from Crawford Ross to the Minister of Education, dated Ottawa, November 7, 1910.

The Minister desires me to state that the communication will have careful consideration. It should be pointed out, however, that the establishment of Technical Schools in Toronto, Hamilton, and elsewhere, have been at the cost of the municipality in each case.³²

By December, Seath's Report, Education for Industrial Purposes, largely the basis of Ontario's Industrial Education Act of 1911, was published.³³ Although the latter was not passed until March of 1911,³⁴ the Ottawa Public School Board received its grant of \$3,068.00 for technical education in January of 1911 and the way was now clear to establish the school.³⁵

In May of 1911, the School Management Committee issued a large "Report on Commercial Classes",³⁶ which was signed by Putman. It was the master plan for his new "A School For Higher English and Applied Arts" (a renovated Kent Street School), and its significance was highlighted by The Citizen with an almost complete reprint of its contents.³⁷

32 Ibid., copy of letter of Deputy Minister to Ross, dated Toronto, November 9, 1910.

33 Stamp, Op. Cit., p. 247.

34 Ibid., p. 258.

35 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1910, p. 204.

36 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1911, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1910, (n.p., n.d.) p. 105-115.

37 "Education of Practical Value", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 27, 1911, p. 3 and 16.

The newspaper praised Putman's practical administrative proposal:

That Dr. J. H. Putman, public school inspector, has given a careful and intelligent consideration to the practical problems of education, is shown by his comprehensive report to the last board meeting. He made strong criticism of the educational system, particularly as it affects pupils who later enter commercial or business life. That the board was convinced was shown by the adoption of his recommendations, which include a central commercial school, experts for teachers, and a director of writing and art work.³⁸

In what was to become a typical Putman method for his annual reports, he began with an analysis of the commercial classes as they were in 1910. After four pages of statistical tables showing enrolment and attendance in these classes since 1905, approximate cost of the commercial classes for 1910-1911, and then ages of leaving and time spent in class,³⁹ he analyzed these statistics. First, with respect to the enrolment and attendance figures, Putman stated:

In my opinion these statistics are of great interest. In the first place they prove conclusively that there is a demand for Commercial Classes. They show, however, that the number of pupils desiring this instruction is not increasing in proportion to the growth of the City. The attendance for 1910-1911 will be almost the same as that for 1907-1908.⁴⁰

38 Ibid., p. 3.

39 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1911, p. 105-108.

40 Ibid., p. 106.

He indicated, by comparing the figures at the beginning and ending of each year, that the enrolment was decreasing more and more, varying from a twenty-two per cent drop-off to a forty per cent drop-off by June of 1910. Thus, he concluded:

This falling off in attendance is due I think to two causes. In the first place, there are a number of pupils who begin the term in September without any very definite aim. They are drifting. In the second place (and this probably accounts for the greater part of the decrease) the pupils secure work and leave before graduation.⁴¹

Next, Putman analyzed the approximate cost of the five commercial classes in 1910-1911, charging one-half of the principal's salary for his time spent with them (four principals were involved).⁴² He noted that the total cost was \$9,700.00, and divided this by the 144 average attendance at these commercial classes, giving "an annual cost per pupil of \$68".⁴³ His conclusion was that these classes had too few pupils for the number of teachers, making the average cost per pupil very high.⁴⁴ Further,

41 Ibid., p. 107.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid., p. 109.

We have five of our most highly paid Principals, four of them giving a large proportion of their time, and five assistants giving their whole time to an average for the year of not more than 144 pupils. The machinery is too extensive and too complicated for the work being done.⁴⁵

He considered that in four of the five locations, Cambridge, Glashan, Kent and Percy schools, the commercial classes were too close together and added to their high cost. Against the strong argument of convenience to the pupil he maintained that all four were included in a circle, the radius of which was less than five-eighths of a mile.⁴⁶ Putman asserted that "there are no really sound objections to boys and girls fourteen to seventeen walking a mile or even two miles, especially on well kept city pavements. On the whole our young people walk too little [...]"⁴⁷

Finally, Putman presented a table showing the destination and age of each pupil at leaving, since September of 1908, together with the time spent in class, present position and salary.⁴⁸ His summary, a type of cost-benefit analysis, revealed that,

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid., p. 109-110.

47 Ibid., p. 110.

48 Ibid., p. 108.

The 148 now holding business situations are found mostly in the civil service, in banks, in railway offices and with private business firms. Nearly all are employed in Ottawa. The earnings are from \$12 to \$45 a month, with an average of between \$22 and \$25.⁴⁹

He classified the majority of the pupils of the Ottawa Public Schools as belonging to "a great middle class made up of those who lack the inclination, the talent, or the resources necessary for a profession, but who shrink from unskilled manual labour".⁵⁰ Since Ottawa was rapidly becoming a great commercial city with the Dominion Government, the banks, the railways, the lumber mills and other commercial enterprises employing hundreds of trained clerks, vocational training in Ottawa should be largely commercial. He commended the actions of the Board, therefore, in establishing commercial classes and reported that scores of young people had been helped by them. He continued,

But in schools, as in all other social institutions, nothing is ever finally and permanently settled. Schools must adapt themselves to changed conditions if they are to be of the maximum service to the community.⁵¹

In Canada, as in other progressive countries, Putman explained, the question of vocational training was being

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid., p. 109.

51 Ibid.

keenly discussed.⁵² He mentioned the recent appointment of Robertson's Royal Commission on Technical Education as proof of this debate. Thus, in Putman's estimation, the necessity of Ottawa's commercial classes was no longer the issue:

Educators no longer debate for and against technical training. All agree that it is necessary and the only problems remaining unsettled are the nature of the technical training that ought to be given, the age at which it should be given to the student, and to what extent technical and vocational training should be combined with a broad general education.⁵³

Putman's final criticism of the existing commercial classes, then, was that

[...] the course of study is, in my opinion, too narrow to suit the needs of boys and girls from fourteen to seventeen, especially when we consider that not three percent. of them will ever enter a more advanced school.⁵⁴

Anticipating the controversy to follow, Putman apologized for this criticism, writing that

I hardly see how our commercial classes could have developed along other lines than they have. We had little to guide us in the way of tradition, and had to learn by our own experiments.⁵⁵

52 Ibid., p. 108.

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid., p. 109.

55 "Education of Practical Value", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 27, 1911, p. 3.

Putman's recommendations followed from his three criticisms. To alleviate the high cost of the existing commercial classes and to solve their proximity problem, he urged the establishment of one central school to replace them.⁵⁶ Acting on his more humanistic educational philosophy, Putman recommended that the course of study be expanded to include a cultural foundation and that specialist teachers be employed.

He outlined his proposals for centralization as follows:

In my opinion we should immediately equip the Kent street school for commercial classes. We can easily accommodate 100 additional pupils in Percy street, and at least 200 additional in Elgin street. If we withdraw 300 pupils from the three schools at Kent street, we can empty the stone building and fit it up for a commercial school. The Slater street building and the Laurier avenue building will accommodate a manual training class, a kindergarten class and eight other regular classes, thus giving us in these two buildings a fully graded elementary school. The stone building could be equipped for 300 pupils, quite as many as we are likely to have in the near future.⁵⁷

This arrangement of a cluster of three schools around Kent, Laurier and Slater Streets came to be known as the "Kent Street Group".⁵⁸ The staffing and accommodation

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

58 Interview with the late Dr. Robert Westwater, Victoria, May 4, 1972.

proposals were outlined in a later report of the Management Committee.⁵⁹ Slater Street School was to become a boys' school and to include kindergarten and manual training classes. Laurier Avenue School was to be set up as a girls' school.

Because of Kent Street School's central location, within reach of every streetcar line in Ottawa, Putman chose it as the new commercial school.⁶⁰ It was also the only suitably-sized school in the centre of the city. The cost outlay would involve just the renovation and provision of suitable desks and classrooms for commercial work. By placing the principalship under one man, Putman recommended Mr. Thomas McJanet⁶¹ who would operate on one-third salary of \$666.00 annually (the other two-thirds of his time to be devoted to Laurier and Slater schools), the existing high cost of the commercial classes would be reduced substantially.⁶² To work with him, Putman suggested that a staff of specialists be hired, one for shorthand, one for book-keeping, one for typewriting, and so forth. Three teachers

59 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1911, p. 142.

60 "Education of Practical Value", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 27, 1911, p. 3.

61 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1911, p. 117.

62 "Education of Practical Value", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 27, 1911, p. 3.

then in charge of collegiate classes in these subjects were named in the Management Committee Report.⁶³ All three had commercial specialist's certificates. Two other types of teachers, however, were on the staff list. The report proposed two teachers (Mr. A. E. Meldrum and Mr. McGregor Easson) of general subjects, such as arithmetic, algebra, "general work", English literature, history, geography and science. Five other supervisors of practical or "physical" subjects were also to teach in the new school. They included Mr. Caleb Medcalf, supervisor of manual training classes, Mr. E. J. Collins, supervisor of physical drill, Miss Grace Calhoun, supervisor of sewing,⁶⁴ and two new supervisors to be appointed, one for art and drawing, and another assistant to Miss Calhoun, who would teach cooking.⁶⁵

This administrative structure, then, provided the basis of what Putman called "a good sound English education",⁶⁶ for he believed the existing course did not answer the needs of the boys and girls:

63 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1911, p. 98.

64 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1910, p. 192.

65 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1911, p. 117.

66 "Education of Practical Value", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 27, 1911, p. 3.

I feel thoroughly convinced that our commercial course is too narrow, too technical and too commercial. We are in too much haste to secure results. We are trying to teach the boys and girls some devices to enable them to earn money as soon as possible. The young people who enter upon the course, and especially many of their parents, think that a superficial knowledge of writing, shorthand, book-keeping and typewriting will make them competent for business life. No greater mistake is possible.⁶⁷

He maintained that a good clerk or business man needed a breadth of training and a thorough mastery of the mother tongue. Thus, instead of spending a great deal of time with the typewriter, Putman recommended that the first few years be spent much more with spelling, geography, and arithmetic. He cited the examples of Toronto and Hamilton for this.

Above all, Putman, the humanist, argued against the utilitarian members of the board and society that,

A good commercial school for boys and girls of fourteen to seventeen years must be more than a commercial school. It must have a course so liberal and of such cultural value that it will make intelligent and thoughtful men and women. In my opinion English literature, composition, history and geography must receive quite as prominent a place as typewriting, shorthand and book-keeping. The latter are of no value without the former, and boys and girls who enter upon the course at fourteen years have only just reached an age where they can really master the English language, appreciate its literature and understand the history of their race. I think, too, that some science, say an hour, or one hour and a half a week, ought to form a part of this course.⁶⁸

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.

And he further defined his intentions regarding a more differentiated course of studies, by firmly proposing domestic science as a necessary and worthwhile subject for girls:

During the first five years I find that over 60 per cent of the registration in the commercial classes has been girls. Now no person will contend that typewriting, shorthand and book-keeping is a natural training for these girls. At least nine out of ten of them will eventually become home makers. Many of them never take any business situation. The period from fourteen to seventeen years is the most critical and most formative period in the life of a human being, but especially in the life of a woman. The girls in these classes are largely withdrawing their attention and interests from the house during their course in a commercial class. I would like that we should do something to keep up that interest in home making and give the girl something by way of compensation for the artificial interest she is taking in commercial pursuits. If the school has a good course in English literature, geography and history, and in addition art work and household economy, no girl would feel that her time was mis-spent even though she never made any practical use of her commercial training.⁶⁹

Thus, as he concluded, Putman's ideal course of studies for this commercial school would be so broad in general work that it would not sacrifice "any of the essential advantages to be derived from a Collegiate course".⁷⁰

Putman closed his Report with six recommendations. The first two dealt with the transference of present Kent

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

Street pupils to other schools.⁷¹ The third proposed that Kent Street School be renovated for commercial class instruction and that it be named "A School for Higher English and Applied Arts".⁷² In his fourth recommendation, Putman suggested that all children who passed the collegiate Entrance Examination be admitted, as well as those children who passed the public school leaving examinations for Grade Eight. Next he reiterated his request for a cooking room and provision to take this subject by all girls in entrance classes as well as those in the School for Higher English. His final recommendation dealt with the hours of the school. There should be four 45-minute morning periods and three 45-minute afternoon ones.

On May twenty-fifth the Ottawa Public School Board adopted "Report Number Eight" of the Management Committee, containing Putman's 'Appendix' on the School for Higher English, Trustee W. P. Anderson being the only dissenter.⁷³ Thus the Board assumed leadership in Ottawa for technical education beyond Grade Eight. Until the Ottawa Collegiate Institute Board stopped charging fees and set up the Advisory Industrial Committee, as recommended by Seath's newly-passed

71 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1911, p. 115.

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid., p. 97-98 and 103-104.

Industrial Education Act of 1911,⁷⁴ Putman and the Ottawa Public School Board would continue this leadership.

Putman's Report and recommendations were fully covered in the press.⁷⁵ Two editorials praised the plans. The Citizen commented on Dr. Putman's "singularly clear and independent conception of administrative matters and the remedies to be applied to overcome these conditions".⁷⁶ It would appeal to many business men interested in developing successful commercial enterprises, thought the Editor. He ended his long editorial by writing,

Dr. Putman's whole report is worthy of careful reading. It is an impartial appreciation of the merits and defects of the system upon which the future of our boys and girls largely depends. And while it is a criticism to a large degree it is a particularly helpful one, not only in the pointing out of faults, but in the admirable suggestions made to correct these mistakes of the head.⁷⁷

To the criticisms of Trustee Anderson that the public schools were treading on collegiate institute territory, The Ottawa

74 Copy received by the Ottawa Board on May 4, 1911, in Ibid., p. 78.

75 "Education of Practical Value", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 27, 1911, p. 3 and 16; "Public Schools and Salaries", in Ibid., May 26, 1911, p. 2; "Re-Opening of City Schools", in Ibid., August 30, 1911, p. 10; "An Important Departure Made By School Board", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, May 26, 1911, p. 1 and 6.

76 "Doctor Putman's Report", lead editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 29, 1911, p. 6.

77 Ibid.

Free Press retorted,

We don't take much stock in that argument. It does not seem to make very much difference who does the work so long as it is done well. If the scheme meant the extension of that blight the teaching of fads and the ignoring of the essentials, we would be with Mr. Anderson, but if the new school is to be carried on upon the lines laid down for it by Mr. Putman, it will be anything but a school for fads it will be a practical and natural and needed complement to the work done in the general schools.⁷⁸

Thus, Putman's conception of the School for Higher English as expressed in his Report to the Management Committee, was praised by both pragmatic and humanistic editors. His one dissenter, Trustee Anderson, however, a prime mover of the original commercial classes, was not to be won over so easily.

3. Controversy over the Establishment of the School.

A key recommendation in Putman's staffing plans was the appointment of A. F. Newlands as art supervisor. The motion for it was added as an amendment to the original Report before it was approved on May twenty-fifth.⁷⁹ Putman claimed that he brought Newlands to Ottawa:

⁷⁸ "Inspector Putman's Plan", lead editorial in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, May 26, 1911, p. 4.

⁷⁹ Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1911, p. 103.

Twenty-five years ago I persuaded the Board to engage a teacher to supervise art. Several years before I had watched the work of A. F. Newlands for three terms in the Ottawa Normal School where he taught art to teachers-in-training as well as to boys and girls in the Model School. I knew how successfully he led my boys step by step to master the elementary stages of expression. I felt that he, better than any other, could do the things I hoped to have done in the Ottawa Public Schools. He has never failed us. Often when misunderstood and criticized by those incapable of understanding his plans he must have felt discouraged.⁸⁰

In a letter from Putman to the Chairman of the Management Committee, he proposed that the current writing supervisor, H. J. Talbot, should be replaced by Newlands who would be supervisor of both writing and art work at an initial salary of two thousand dollars.⁸¹

Nine days later, the attack against Putman was launched. At a special meeting of the Board on May twenty-fifth, it was moved by Trustee Anderson that a number of public schools be granted him to hold public meetings

[...] to discuss the principle of paying a higher salary to an Art and Writing teacher than is paid to any Principal in the employ of the Board, as well as to discuss the right of the Board to so greatly increase the Public School expenditure on courses not usually considered requisite as parts of a primary education, and that ought to be undertaken out of the Collegiate Institute tax. - Carried.⁸²

⁸⁰ Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 71-72; and see, P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 43, II, Item 43, copy of Order-in-Council, August 12, 1898, re Newlands' appointment to Ottawa Normal and Model.

⁸¹ Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1911, p. 118-119.

⁸² Ibid., p. 104; and see, "Public Schools and Salaries", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 26, 1911, p. 2.

Behind the salary objections, then, was an issue that was to continue throughout Putman's career, a territorial battle with the Collegiate Institute over responsibility for secondary education.

In defence of Newlands' appointment, R. F. Fleming, art instructor at the Normal School, wrote a long letter to The Evening Journal.⁸³ He described the drawings and design in the public schools of Ottawa as lacking application and breadth of view. The art instructor at the Collegiate considered that the students he received from elementary school knew nothing as regards art. Fleming himself judged that the Normal School students he received from the city showed evidence of "unsatisfactory foundation".⁸⁴ He summarized his assessment by writing that,

[...] the visible results of art work in the elementary schools of Ottawa are very meagre, certainly much less in extent and lower in quality than should be expected in a large and prosperous city of worthy citizens and prominent publicists such as are in the Capital of the Dominion.

That the inspector of public schools of the city has realized the condition of affairs is evident from the fact that he has made some effort to improve conditions, with some success, and has now succeeded in getting a director of art to lead and direct the work.⁸⁵

83 "Plea For Art in the Schools", letter to the Editor by R. F. Fleming, in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, May 31, 1911, p. 6.

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid.

He pointed out that Kingston, Hamilton, Toronto and London each had had an art director for ten years. Defending the salary paid to Newlands, Fleming argued that it was not high for a capable male art director. He thought that it should be higher than that of a principal's because the art supervisor gave instruction to a much larger public. In conclusion, he commended the action of the Board and the public school inspector for correcting a situation that long needed attention.

Colonel William White, who was absent through illness at the May twenty-fifth meeting of the Board, rose to the defence of Colonel Anderson. His letter tied together all the resentments against Putman:

[...] I desire to say that I am thoroughly in accord with Colonel Anderson's views. If carried out, the proposed school will completely destroy the commercial classes which have rendered such good service in the past, and put in their place an adjunct to the Collegiate institute, which has in the past exceedingly well done the work proposed to be given the new school, and can do this work just as well in the future. It is deeply regretted that the inspector has recommended the appointment of outsiders, one of whom is practically a foreigner [Newlands was employed in Buffalo, New York] as teachers in the proposed school. There are twelve principals who [...] are all passed over in favor of persons of whom we know nothing. Finally is not the proposed school really a high school, and have the public school trustees power to expend public school taxes for high school purposes.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Colonel William White, letter to the Editor, in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 30, 1911, p. 6.

In a following letter, Colonel White continued his criticism of Putman and revealed the split in thinking between the rigid utilitarian and a humanist. He took issue with Putman's curriculum for girls:

Now, whilst it would no doubt be very nice for a girl to have the ability to discuss with a learned professor the Retreat of the Ten Thousand [...]; still I think the commercial standpoint is far better for the great majority of public school pupils, who will, I am sure, have to be wage earners, and that we should at once drop or leave until the next elections the idea of trying to bring into existence a kind of hybridized high school which will prove utterly unable to do the work which has in the past few years been so admirably accomplished by the commercial classes.⁸⁷

In defence of Putman, The Citizen commended the whole plan and recognized the necessity of both specialist teachers and a sound graduation diploma, on a par with that of the Collegiate Institute:

Experts in the proposed school are absolutely indispensable if the results are to compare with those in the collegiate or in the various commercial colleges in the city where only trained teachers are employed. A diploma from the public school commercial course must be recognized as fully equal to that from similar institutions under different auspices, either local or otherwise.⁸⁸

Refuting the argument that the commercial classes and art work should be left for the Collegiate Institute to establish,

87 "The New School", Ibid., June 7, 1911, p. 6.

88 "Inspector Putman's Suggestions", editorial in Ibid., June 9, 1911, p. 6.

the Editor wrote that

[...] aside from the fact that the great majority of public school pupils [...] will never attend the higher institution, it is noteworthy that the collegiate was not considered in the establishment of commercial classes in the public schools some years ago. If the reasons for starting commercial classes in the schools were substantial at the time of their inception it would appear that they are still sufficient to warrant the continuation of the work. Practically, this is what the new system means. It is a continuation of the existing system in a more economical and altogether superior manner.⁸⁹

At this, White fired back a third letter arguing that he was not suggesting that the commercial work be done in the Collegiate Institute, because he acknowledged that most public school pupils would not attend the higher institution.⁹⁰ He was objecting mainly to Putman's humanistic approach; "it is desirable to give the pupils every possible facility for learning commercial, which the proposed concentration in the hybrid high school will not do".⁹¹

Despite all the criticism, Newlands' appointment was duly confirmed and his letter of acceptance tabled on July sixth, 1911.⁹² Putman's policy of hiring the best qualified person for the job, instead of obtaining teachers only from

89 Ibid.

90 William White, letter to the Editor, in Ibid., June 10, 1911, p. 6.

91 Ibid.

92 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1911, p. 135.

the Ottawa district, was thoroughly aired at that meeting, Colonels Anderson and White not being supported by other members of the Board.⁹³

The School for Higher English and Applied Arts, after twenty thousand dollars' worth of renovations, became "one of the best equipped and most up-to-date teaching institutions in the city' and a visit to the school will soon convince one that every cent of this money was turned to the best account".⁹⁴ An additional storey had been added at the time of this writing, 1912, giving four new classrooms and extra accommodation for 280 pupils. The school was "splendidly designed for children who are preparing for mechanical or commercial pursuits. Special attention is given to the study of the English language [...]".⁹⁵ The ventilation system was one of the most perfect yet adopted. The gymnasium was well equipped and included a piano so that amateur concerts could be given. Finally, the writer described the domestic science facilities as brought down to a science so that preservation of fruit, as well as mending and stitching could be taught.

93 "Busy Night at School Board", in The Citizen, Ottawa, July 7, 1911, p. 2.

94 "Kent Street School Is Well Equipped", in Ibid., October 25, 1912, p. 7.

95 Ibid.

The School for Higher English and Applied Arts was opened officially on December eighth, 1911, by Dr. Robertson.⁹⁶ Standing at the head of the big stairway in the main entrance, he spoke of the importance of technical instruction and was glad that Ottawa had made a beginning in this field. He also emphasized the need to provide scientific training for children and urged better pay for teachers. Finally, he commented on the most modern facilities of the school and expressed his pleasure at being asked to open it. A year later, the school was well established and the controversy had died down.

In fact, the success of the school after five months had necessitated the motion for more accommodation.⁹⁷ The School Management Committee recommended that a third storey be added to provide four additional classrooms (described earlier).⁹⁸ Tenders were called on March seventh.⁹⁹

In March, as well, the School Management Committee approved of the plan by which first-year students in the

96 "Dr. Robertson Opened School", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, December 9, 1911, p. 22.

97 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1912, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1911, (n.p., n.d.) p. 3.

98 Ibid., p. 55.

99 Ibid., p. 60.

School for Higher English and Applied Arts could write departmental junior public school graduation examinations, and have all expenses borne by the Board.¹⁰⁰ A list of the successful graduates was submitted to the Board by Putman in September.¹⁰¹ From 1913 on, the names of all graduates from the school were displayed prominently in the Ottawa newspapers,¹⁰² indicating the prestige that the school had attained by this time. In 1913, too, the Local Council of Women offered a seventy-five dollar scholarship to be awarded to the most promising graduating pupil in the domestic science class.¹⁰³ It was to encourage the girl to continue her domestic science education at Macdonald College.

From the beginning the domestic science classes of the School for Higher English were held up as show pieces. After only four months of operation, the newspaper reported a very successful first exhibition of their work:

100 Ibid., p. 86.

101 Ibid., p. 170.

102 "Examination Results in School for Higher English", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, July 10, 1913, p. 11; "Successful Pupils in Senior Commercial of School for Higher English and Arts", in The Citizen, Ottawa, July 11, 1913, p. 5.

103 "Contest For Scholarship", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, November 18, 1913, p. 11.

Under the able supervision of Miss Calhoun, domestic supervisor of the schools in the city, assisted by Miss Davis, superintendent of sewing, and Miss Boggs, teacher of cooking, the exhibition was of a highly educative nature and no one who attended it could go away and feel that domestic science was not necessary in the life of the school girl of today.¹⁰⁴

At the end of October Putman had made sure that his experiment in home-making training was well advertised. A reporter was invited in during a cooking class and described it in laudatory terms:

But the most pleasing feature of the whole enterprise and this is what gratifies Dr. Putman, the father of the idea in Ottawa, is that the girls are, to use a colloquialism, 'simply crazy' over it. It is a great picture to see a room full of healthy little ladies with their sleeves rolled up taking as much interest in a[n] experimental pudding or pie as if they were preparing a dinner for the most fastidious epicurean alive.¹⁰⁵

Miss Calhoun reported fully on the classes in the supervisors' section of Putman's 1912 Annual Report.¹⁰⁶ Miss Ada Davis, a graduate of the Macdonald Institute, assisted by a kindergarten teacher, Miss Pyfrom, gave a two-year course in sewing at the School for Higher English.¹⁰⁷ It

104 "Closing Exercises in City Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, December 20, 1912, p. 16.

105 "These Girls Learn To Cook and Cook Well Too!", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, October 21, 1911, p. 15.

106 Grace Calhoun, "Domestic Science", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1912, Ottawa, December 20, 1912, p. 37-40.

107 Ibid., p. 38.

consisted of plain sewing, mostly of undergarments. One half of the girls at the school took the sewing lessons for one hour per week and learned to use the sewing machine as well as gaining a working knowledge of commercial patterns and the choosing of material. She described the modern equipment in the sewing room:

The sewing room provided for these classes in September deserves special mention. With its splendid equipment of work tables, cutting tables, drop lights, and cupboard room, it has increased the possible efficiency in our work a hundred fold.¹⁰⁸

Putman reported that the School for Higher English offered the girls "a most desirable course, even if they have no interest in commercial work and no desire to work in an office. [...] They may take the ordinary English subjects and give special attention to drawing, cooking, and sewing".¹⁰⁹

For the boys of the school an equally interesting manual training course was offered. Caleb Medcalf, the supervisor, reported that

The pupils have shown the keenest interest in the work, a great variety of simple pieces of furniture, mostly in hardwood, are being and have been made. A little copper work has been done [...].¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁰⁹ J. H. Putman, "School For Higher English and Applied Arts", in Ibid., p. 30.

¹¹⁰ Caleb Medcalf, 'School for Higher English and Applied Arts', "Manual Training", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1911, Ottawa, December 18, 1911, p. 28-29.

The following year Medcalf described a much expanded programme. The work also was of a more advanced level than that of other elementary schools:

The various objects made by the boys include a number of useful pieces of furniture, such as library tables, Morris chairs, piano benches, [...].

During the year a complete equipment for 'Copper Work' has been added to this centre at a cost of \$37.46. The bench was made by the boys attending this school.

The practice of supplying oak lumber to the pupils at cost price has proved to be a step in the right direction. Practically every boy at this school takes advantage of the opportunity of making larger and more useful objects in hardwood at a reasonable cost.¹¹¹

In Putman's reports for 1911 and 1912 he noted the progress of the school. After only four months, in 1911, he wrote that it

[...] gives excellent promise. The members of the staff are hard-working and enthusiastic, the pupils are regular in attendance, and are apparently making satisfactory progress. It would seem that there is a demand for such a course as is being given, and that the immediate future may see it greatly extended.¹¹²

The next year his full-page report dwelt particularly on the fact that the school was so popular that it was overcrowded:

¹¹¹ Caleb Medcalf, 'School of Higher English and Applied Arts', "Manual Training", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 41-42.

¹¹² Putman, Inspector's Report, 1911, p. 21.

It is a great tribute to the worth of this school that of the five first year classes in attendance last year, there are enough pupils in attendance this year to form three second year classes. This means that our graduating class for 1913 will probably number 100 as compared with 40 for 1912.¹¹³

The four rooms added in 1912 gave the school special sewing and typing rooms and allowed a maximum accommodation of three hundred students. He remarked on the success of his first-year "sound English education" with the result that the second-year students "held together remarkably well and made a fine showing at the end of the year".¹¹⁴ Finally, he pointed out the pragmatic advantages of this school for boys:

It should be an encouragement and an incentive to boys to know that we could place in good positions and at self-supporting wages five times as many graduates each year.¹¹⁵

Thus, after little more than a year of operation, the School for Higher English and Applied Arts was well established. In Leake's estimation, "The equipment provided is excellent in every way and the Board is to be congratulated on the provision made".¹¹⁶ With respect to the domestic

113 Putman, Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 30.

114 Ibid.

115 Ibid.

116 P.A.O., R.G.2, F-3-H, Vol. 5, 1912-13, Albert Leake, 'Kent Street Public School', "Ottawa 1912", in Inspector's Report on Manual Training Classes, January 17, 1912, p. 2.

science classes, he recommended that "The success of the work thus far warrants its extension to all parts of the City. The provision of more centres would render it less necessary for the Board to pay the car fare of pupils".¹¹⁷

4. Success of the School, 1913-1923.

For the next ten years the School for Higher English and Applied Arts continued to flourish. It expanded its facilities and curricular offerings, and experimented with new administrative procedures.

In February of 1913 hot luncheons costing twenty-five cents for three meals per pupil were offered at noon.¹¹⁸ Approximately thirty-five pupils were fed each sitting and the meals were prepared by the pupils. The menu included soup, potato croquettes, ham, bread, tea, milk and fruit salad. The newspaper reported that "Dr. Putman, public school inspector, is very optimistic about the project".¹¹⁹ The scheme was self-supporting except for the cost of the fuel used. Leake commended the project when he inspected it in June:

117 Ibid., p. 4.

118 "Serving Meals To School Children", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, February 15, 1913, p. 11.

119 Ibid.

A desirable feature of the work as carried on in Kent St. School is the provision of school lunches, under charge of one of the teachers. This would have decidedly more educational value if arrangements were made so that the girls attending the cookery classes took a more active part in the preparation of these lunches.¹²⁰

It would seem that more adult intervention was needed than was first anticipated.

During 1913, as well, shower baths were installed in the gymnasium.¹²¹ Two "fireless cookers"¹²² were bought for Kent and another school in December at a cost of fifty dollars each. The first issue of the school newspaper was published that year, too. The Citizen described its four pages as a "creditable 'sheet' for which its editors and general staff should be congratulated".¹²³

By 1913 the third year of sewing classes began. As Miss Calhoun described it, the girls were now undertaking more difficult work:

120 P.A.O., R.G.2, F-3-H, Vol. 5, Albert H. Leake, "Household Science in Ottawa Public Schools", dated June 1, 1913.

121 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1913, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1912, (n.p., n.d.) p. 50.

122 Ibid., p. 232.

123 "School Gazette", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 31, 1913, p. 13.

With the opening of this school in September thirty-four girls returned for a third year. They made kimonos and hem-stitched and initialed towels during the fall term. They expect to start making shirt-waists for themselves early in the New Year. During the spring term nine classes with an enrolment of 161 girls were conducted weekly. In September there was an enrolment of 213 girls and eleven classes had to be formed.¹²⁴

Regarding the annual exhibition of work held on December seventeenth, in the sewing room, she wrote, "Visitors were present in encouraging numbers and commented very favourably on the attractive-looking display. The girls certainly reflected great credit on their teachers".¹²⁵

The major innovation of 1914 was a new manual training room. Putman described it as

[...] nearly perfect as any room of this kind to be found in Canada. It was an improvement much needed at this centre where we have boys from 14 to 18 years of age who are able to undertake original and important problems in hand-work. Without this room both Kent Street and Slater Street Schools would now be seriously overcrowded.¹²⁶

Medcalf elaborated on its facilities, the best in Ontario, as follows:

¹²⁴ Grace Calhoun, "Household Science", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1913, Ottawa, December 31, 1913, p. 56.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ J. H. Putman, Inspector's Annual Report, 1914, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 29, 1915, p. 6.

This splendidly lighted and ventilated room has been equipped with twenty-four benches of a new type, each fitted with quick acting steel vises and new bench tools of the highest grade.

A 30" band scroll saw driven by electric motor, also a 12" wood turning lathe, motor-driven, have been installed. These two machines are of the highest grade and should for many years give satisfactory service and a wider scope and interest to the manual training work of this school.¹²⁷

The beginnings of integrated studies could be seen in Medcalf's description of the new pottery work being done:

Some interesting work was attempted in pottery, decorated tiles, tea pot stands, and fern pots being made in clay, afterwards being fired and glazed in the pottery kiln. The design for the decoration was in each case the pupil's own, having previously been prepared in the Art room, so that real and very helpful correlation existed between the two departments.¹²⁸

This was commented on by Newlands in his Art Report. He felt that this integration was "a decided gain to both departments: the fact that the designs were to be applied not only aroused interest in their preparation but tended to vitalize the constructive element".¹²⁹ Another example of the co-operation between the art and manual arts departments was in leather work:

127 Caleb Medcalf, 'School for Higher English and Applied Arts', "Manual Training", in Ibid., p. 45.

128 Ibid.

129 A. F. Newlands, 'Art', "Art and Penmanship", in Ibid., p. 43.

Many interesting problems in applied design were developed in connection with leather work in the School for Higher English and Applied Arts. This work seems to be ideal for the purpose. The leather responds sympathetically to the hand, it is clean and can be worked on the drawing desks without injury to them. Numerous useful articles were designed and modelled in the art class and finished with sewing in the Domestic Science class.¹³⁰

The three-year course in foods and cookery now included "canning, preserving, and jelly-making, as the products of these lessons are used to advantage in the noon luncheon which has become a permanent feature of the school".¹³¹ The luncheons, pronounced a success throughout the year by Miss Calhoun, were served in the new sewing room and catered to seventy people.

In their 1915 sewing exhibition, "the marvellous display of fancy sewing"¹³² viewed by the parents and relatives was commented on at length by the newspapers. Included in the list of girls responsible for the tea held in conjunction with the display was Putman's daughter, Louise,¹³³ who attended the school.

130 Ibid.

131 Grace Calhoun, 'Cooking', "Household Science", in Ibid., p. 51.

132 "Sewing Exhibiton Kent St. School", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 11, 1915, p. 11.

133 Ibid.; by December she had obtained a special diploma in stenography, in Ibid., December 4, 1915, p. 2.

By this time the School for Higher English had "prepared some 600 young men and women of Ottawa for a business or domestic life [and] stands a monument to the credit of the institution, its originators and those who are carrying on the work".¹³⁴ Forty Ottawa pupils were awarded the junior public school graduation diploma that summer and were thus qualified to enter the Second Form of the Kent Street School. It was praised as

[...] the only institution in Ottawa where the course may be taken to obtain this diploma and, according to the statement of results issued by the public school board, the candidates for promotion at the June examinations did remarkably well.¹³⁵

But the school was facing accommodation difficulties in 1915. At first, overtures were made to the Collegiate Institute Board to buy the property and carry on the instruction in commercial studies, higher English, applied arts and domestic science.¹³⁶ As it was reported,

134 "Diplomas Presented At Kent St. School", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, December 5, 1915, p. 9; and corroborated by graduate Harold Gates, Ottawa, on January 27, 1974.

135 "Forty Pupils Pass In Exams", in The Citizen, Ottawa, August 16, 1915, p. 10.

136 "Many Phases of Proposed Sale of Public Schools", in Ibid., February 22, 1915, p. 7.

The Public School Board is willing to sell the Central school property on certain conditions, one of which is that the Collegiate Institute continue to give tuition in the lower school free. The Collegiate Board, it is understood, is willing to acquiesce in this stipulation.¹³⁷

By summer, however, the Collegiate Board was renting a section of Hopewell Avenue School and the purchase of the Kent Street property had fallen through for several reasons, "one being that the Ottawa Separate school board, which has a share in the governing of the O.C.I., did not see its way clear to fall in with the proposal".¹³⁸

Putman considered that, despite wartime conditions, additional accommodation should be undertaken for the School for Higher English:

We can go along under present conditions for a year or two unless the attendance increases, but some departments of the work are being conducted under serious disadvantages and the natural growth and extension of other departments are handicapped. The School needs a gymnasium and assembly hall, an art room and a science room. In my opinion, the additional accommodation required can be secured by an extension of the present manual training room, which ought not to cost more than \$20,000.¹³⁹

A further illustration of this tight accommodation was found in the report on school luncheons by Miss Calhoun. She

¹³⁷ "May Purchase School", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, February 17, 1915, p. 2.

¹³⁸ "Extension of O.C.I. Classes", in The Citizen, Ottawa, July 15, 1915, p. 11.

¹³⁹ J. H. Putman, Inspector's Annual Report, 1915, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 26, 1916, p. 5.

wrote that their management and supervision were "not easy on account of the distance between the lunch-room and the Domestic Science room. (They are in different buildings). It would be a decided advantage to all concerned if the two rooms were adjoining".¹⁴⁰

The Kent Street School continued its successful work throughout 1916. So well trained were the commercial students that Trustee Gowling moved that a committee be formed to request the Civil Service Commission to lower its age requirements to seventeen years so that third-year graduates could write the civil service examinations immediately.¹⁴¹ "He referred to the high standing of some of the public school pupils on the civil service examinations."¹⁴² For the fifth year, an exhibition of work was held by the domestic science classes and the various summer dresses, waists, under-clothing, kimonos, aprons and middie-blouses "besides being well-made, [^{h.}] were pretty and of the very latest design".¹⁴³ Preserves, canned fruit, jelly, and grape juice

140 Grace Calhoun, 'School Luncheons', "Household Science", in Ibid., p. 65.

141 "Close Public Schools Year With Surplus", in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 7, 1916, p. 5.

142 Ibid.

143 "Domestic Science and Dressmaking", in Ibid., April 1, 1916, p. 3.

were also on display and the refreshments for tea included nut bread, several kinds of cake and hermits, all baked by the girls.¹⁴⁴

That year, a new class, "Home Nursing" was substituted for cookery for the third form girls in the six weeks preceding Christmas:

Practical lectures on the subject were given once a week by Miss Church, one of the school nurses. To the girls the most interesting features of the course were the demonstration lectures given by Miss Church on 'Care of the Baby' at the Day Nursery, and 'Bed Making and Bathing a Patient in Bed' at St. Luke's Hospital. On both occasions Miss Church very kindly made the necessary arrangements for having the class visit these institutions. The girls enjoyed the course exceedingly.¹⁴⁵

The standard of manual training reached by the Kent Street boys was more advanced and more creative than in any other elementary grades. Medcalf reported that

The boys have the greatest freedom in working out their own ideas or making their own selection of projects under the guidance of the teacher. It is quite evident that the greatest interest is taken by the pupils in their work, and many excellent pieces of furniture have been made. The wood turning lathe is a never ending source of interest, many boys have shown quite remarkable skill in its use, electric lamp standards, baseball bats, trays, etc., being turned by them.¹⁴⁶

144 Ibid.

145 Grace Calhoun, "Household Science", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1916, Ottawa, February 17, 1917, p. 37.

146 Caleb Medcalf, 'School for Higher English and Applied Arts', "Manual Training", in Ibid., p. 33.

By 1917, Putman was actively exploring alternative arrangements both to relieve the overcrowding of the downtown schools and to continue the progress in curricular innovations pioneered at the School for Higher English. Two American modern educational movements were described in full, the Gary School Plan¹⁴⁷ and the Junior High School.¹⁴⁸ (They will be discussed in Part Three.) Then Putman applied this to the Ottawa scene. He suggested that the present regulations allowed a junior high school to be formed, comprised of all the pupils in the elementary Forms Four and Five (Grades Seven to Ten).¹⁴⁹ Because industrial work had to be under the Industrial Advisory Board of the Collegiate Institute Board, he thought

It ought, however, to be possible to conduct such a school and hand over to the Advisory Industrial Committee the management of these purely industrial classes without moving them from the Junior High School building.¹⁵⁰

But the following year, the boys at the School for Higher English,

147 J. H. Putman, Inspector's Annual Report, 1917, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 21, 1918, p. 12-20.

148 Ibid., p. 20-24.

149 Ibid., p. 24.

150 Ibid.

[...] instead of the usual lesson in woodwork, have been given the opportunity of attending lessons in motor mechanics and electrical wiring at the Albert Street Technical School. This broadening out of the training given the senior boys is undoubtedly a progressive move.¹⁵¹

This only lasted for one year, however, and in 1919, due to lack of accommodation at the Technical School, the pupils continued in woodwork and mechanical drawing at the School for Higher English.¹⁵²

After ten years of operation, Putman wrote a thorough assessment of the Kent Street School.¹⁵³ As he termed it, this school, differing from the ordinary elementary school, "was planned to be a cultural school with a business outlook".¹⁵⁴ Thus its programme laid a broad foundation for business training. But with the coming into force of the Adolescent Attendance Act in 1921, he anticipated the need to provide "partially specialized full-day courses and widely specialized part-time courses for adolescents whose general

151 Caleb Medcalf, "Manual Training", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1918, Ottawa, February 5, 1919, p. 46.

152 Caleb Medcalf, "Manual Training", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1919, Ottawa, January 23, 1920, p. 46.

153 J. H. Putman, "The Kent Street School", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1920, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 19, 1921, p. 11-14.

154 Ibid., p. 12.

education is below the High School Entrance standard".¹⁵⁵ Thus there would be even greater need for an assembly hall, gymnasium and eight more classrooms, costing at least \$200,000 (ten times the cost he had estimated four years earlier).

The next year, Putman reiterated the need to make a decision about the Kent Street School.¹⁵⁶ As he wrote, the School for Higher English was worthwhile:

No school could exist for eleven years and show a steady increase in attendance without having some genuine merit. Its continued existence and growing popularity proves that it has done something to meet the real needs of young people. Aside from the practical nature and breadth of its curriculum, the school owes any good reputation it may have to the character of the men and women who have been its teachers. They have taught boys and girls rather than arithmetic or geography or typewriting. They have been wise enough to understand that adolescents, while requiring a firm control, will respond with enthusiasm to those who take an interest in them, who try to help them and who will patiently lead them to interpret nature's laws, our social institutions and the many instruments used by man to achieve his present civilization. The school has made good use of books but the human touch that kindles a spiritual glow and awakens an ambition to conquer a difficulty has been used still more.¹⁵⁷

The School's uniqueness in Ontario as a training ground for business was equally recognized by The Citizen:

155 Ibid., p. 14.

156 J. H. Putman, Inspector's Annual Report, 1921, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, March 1, 1922, p. 8-10.

157 Ibid., p. 8-9.

In this opportunity to secure special training for business positions and in the work of the Kent Street School, Ottawa public schools offer training not offered by any other Ontario public schools. The success with which these extensions of public school work has met, has amply vindicated the enterprise and foresight of the school board in establishing these classes.¹⁵⁸

And its exhibition of work in 1920 was held up as "a remarkable display, evincing considerable ingenuity and executive skill on the part of the pupils themselves and of efficient instruction on the part of the staff".¹⁵⁹ A great variety of manual artifacts was mentioned including a piano lamp, writing tables, Morris chairs, a tea wagon, tabourets, baseball bats, an umbrella stand, copper trays, watch fobs, pottery paper weights, square tiles, flower vases, jugs, and in sewing, clothing, hemstitched towels, doilies and embroidery work. Obviously, these exhibits, as well as Putman's vigorous defence of the school, were meant to convince any last-ditch critics that the School for Higher English was a worthwhile venture.¹⁶⁰

158 "High Standard of Efficiency Evident In Every Branch Of The Public Schools Of Ottawa", in The Citizen, Ottawa, August 16, 1919, p. 21; and see, "Comprehensive And Varied Course Given In Ottawa Public Schools", in Ibid., August 14, 1920, p. 9.

159 "Exhibit of Pupils' Work Is Excellent", in Ibid., June 19, 1920, p. 6.

160 "Kent St. School Is Defended In Board Meeting", in Ibid., October 8, 1920, p. 2; and see, "Display At School For Higher English", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, June 18, 1921, p. 8; and, "Splendid Talent and Skill Shown By the Students", in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 27, 1922, p. 3.

Finally, by 1923, Putman was able to effect an organizational change. He established a junior high school with the "rotary" principle of classification.¹⁶¹ Its elements included specialist teachers, specially-equipped rooms, notably in history, geography, and the manual subjects, a well-stocked library and a large auditorium.¹⁶² This arrangement continued until 1927, when the Department terminated Fifth Form classes in the public schools. McGregor Easson, who taught in the school since its beginning, assessed its contribution as follows:

The school [...] had served a useful purpose. It was popular, it had individuality, and had by means of its commercial courses prepared hundreds of boys and girls for business life.¹⁶³

Moreover, it served as a pilot centre for Putman's progressive reforms, particularly his pioneering of the junior high school. Although the first junior high schools in Canada were opened in Winnipeg and Edmonton in 1919,¹⁶⁴ the School

161 J. H. Putman, "The School For Higher English (Kent Street School)", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1923, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 7, 1924, p. 26-29.

162 Ibid., p. 28-29.

163 McGregor Easson, The Intermediate School In Ottawa, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1934, p. 19.

164 F. Henry Johnson, A Brief History of Canadian Education, Toronto, McGraw-Hill, 1968, p. 146; and, interview with Dr. Johnson, University of British Columbia, May 1, 1972.

for Higher English, beginning in 1911, surely was another forefather. In 1924-1925, Putman and G. M. Weir conducted a survey of the British Columbia school system.¹⁶⁵ Not surprisingly, the intermediate school (or, junior high school) was a "key recommendation of the Putman-Weir Commission in British Columbia in 1925",¹⁶⁶ and led the way to its institution throughout British Columbia in 1926-1930. The School for Higher English may well have provided the philosophical foundation for it. Certainly, Putman became one of its leading advocates, especially as it existed in

165 J. H. Putman and G. M. Weir, Survey of the School System, Victoria, Banfield (printers), 1925, chapters V, VI and VII; Putman wrote Chapter V and VI, see "Foreword" of Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1930, Ottawa, January 21, 1930 [sic], p. 15.

166 Johnson, Op. Cit., p. 146.

truncated form¹⁶⁷ throughout the Ottawa Public School system.¹⁶⁸

Thus on both curricular and administrative levels, Putman's School for Higher English and Applied Arts was a pioneer in progressive educational reform.

167 See McGregor Easson, Op. Cit., p. 19: "To establish the ideal type of organization [a four-year course between elementary and high school, under the control of the Public School Board] a union of the Collegiate Institute Board and the Public School Board or close and harmonious co-operation between the two boards would have been necessary. Realizing the difficulties of securing satisfactory joint action the Public School Board decided to take independent action [...] the Public School Board believed that by doing so [continuing fifth form work] it might cause an unnecessary duplication of first-year collegiate work and might incur heavy financial expenditure to meet the cost of erection of additional buildings." Thus it established a two-year intermediate school affecting only Grades Seven and Eight. The Board still held out hopes for its future extension into Grades Nine and Ten (see Putman's campaigning, next footnote).

168 J. H. Putman, "The Intermediate School", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1929, Ottawa, February 17, 1930, p. 17-23; and, as excerpted from his B.C. report, J. H. Putman, "Child Development And The Intermediate School", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Report, 1930, p. 15-47; J. H. Putman, "Our Intermediate Schools", in Ottawa Public Schools, Chief Inspector's Annual Report, 1932, Ottawa, February 21, 1933, p. 13-14; "The Intermediate School", in The Canadian School Journal, Vol. 10, No. 4, April 1931, p. 7-8: Putman addressed the Urban School Trustees on the proposed new plan of administration; Duncan McCarthur, Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Cost of Education in the Province of Ontario, Toronto, Bowman (printers), March, 1938, p. 50-52: Putman chief spokesman for intermediate schools at hearing in Ottawa, July 8-9, 1935; Putman, "Our Intermediate Schools", in Fifty Years at School, p. 150-164.

CHAPTER VI

HANDWORK THROUGHOUT THE SYSTEM

Grounding Putman's curricular innovations at the School for Higher English and Applied Arts was a concept of handwork, which he was to spread throughout the Ottawa Public School system in his first twelve years of office. Derived from the Swedish instruction in slöjd, the handwork, or manual training thrust was to extend downward into the elementary grades and become integrated with other subjects. During these years it was influenced by both the Kindergarten-Primary movement (to be discussed in the next chapter) and the American and British interdisciplinary project methods. As a result, kindergarten teachers instructed the primary grades in a variety of handwork skills and community models became common exhibition displays by the 1920's. Although technical education became strongly established during these years in the secondary schools, the handwork movement retained its original handicraft characteristic and moral intent in the elementary schools. This chapter will outline the development of this New Education curricular reform under Putman's aegis.

1. Putman's Conception of Handwork.

A central tenet of the New Education movement was the importance of handwork. During the nineteenth century a number of influences had come together to form the American version of the term. Dating from the 1870's, the manual training movement was spearheaded by Calvin M. Woodward's Manual Training School of Washington University.¹ As in Putman's School for Higher English, it provided a cultural practical three-year programme. Lawrence Cremin described its aim as follows:

The goal of the course was liberal rather than vocational; the emphasis throughout was to be on education rather than production for sale, on principle rather than narrow skill, on art rather than the tradesman's competence.²

By 1890, thousands of American children were studying carpentry, metal and machine work, sewing, cooking and drawing.³ Moreover, manual education had extended into the lower grades.⁴ This movement was "largely influenced by Swedish instruction in slöjd (handwork, usually in wood),

1 Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation Of The School, Progressivism In American Education, 1876-1957, New York, Random House, 1964, p. 27.

2 Ibid., p. 28.

3 Ibid., p. 32-33.

4 Ibid., p. 33.

[...] appearing as a variety of arts and crafts in the elementary school".⁵

Advocates of the manual training movement were by this time urging that the activities of the Kindergarten should be joined to the slöjd at the elementary level and that tool exercises and homemaking should become part of the secondary school programme, to make "an orderly progression of manual work to parallel intellectual activities throughout the twelve-year period of general education".⁶ Besides, this New Education curriculum would be more suitable to the demands of the industrial age.

As has been outlined (in Chapter One), and as Putman summarized, "The Ottawa schools in 1910 already had established two important and fundamental handwork ventures, the Kindergarten and woodwork, called manual training, for boys of form IV".⁷ But they were divorced from the work of the regular grades which were dominated by the book-orientation demanded by the Entrance Examination. Putman termed this curriculum "too one-sided. Our courses make too little provision for the development of those children who can be

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

7 J. H. Putman, Fifty Years at School, An Educationist Looks at Life, Toronto, Clarke Irwin, 1938, p. 95.

profitably educated only through the sense of touch".⁸

This opinion was echoed by Albert Leake, who, on his inspection report of the Ottawa schools in 1910, recommended that "The introduction of a course of constructive work would be a decided advantage".⁹ In fact, greater efficiency would be obtained from the manual training classes themselves if "more attention could be given to the elementary industrial arts in the lower grades".¹⁰ He added, "The question of the introduction of Household Science for the girls is also worthy of consideration".¹¹

One of the first reasons Putman offered for establishing handwork in the lower grades, then, was pragmatic. He wanted to capture the interest of the hand-oriented boy, in particular, before he became disillusioned with school:

But our boys have had, with few exceptions, no opportunity to take manual training until they reach eleven or twelve years of age, and then they secure only an hour and a half's instruction each week. The boy who most needs a handwork education is often thoroughly disgusted with school before he reaches a class where he may make a beginning with manual training.¹²

8 J. H. Putman, Inspector's Annual Report, 1911, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, December 18, 1911, p. 19.

9 P.A.O., R.G.2, F-3-H, Vol. 4, 1909-11, Albert H. Leake, "Slater Street School, Ottawa", in Manual Training and Special Technical Instruction, Inspector's Report 1910, December 31, 1910, p. 2.

10 Ibid., Report on Manual Training in the City of Ottawa, December, 1910.

11 Ibid.

12 J. H. Putman, Inspector's Annual Report, 1912, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, December 30, 1912, p. 10.

There were overtones, as well, of the idealism of the New Educator worried about the effects of urban living and its lack of sensory-motor opportunities on the youth of Canada:

But as our urban population increases we shall have children in increasing numbers who through lack of opportunity to use their hands outside of school must be afforded special facilities to use them in school.¹³

For, as Putman outlined in his first address to the Dominion Educational Association in 1913, "Whether we like it or not, we are becoming a town and city dwelling people".¹⁴ And, as a liberal democrat, he believed that in the city hand-oriented children were being discriminated against, and the school was "encouraging them to grow up without fitting themselves for any occupation".¹⁵ The dignity of labour should be re-asserted, he thought, and sympathy evoked for the labouring classes.¹⁶

As many idealists of his day, Putman had an organic view of the value of handwork, almost reminiscent of the

13 Ibid., p. 11.

14 J. H. Putman, "The Aim and Practice of Education in Public Schools as a Preparation for Industrial Life", in The Dominion Educational Association, Proceedings of the Eighth Convention of the Association, Ottawa, August 20-23, 1913, Ottawa, Dominion Printing, (n.d.), p. 75.

15 Putman, Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 11.

16 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 102.

culture-epoch theory that Froebel, Hall and Herbart espoused.¹⁷

This view he summarized twenty-five years later as follows:

But we teach crafts in school primarily for their educational value just as we teach literature or history or geography. We teach them because they mark the road along which the human race has travelled in its journey from ignorance and savagery up to its present state of civilization.¹⁸

And, as the Darwinian environmentalists of his time, Putman valued

[...] crafts because they give intellectual stimulus and develop a sense of power. A boy [...] gets a] feeling that he is master of his environment. [...] the boy or girl who uses raw material to produce food, clothing or furniture comes to realize his or her creative power and thereby gains a confidence which gives strength for more difficult undertakings.¹⁹

In answer to the charges at the Dominion Educational Association meeting that this vocational training thrust would eliminate the cultural element in education, Putman answered first with an approach to learning similar to Dewey's instrumentalism:

17 John S. Brubacher, A History of the Problems of Education, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1947, p. 307-309.

18 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 102.

19 Ibid., p. 102-103.

We have found that if we want a boy to do good work he must work out his own problems. If he has never used a tool, perhaps the only thing we can do is to give him his problem, but the moment we find a boy ready to work out his own problem, we let him do it.²⁰

Then, affirming his humanism, as epitomized in the School for Higher English, Putman stated the philosophical foundations of his curricular reforms:

[...] I believe it will always be true, that the great work of the public school is to civilize and spiritualize the child; and this is largely done through literature and history. There never can come a time, in my opinion, when the teaching of these subjects is not of first importance in our elementary schools. But there is no opposition, no quarrel, between that idea and the idea of industrial training. One is the complement of the other. One is the scaffold on which the other has to rest; and unless we can do this hand work and this sense training well, we can never do the other well.²¹

Behind Putman's psychological and sociological reasons for advocating handwork, then, was an essentially moral intent. He believed first that "The thing that counts most is the expression of self in some action that has social meaning and therefore moral value".²² The child's interest needed to be captured so that his will power could grow.

20 Putman, "The Aim and Practice of Education", in DEA, Proceedings, 1913, p. 78.

21 Ibid., p. 82.

22 J. H. Putman, "Moral Instruction in Public Schools and the Curriculum of Studies", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1915, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 26, 1916, p. 18.

For, "the moral nature of the child - his goodness of will - can be developed only through some form of activity in which he engages voluntarily for the sake of an end having for him a real social value [...]".²³ Thus, the city school's curriculum needed to be changed to suit the new needs of the city child:

[...] the great change required is a further extension of those hand activities which have to do either directly or indirectly with home life and industrial life. The child must have more scope for activity. The kindergarten, the primary construction class, the wood-work class, the school rink, and the playground are doing much but not enough. It would not be too much if throughout the school course every child spent, on an average, one-half his time in some form of hand work where he is giving expression in some measure to his own ideas, and for many children above twelve years of age half time for hand work is not enough. They require a wide range of pre-vocational hand activities not to give them such skill as will make them machine-like operators, but to give them opportunity to discover along what lines their natural inclinations ought to be developed.²⁴

This idealistic view of handwork was the same as Robertson's, expressed in his 1913 Royal Commission Report

23 Ibid., p. 19.

24 Ibid., p. 19-20; and see, Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 94; and also, comment on Putman's "Moral Instruction" of Inspector's Report, 1915, in The School, Vol. 4, No. 9, May, 1916, p. 746: "That the manual activities are essentially moral, as Dr. Putman claims, in that they present the child with basic social values is also true. And so the new city school must be more of a work-shop where children do things and less of a place where children sit still and are taught things."

under "Handwork";²⁵ it was necessary to encourage children to use their hands as well as their heads in order to appreciate the dignity of manual labour and awaken their interest in industrial occupations. Industrial training should begin in the Kindergarten and be continued to the highest levels.

Thus, Putman's conception of handwork was a prevalent New Education idea²⁶ of that time, which had had a long history in the manual training and kindergarten movements. In this second stage of its development it was to assume a more pragmatic, industrial guise and be extended throughout the school system as necessary for all children.

2. Extension of Manual Training and Domestic Science.

During 1911 the manual training classes were broadened throughout the Ottawa schools to include a one-and-a-half hour's lesson for every boy from Grade Five to Eight in thirteen schools.²⁷ A carefully graded programme was devised of exercises with a series of wooden objects providing opportunity for more original work in the higher grades. As

²⁵ Canada, Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, Report of the Commissioners, Part IV, Ottawa, Parmelee, 1913, Chapter XLIX, Section 1, p. 2054.

²⁶ Robert S. Patterson, et al., Ed., Profiles of Canadian Educators, Toronto, Heath, 1974, p. 188-189.

²⁷ Caleb Medcalf, "Manual Training", in Inspector's Report, 1911, p. 27.

indicated at the School for Higher English, "working drawings of objects made have been the basis for instruction in simple mechanical drawing and the principles of plan and elevation".²⁸ In line with Medcalf's practical orientation, he had the boys make 1,400 boxes with hinged lids for the girls' sewing classes. There was a display of the work of the manual training classes at the Ottawa Exhibition in September. He reported, "Parents and public were evidently pleased with and interested in the display".²⁹

A beginning was made in handwork in the lower grades that year, as well. Medcalf predicted,

When this scheme of work in paper, cardboard, clay, and raffia has been in operation a reasonable length of time, there is little doubt the results will justify its introduction in the school course.³⁰

Putman outlined in his 1912 Report how boys and girls in Grades One to Four were given this handwork instruction:

Each school is equipped with sets of heavy mill-board to protect pupils' desks when cutting or scoring cardboard. There are also sets of oil-cloth covers to protect desks when pupils use clay. With this simple equipment to protect desks and with scoring knives, scissors, pencils, steel rules, paper punches, paste pots and brushes, pupils are ready for work.³¹

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid., p. 28.

30 Ibid.

31 Putman, Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 20.

For staff, Putman utilized the kindergarten teachers, already well-trained in handwork. Medcalf gave them a lesson every Monday afternoon and then the kindergarten teachers planned the handwork lessons for the elementary grades, with the assistance and co-operation of the grade teachers.³²

In this way all classes of grades 1, 2, 3, and 4 are receiving some 45 to 60 minutes a week in hand-training. In many cases the regular teacher of the class supplements this lesson each week with one or more others along similar lines.³³

Putman commended the efforts of Medcalf and the teachers in carrying out his suggestion. Further, he wrote,

I am hoping to see our handwork for young children develop and extend itself so much that the next generation of parents will be wholly disabused of that false and pernicious idea that a child goes to school solely to 'mind his book'.³⁴

On another front, domestic science, Putman reported in 1911 that Miss Calhoun had made a modest beginning.³⁵

Two thousand dollars had been spent to supply material and give systematic instruction in sewing to 1,500 girls of Third, Fourth, and Fifth Form classes.³⁶ Another 470 girls in the Fourth and Fifth Forms had been given instruction in

32 Ibid., p. 21; and see Medcalf's Report, p. 41.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid., p. 21-22.

35 Putman, Inspector's Report, 1911, p. 21.

36 Ibid., p. 22.

cooking for four months. Putman put a high value on this work:

In my opinion, it is doubtful whether the Public School ratepayers of Ottawa have ever spent \$2,000 which will in the end give larger returns. Nominally, this money has been spent for instruction in sewing and cooking, but these terms are much too narrow to include the actual instruction given. Lessons in cleanliness, neatness, taste, economy, home hygiene, home sanitation, dietetics, and simple nursing are necessarily included in these courses. The teaching bears directly upon the problem of making and keeping a comfortable home without waste or extravagance and with a moderate income.³⁷

Putman expanded on his ideas about girls' education in the first issue of The School in 1912.³⁸ He claimed that although women had gained equality with men in the avenues of higher education, "it has not yet been finally settled that our secondary education for women is the best possible, nor has it been settled that the best possible course for women must necessarily be the same as the best possible course for men".³⁹

37 Ibid.

38 J. H. Putman, "Secondary Education for Girls", in The School, Vol. 1, No. 1, September, 1912, p. 16-21.

39 Ibid., p. 16.

He stated his own assumptions

[...] that men and women are complementary but different; that while some women for long periods and other women for shorter periods will labour side by side with men in industrial and professional life, woman most completely realizes and expresses her womanhood as a wife and mother in the management of a home and in the care of her children.⁴⁰

And since nine out of ten women were destined to marry, he believed that "for the average girl the secondary school curriculum needs some addition, some subtraction, and greater freedom of options".⁴¹

As with his curriculum for girls at the School for Higher English, Putman asserted there was "no real opposition between the classical and disciplinary studies on the one hand, and the practical or utilitarian, on the other".⁴² Both studies had a bearing on human conduct and the expression of family values in the home:

A home is not merely a place where the family is comfortably housed, decently clad and properly fed. The flower of home-life, that which really distinguishes one home from another, is the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere. The creation of this atmosphere depends more upon the wife and mother than upon any other member of the family. Music, literature, language and other forms of art embody the emotional and spiritual experiences of the human race, and are therefore the supremely important studies for the development of the higher life. They must form the backbone of a secondary course for girls.⁴³

40 Ibid., p. 17.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid., p. 18.

43 Ibid.; and see, Putman, Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 26.

But, these higher values were based on lower, more practical ones. Whereas in the past home-industries were learned empirically by a farmer's daughter,⁴⁴ these skills had largely vanished with the industrial revolution. Thus, as Putman saw it,

Unless a girl can have a systematic training in foods, food-values, food preparation, nursing, the selection of clothing materials and the best way of making them up; unless she is taught to apply the discoveries of modern science to the feeding, nursing and clothing of a family she is much worse equipped as a housewife than was her great-grandmother at the beginning of the Victorian era.⁴⁵

To the argument that the girl's mother could teach her these skills, Putman replied that

[...] the school is not to replace the mother's instruction or necessarily to conflict with it, but to supplement it, guide it and give it purpose. The school gives the theory and its scientific basis, together with a reasonable amount of practical work [...].⁴⁶

Based on these facts, Putman then asked, "Is it not time that every secondary school should offer girls a practical course in kitchen economy?"⁴⁷ In place of the higher levels of arithmetic, which every student had to undertake

44 Putman, "Secondary Education for Girls", p. 19.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

for the Entrance Examination, Putman wondered,

Would not a two-year course on clothing materials, their origin, processes of dyeing and weaving, comparative and relative values for different purposes of silk, linen, cotton and wool together with practical work in cutting, fitting and sewing garments, give as much mental discipline as arithmetic, and in addition make the girl feel that her school training was having a direct bearing upon her future as a home-maker?⁴⁸

Another reason for offering domestic science courses Putman expressed in his 1912 Report. He hoped that

[...] when the sewing and cooking classes have been longer in operation their effects upon the girls will be most wholesome, and that these subjects will be an incentive to girls to remain at school to complete the course.⁴⁹

By 1912 he reported that two cooking centres giving thirty-six lessons per week were used.⁵⁰ Kindergarten teachers (given lessons every Monday afternoon by Miss Calhoun)⁵¹ and grade teachers were assisting in the teaching of sewing, which was taught to girls in Grades Five to Eight, and in some cases to Grade Four girls.⁵² Miss Calhoun wrote

48 Ibid., p. 20.

49 Putman, Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 10.

50 Ibid., p. 26; and see, "Preparing For Next Term", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, August 13, 1912, p. 3; opening of First Avenue cooking centre.

51 Grace Calhoun, "Domestic Science", in Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 38.

52 Ibid., p. 37.

that they learned different stitches and made simple articles in the younger grades.⁵³ Later, many of them made the table-linen, towelling, dish cloths and dusters needed by the cooking department. And in December they made many of their Christmas presents.

On his inspection tour of Ottawa classes in 1912, Leake wrote, "I am pleased to note that preliminary training [in sewing] is given throughout the lower grades of the Public Schools and the work being done by the Supervisor in training the grade teachers along these lines".⁵⁴ Regarding the manual training work, he remarked,

The work is well organized from the first grade throughout the Public School course. The elementary work taken by the Kindergarten teachers (in the lower grades) is well taught and promises good results. The rooms are generally good, eight being graded one, four being graded two and one being graded four. The thirteen equipments are carefully looked after, all tools being ground and sharpened as often as is necessary.⁵⁵

In 1913, Putman described Ottawa's successful programme in his address to the Dominion Educational Association.⁵⁶ He

53 Ibid., p. 38.

54 P.A.O., R.G.2, F-3-H, Vol. 5, 1912-13, Albert H. Leake, 'Kent St. P.S.', "Ottawa 1912", in Inspector's Report on Manual Training Classes, dated January 17, 1912.

55 'Slater Street School', dated January 19, 1912, in Ibid.

56 Putman, "The Aim and Practice of Education", in DEA Proceedings, 1913, p. 77.

said a great many media were used in this expanded handwork curriculum. But raw material, such as reeds, raffia and cardboard, were better for the child and his development than machine-made materials, such as were used in many Kindergartens then. It was reported that Putman

[...] believed that we could plan a series of experiences for the children from the kindergarten up to the age of ten through knife work, raffia, cardboard, wood work, penmanship and school gardening that would give them just such sense and motor experiences as they ought to have. He would not be satisfied until Ottawa had a school garden in connection with every school where possible.⁵⁷

Medcalf wrote that the construction work in the lower grades showed real progress "and that the teachers of these grades appreciate the educational possibilities of the work in paper, clay, and raffia".⁵⁸ He was pleased with the manual training classes, particularly with the improvement in the lettering of the mechanical drawing⁵⁹ (probably a result of Newlands' art programme, which emphasized freehand lettering⁶⁰). Leake inspected the Ottawa schools at this

57 Ibid.

58 Caleb Medcalf, "Manual Training", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1913, Ottawa, December 31, 1913, p. 62.

59 Ibid., p. 60; and see, "School Closings For The Easter Holidays", in The Citizen, Ottawa, April 10, 1913, p. 4: described manual training and sewing at First Avenue School.

60 A. F. Newlands, "Art and Penmanship", in Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 53.

time and commended the new handwork programme. "The organization and conduct of the work from form I throughout all the grades are highly commendable",⁶¹ he noted.

During 1914 the manual training programme was extended in three directions. A Manual Arts School was opened in September of 1913,⁶² which devoted practically one-half of the school day to some form of handwork. (This school will be described in Part Three.) A second weekly lesson was added for the Grade Eight boys and some Grade Seven boys. As Medcalf commented,

There is little doubt that this extra lesson, making two and one-half hours per week in all, is very desirable and will add greatly to the effectiveness of the instruction. It will be possible to give more time to mechanical drawing, and in the woodwork larger and more interesting objects can be attempted.⁶³

Benchwork instruction was offered to all boys from Grade Five upwards.⁶⁴ Although the scheme of work in woodwork classes was essentially the same as in previous years,

61 P.A.O., R.G.2, F-3-H, Vol. 5, Albert H. Leake, letter, "Summary of Individual Inspector's Report on Manual Training Classes in Ottawa", dated May 2, 1913.

62 Caleb Medcalf, "Manual Training", in Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 61.

63 Caleb Medcalf, "Manual Training", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1914, Ottawa, January 29, 1915, p. 44.

64 Ibid.

senior pupils could do more original objects for the home. A beginning was being made "in sheet copper such as piercing and filling of watch fobs, hammered bowls and trays".⁶⁵ In the construction work of the lower grades, Medcalf expressed satisfaction with the progress, which reflected "great credit on the grade teachers, ably assisted in most instances by the kindergarten teachers".⁶⁶ They planned to enrich the programme of the Grade Three and Four boys by providing work in thin wood.⁶⁷

Miss Calhoun equally seemed pleased with the progress of the grade students in sewing.⁶⁸ Sixty-six classes were held weekly for Grades Five to Eight. The Grade Six girls were learning to knit. Grade Seven girls were outfitting the dolls, newly-acquired in September, while Grade Eight students were making simple undergarments for themselves.⁶⁹ But, Miss Calhoun reported, "The outstanding feature of the work this year was the extension of sewing instruction to the girls in grades 3 and 4".⁷⁰ She had trained the teachers

65 Ibid., p. 45.

66 Ibid., p. 46.

67 Ibid.

68 Grace Calhoun, "Household Science", in Inspector's Report, 1914, p. 48.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid., p. 49.

the previous spring and they now gave three-quarter hour lessons every week. As a result, "The children have been keenly interested in their new work, indeed, the sewing lesson has become to them one of the most popular on the week's programme".⁷¹

By 1914, the cooking classes had been extended to four centres.⁷² All senior girls received instruction, as well as fifty-two in Grade Six. Miss Calhoun commented,

The grade 6 girls were included partly as an experiment and partly because many of them, in these particular classes, would leave school before they got the benefit of the grade 8 course. From watching this experiment I am convinced it would be a good thing to extend this work in the near future to all of grade 6 girls. It would mean a good training in the practical side of the work before the study of theory need be considered.⁷³

That summer, approval was given Putman by the Management Committee to choose five teachers to take summer courses in manual training, household science and handwork and that the Board would grant them a hundred dollar bonus for this experience.⁷⁴

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid., p. 50.

73 Ibid., p. 51.

74 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1914, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1913, Ottawa, Dominion Printing, 1915, p. 115.

By 1915, Medcalf commented on the fact that they had now had four or five years of

[...] a continuous and progressive course of hand-work throughout the grades from the Kindergarten upwards. [...] I think we can say that they have been years of development and progress both as to methods and the most suitable materials to be used in the hand work of young children.⁷⁵

The experimentation with knife work for boys in Grade Four, and in some cases in Grade Three, was continuing. They "were given simple manual training in prepared thin wood involving the use of the saw, rule, hammer, [...]".⁷⁶ Those schools without a manual training room had a cutting board provided that fitted on the school desk.

The regular manual training classes progressed very well during the year, Medcalf reported, and completed sufficient numeral frames for every primary grade in the city, as well as animal cages for use in nature study.⁷⁷ A manual training room was added to Hopewell Avenue School, using equipment from the old George Street School.

By 1915, Miss Calhoun could summarize the total range of the six-year sewing programme beginning in Grade

75 Caleb Medcalf, 'Constructive Work', "Manual Training", in Inspector's Report, 1915, p. 57-58.

76 Ibid., p. 58.

77 Medcalf, 'Manual Training (Woodwork)', "Manual Training", in Ibid., p. 56.

Three throughout the Ottawa Public School system.⁷⁸ She believed, "The quality of the sewing throughout the grades is improving steadily. The girls, for the most part, enjoy the work and look forward to the weekly lesson with keen interest".⁷⁹ The same excellent progress she noted in the cooking classes, which that year prepared a breakfast (Grade Seven girls), luncheon and dinner (Grade Eight) to which they invited their teachers.⁸⁰

The following year, Miss Calhoun reported that a new household science centre was opened at Connaught School. "It is well-planned, well-equipped and commodious, having ample pantry accommodation and a small dining-room adjoining it."⁸¹ The weekly lesson in cookery was expanded during 1916 to include "210 grade 6, and 87 grade 7 girls".⁸² She hoped that all Grade Six girls would soon be taught cookery. The major improvement in sewing that year was that all Grade Eight classes were provided with sewing machines, so that "The girls are now combining machine work with hand sewing

78 Grace Calhoun, 'Sewing', "Household Science", in Inspector's Report, 1915, p. 60.

79 Ibid.

80 Ibid., p. 63-64.

81 Grace Calhoun, 'Cookery', "Household Science", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1916, Ottawa, February 7, 1917, p. 36.

82 Ibid., p. 37.

in making up their garments".⁸³ Overall, Miss Calhoun wrote,

I might say that in the general exhibitions of pupils' work, held in all the [...] schools on the 28th of June, there were many very interesting displays of girls' sewing, reflecting great credit on the teaching.⁸⁴

The same high standard of teaching was commented on by Medcalf in his report of the constructive work for 1916:

The handwork of the primary grades shows very satisfactory progress, particularly in the great variety of simple little objects, full of interest to young children, that are made of paper, raffia, and clay. The excellent way in which the work in most classes is presented by the grade teacher, ably assisted by the kindergarten teacher, shows a thorough understanding and appreciation of the important part handwork should take in the education of the child.⁸⁵

Thus, by 1916, Putman had brought about a dramatic curricular re-orientation in the Ottawa Public schools. As Inspector James Gill of Hamilton wrote to the Deputy Minister after a visit to Ottawa in 1916,

Modelling in clay or plasticene and paper cutting have been taken up quite extensively in the lower grades while practically all the boys in Forms IV and V take Manual Training.⁸⁶

83 Calhoun, 'Sewing', in Ibid., p. 39.

84 Ibid., p. 40.

85 Medcalf, 'Constructive Work', "Manual Training", in Ibid., p. 33.

86 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1916, Box 22, 4-831, III, Item 52, Report of James Gill, Inspector Hamilton Public Schools, to Deputy Minister, dated Hamilton, April 6, 1916, p. 2.

Through a skilful organization of existing handwork personnel, from the kindergarten and manual training classes, Putman had taught the Ottawa grade teachers not only the handwork skills but the over-all philosophy behind the movement. The classes they taught thus reflected enthusiasm and a high quality of workmanship, which were possible with properly trained teachers. The process of mixing together different types of teachers, it was noted earlier, led to co-operation among their disciplines. It opened the way, also, to an acceptance of American progressive education to which they were exposed at this time.

3. American Influences on Handwork.

In December of 1917, Putman visited Gary, Indiana,⁸⁷ and, as mentioned in the previous chapter, reported extensively on the Gary School Plan in his annual report of that year.⁸⁸

William Wirt, the dynamic organizer of the Gary Plan who had "once been [an] admiring student of Dewey at the University of Chicago",⁸⁹ had created in the school system of

87 J. H. Putman, 'I. The Gary School Plan.', "Modern Educational Movements", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1917, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 21, 1918, p. 20.

88 Ibid., p. 12-20.

89 Cremin, Op. Cit., p. 154.

Gary by 1916, "the leading example of progressive education"⁹⁰ in the United States, according to Cremin. His plan "represented an effort to apply to an urban school system Dewey's idea of education [... and] make the school the true center of the artistic and intellectual life of the neighborhood".⁹¹

Putman's trip to Gary was followed a month later by a very important three-day conference in Ottawa of the Dominion Educational Association, of which he was Secretary-Treasurer (as previously noted). The two main speakers were William Wirt and John Dewey.⁹²

On January thirty-first, Wirt addressed a large audience in the Ottawa Collegiate Institute on "Giving to Children the Compensatory Advantage of City Life".⁹³ He illustrated his lecture "with a series of motion pictures showing the various school activities carried on at Gary".⁹⁴ The following morning the Association joined with the Ottawa Teachers' Association at the Normal School to hear

90 Ibid., p. 155.

91 Ibid.

92 The Dominion Educational Association, Proceedings of the Ninth Convention of the Association held at Ottawa, Ontario, January 31st and February 1st and 2nd, 1917, Ottawa, (Dominion Printers), (n.d.), p. 5, 7, 8, 65-78 and 87.

93 "Big Gathering of Educationists To Meet Here Jan. 31", in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 8, 1917, p. 3.

94 DEA, Proceedings, 1917, p. 5.

Superintendent Wirt on the topic of "Progress in Education Through School Administration".⁹⁵

As his address was reported in The Citizen, Wirt outlined the

Amazing progress [that Gary schools] had [...] made in elementary and technical education. The efforts of those concerned in school development have been centred not only in primary schools, but in the higher centres as well.⁹⁶

Dr. Robertson, who introduced Wirt, referred to his accomplishments in glowing terms and "stated this could be duplicated in Ottawa by co-operation and earnest effort".⁹⁷ The newspaper advance billing on the evening before his lecture was that

The Gary schools have attracted the attention of most progressive educational bodies in this part of the world. The methods of teaching of children in Gary are revolutionary, but they are finding followers in other cities. New York city, for instance, is paying Mr. William Wirt a salary of \$10,000 a year for ten separate weeks of work to establish Gary methods in the schools under the New York board of education.⁹⁸

95 Ibid., p. 65-78.

96 "Interest Farmers To Fullest Value Of Their Calling", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 1, 1917, p. 11.

97 Ibid.

98 "Two Free Popular Lectures", editorial in The Ottawa Evening Citizen, Ottawa, January 30, 1917, p. 12; (microfilm N-11436, Citizen Library).

And although Putman's rigorous analysis of the Gary system (to be dealt with in Part Three) criticized its lack of thoroughness and more impersonal approach to children,⁹⁹ The Citizen praised the fact that in the Gary Plan "the individual bent of each child [was] cultivated with a view towards setting that individual in the right path both from a moral as well as an educational standpoint".¹⁰⁰

A more realistic assessment of the aim of the Gary schools, as described by Wirt, was given by The Ottawa Journal-Press when it reported him as saying that "The plan is not to turn out exceptional pupils in the 3 R's, but to produce most efficiently an industrious, intelligent, healthy and helpful class of youngsters".¹⁰¹

On Thursday night, Professor John Dewey gave a free public lecture at the Collegiate Institute on the topic of "Socializing the Schools".¹⁰² He was reported to have said that

99 Putman, Inspector's Report, 1917, p. 15-17.

100 "Individual Program Education Favored", in The Evening Citizen, Ottawa, February 1, 1917, p. 6.

101 "Where Kiddies Are Happy With Eight Hour Day", in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, February 1, 1917, p. 12.

102 DEA, Proceedings, 1917, p. 105.

Schools [...] should teach more than expected. They should give pupils an adequate knowledge of how to conduct themselves in life, and in affairs away from school. It was time [...] to shatter many of the shibboleths that have persistently clung in the past. Old stereotyped methods in vogue for years would have to be swept away, and new and more modern methods adopted. He instanced the study of physics as an example of what could be accomplished. Knowledge of motors, electricity, and scientific subjects could be taught by application of the uses of motors, telephones, and other practical illustrations rather than by hard and fast axioms.¹⁰³

The Duke of Devonshire, who gave an address after Dewey, commented on the previous speaker as follows:

We have also enjoyed the privilege of hearing from Dr. Dewey, who is well known across the Atlantic as on this side [for] the thoughtful, well argued and honestly sincere and keen speech which he has made. His great reputation has been in no wise lessened by the admirable address to which we have listened tonight [...].¹⁰⁴

He was particularly struck with the strong note in many of the speeches, especially in the concluding part of Dewey's address

¹⁰³ "Duke Addresses The Educational Annual Sessions", in The Evening Citizen, Ottawa, February 2, 1917, p. 2; and see letter to the Editor by Ch. J. Tulley, "Scientific Method In Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 3, 1917, p. 4: suggested Dewey did not stress enough the need for scientific method in the schools.

¹⁰⁴ DEA, Proceedings, 1917, p. 105.

[...] that the main end and object of education is the formation, the moulding, the building up of character. We of the British Empire are engaged in a great struggle which, as Dr. Dewey rightly said, is not a purely wordy battle, or one for territorial acquisition, but is a conflict of high ideals and great principles.¹⁰⁵

Although this was Dewey's main lecture, he also spoke to the Ottawa teachers and the Association delegates on Thursday afternoon on "Observation and Thinking",¹⁰⁶ and on Friday afternoon on "Information and Thinking",¹⁰⁷ both of which

[...] showed the profound knowledge which he has of this subject, and many valuable hints were imparted to the teachers regarding the development in their pupils on the necessity of observation and thinking.¹⁰⁸

Unfortunately, he had to curtail his final lecture in order to leave for home. Before going, however,

He was accorded a vote of thanks, moved by Dr. J. H. Putman, and seconded by Dr. J. T. White, principal of Normal schools. Dr. Dewey was informed that he had been made an honorary member of the Dominion Educational Association.¹⁰⁹

105 Ibid., p. 106.

106 Ibid., p. 7.

107 "Big Gathering Of Educationists To Meet Here Jan. 31", in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 8, 1917, p. 3; and see, "Library Helps Scholars Here", in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, February 3, 1917, p. 7.

108 "Teachers Conclude Annual Convention", in The Evening Citizen, Ottawa, February 3, 1917, p. 5.

109 Ibid.; and see, DEA, Proceedings, 1917, p. 8.

At the conclusion of this Ottawa Convention,

Dr. Robertson, the retiring president, paid tribute to the work accomplished by Dr. J. H. Putman as secretary of the association. The latter wished to relinquish this position but was prevailed upon to accept another term.¹¹⁰

The conference was termed "the most momentous and important session of its kind among educationalists during the past decade".¹¹¹ The Ottawa teachers judged that

The present conference of the teachers has been the most successful yet held by this association. The discussion has covered a wide ground, and the lectures given, particularly by Professor John Dewey of Columbia University, have resulted in stimulating the work of the association to a large extent.¹¹²

Despite the apparent novelty of Dewey's and Wirt's ideas at this 1917 Convention, Putman wrote that he had been exposed to Dewey's ideas much earlier, while he was at the Ottawa Model School in 1895 (see Chapters Three and Four). Dewey was referred to by S. B. Sinclair, Putman's Ottawa Normal School confrère at an address on the problem method in connection with teacher training¹¹³ before the Ontario

110 "Duke Addresses The Educational Annual Sessions", in The Evening Citizen, Ottawa, February 2, 1917, p. 2.

111 "Dr. J. W. Robertson Honorary Member", in Ibid., p. 6.

112 "Ottawa Teachers Elect Officers", in Ibid.

113 S. B. Sinclair, "The Problem Method In The Training Of Teachers", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Forty-Ninth Annual Convention, Toronto, March 29, 30, and 21, 1910, Briggs, 1910, p. 249.

Educational Association in 1910. A model lesson on the board measure using Dewey's methods was written up in The School in 1913.¹¹⁴ In his address to the Dominion Educational Association that same year, Putman referred to the Ottawa manual training programme and the fact that it had changed since its inception under the Macdonald Fund where the teachers

[...] who came from England insisted somewhat rigidly on the boy making a set of models which numbered up to ten or twelve. [...] now very few models are made by the boy that are prescribed by the master in charge of the work. We have found that if we want a boy to do good work he must work out his own problems.¹¹⁵

By 1916, The School was publishing reviews of Dewey's major writings on progressive education.¹¹⁶ As soon as his Democracy and Education was published in 1916, it was given high praise in The School as follows:

114 J. T. Crawford, "'Learning to do by Doing', A Lesson on Board Measure", in The School, Vol. 1, No. 7, March, 1913, p. 499-501.

115 Putman, "The Aim and Practice of Education", in DEA, Proceedings, 1913, p. 78.

116 F.E.C., "Schools of To-Morrow", by John Dewey and Evelyn Dewey", and P.S., "The School and Society (revised edition, August 1915), by John Dewey", reviews in The School, Vol. 4, No. 8, April, 1916, p. 686.

One cannot speak too highly of this book. John Dewey is the greatest living thinker upon the deeper problems of education, and directly and indirectly has influenced educational thinking the world over more than any other man. The book before us represents nearly forty years of thought and practical experience in the educational field. It is a mature book. While apparently easy to read, it is no book for the dilettante in educational affairs. [...] The reviewer has read it twice and although he has been a student of Dewey's writings for a decade or more, he feels that he has not nearly sounded him to the depths. He is also convinced that many so-called 'Dewey-ites' know nothing about the teachings of their master. [...] The book can be unhesitatingly recommended as not only the best work on the philosophy of education, but also as the best book on education written in the past century.¹¹⁷

From this time on the dual themes of democracy and education and the project method in teaching became more prominent in Ontario educational writings.¹¹⁸ Thus, the

117 P.S., "Democracy and Education, an introduction to the Philosophy of Education, by John Dewey", in Ibid., Vol. 5, No. 2, October, 1916, p. 105.

118 Professor G. S. Brett, "Democracy and Education", in Ibid., Vol. 6, No. 2, October, 1917, p. 137-141; M. J. W., "Projects in the Primary Grades, by Alice M. Krackowizer", and W. J. D., "The New Teaching, edited by John Adam", reviews in Ibid., Vol. 7, No. 8, April, 1919, p. 547; Miss Gertrude Jackson, "The Project in Elementary Grades", in Ibid., Vol. 10, No. 1, September, 1921, p. 17-23: p. 17, "In the last year or two the word project has become very familiar. It occupies a conspicuous place in every school magazine [...]."; Professor G. M. Jones, 'The Project Method', "High School History Methods", in Ibid., Vol. 9, No. 6, February, 1921, p. 436-440; Geo. A. Carefoot, "The Project Method of Teaching", in Ontario Educational Association, Addresses of the Ontario Educational Association Held in Toronto, April 17, 18, 19 and 20, 1922, Vol. II, Toronto, Ryerson, 1922, p. 150-153; John William Chester, "Learning By Doing Things", in Ibid., p. 164-165; W. H. Stevens, "New Methods of Teaching Geography To Forms II and Jr. III", in Ibid., p. 161-164.

American progressive education versions of handwork education were being broadcast to Ontario educators with increasing intensity as the second decade of the twentieth century drew to a close.

4. Community Models in Ottawa Public Schools.

In 1914 Albert Leake, Inspector of Technical Schools in Ontario, wrote a retrospective article on "Manual Training".¹¹⁹ The previous year he had won a thousand dollar prize for his treatise, "Industrial Education, Its Problems, Methods and Dangers",¹²⁰ in an American competition judged by representatives from the leading universities. Thus, he was considered a North American authority on the subject.

According to Leake, the manual training movement had gone through three distinct phases. First came the "model" approach, "where the boy had to make a 'joint' about which he knew nothing and cared less".¹²¹ Then came

119 Albert H. Leake, "Manual Training", in The School, Vol. 2, No. 7, March, 1914, p. 435-438.

120 "Notes and News", in Ibid., Vol. 1, No. 5, January, 1913, p. 369.

121 Leake, Op. Cit., p. 436-437.

[...] the 'Sloyd' influence, which at least infused a certain amount of interest and inculcated the making of useful objects, though the mistake was made in many cases of supposing that the 'system' consisted of the actual models made in Sweden, and that any departure therefrom would destroy the continuity of the whole system.¹²²

(As Putman acknowledged, Medcalf had recognized this fault and had changed Ottawa's programme so that interest became the "compelling motive"¹²³ of the course rather than perfection.) Finally, Leake explained,

[...] came the craze for 'originality', 'inventiveness', 'self-expression', and in the name of one or other of these we have had perpetrated objects which have caused derision amongst those who know good craftsmanship when they see it. It was thought by allowing a boy to make something entirely beyond his executive skill that his 'self-expression' would be developed, his 'inventiveness' stimulated, and his 'originality' encouraged. It did not at all matter that the joints gaped, that the angles were far from right angles, or that the object was ill-fitted to serve the purpose for which it was designed (?) [sic].¹²⁴

He assessed England as being in the midst of the "self-expression" craze of manual training.¹²⁵ And he described some of the articles he had read in which teachers proudly claimed that their models of a Canadian farm, a timber slide, a lumber camp and a grain elevator were examples of

122 Ibid., p. 437.

123 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 101.

124 Leake, Op. Cit., p. 437.

125 Ibid.

correlation and self-expression.¹²⁶

Leake praised the fourth phase and future development of manual training which was rapidly coming to the fore:

The grade teacher is coming to believe, and what is more, is acting upon the belief, that manual training and household science may be made a great help in her work, not only in the actual subjects of instruction, but also in vitalising interest and stimulating ideals. The manual training teacher, on the other hand, is using more and more mathematical and scientific facts in his instruction, and is establishing a real connection with practical industry.¹²⁷

Leake, then, pin-pointed two trends developing in 1914. The first was a handwork and community projects approach undertaken by the grade teachers. Putman's reforms, thus, were in the vanguard of this movement. The second was a more pragmatic and industrially-oriented reform of the manual training classes. The latter trend, especially in its secondary school forms, was emphasized in 1915 in Ontario by the appointment of F. W. Merchant as Director of Technical Education, with no assistance to be given him from then on by A. H. Leake, who was henceforth to be only Inspector of Household Science and Manual Training.¹²⁸

126 Ibid.

127 Ibid., p. 436.

128 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1915, Box 9, 2-935, Item 19, copy of Order-in-Council, dated April 30, 1915.

This increasingly pragmatic attitude to manual training was commented on by Medcalf in 1917:

While Manual Training does not aim to give a technical¹ training in any particular trade, the definite value of the instruction all our boys are getting in their weekly Manual Training lesson is one that develops qualities that are increasingly in demand under present day conditions.¹²⁹

As if to refute Leake's criticism of the shoddy workmanship likely to arise from manual training classes which went overboard in self-expression, Medcalf drew attention to

The display of Manual Training work in the Horticultural Building at the Central Canada Exhibition [which] was the cause of much gratifying comment on the part of the public, particularly the high standard of excellence shown in the display of furniture, etc., made by the pupils of grades seven and eight.¹³⁰

But Leake commended the efforts of the Toronto, Ottawa, and London public schools in having these exhibitions of work and noted that they drew large and interested crowds.¹³¹

Leake pointed out that manual training could be "closely related to almost every other subject in the

¹²⁹ C. Medcalf, "Manual Training", in Inspector's Report, 1917, p. 40.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Albert H. Leake, "Report of the Inspector of Manual Training and Household Science", dated Toronto, January, 1919, in Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For The Year 1918, Toronto, Wilgress, 1919, p. 66.

curriculum, and the closer this relationship is made the better will be the results in all subjects".¹³² That this handwork orientation was well established in the Ottawa schools was affirmed by Medcalf in 1921. He wrote, "It is particularly gratifying to report that the primary handwork of the junior grades in paper, raffia, clay and cardboard is, generally speaking, taught in an excellent manner".¹³³ Then, in line with Leake's description of what had been happening in England, Medcalf added, significantly,

An interesting development of this work is shown in the many really excellent 'community models' representing scenes in other countries, of life on the farm, [...] which were arranged in the various classrooms in June last for the school exhibitions.¹³⁴

The Ottawa newspapers noted this new trend right away. As The Ottawa Journal put it, "The community spirit was in evidence everywhere [...]".¹³⁵ At Laurier Avenue School, there "was a miniature circus done by the girls in grade two. The tents, the animals, the ferris wheels, the

132 Ibid., p. 67.

133 Caleb Medcalf, "Manual Training", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1921, Ottawa, March 1, 1922, p. 30.

134 Ibid.

135 "Ottawa Public Schools Display Work of Pupils During The Year At Many Excellent Exhibitions", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, June 25, 1921, p. 20.

big wagons, were all there making it look very real".¹³⁶

Again, at the neighbouring Slater Street School,

A little Japanese village showing the Japanese mode of travel, their little tea-houses and many other features proved very attractive. [...] Mr. R. Westwater is head teacher.¹³⁷

Miss Pettit, of Wellington Street School, had her Grade Five boys construct a circus parade, "complete from the animals to the horses and driver, and built in a realistic way from quarter-inch wood and wire".¹³⁸ This exhibit and other community models combining art and geography were highlighted as individually interesting in the Exhibition that fall.¹³⁹

The next year Miss Pettit's Grade Five boys made a model farm which aroused considerable interest at the Exhibition "because of its originality and cleverness".¹⁴⁰ It represented a complete farm scene with the farmer's house, standing in cultivated grounds and surrounded by flower beds and gravel paths. There was a carriage-shed behind the house and a barn nearby. A real post and wire fence

136 Ibid.

137 Ibid.

138 "Charles Living Quits Teaching After 39 Years", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, June 28, 1921, p. 4.

139 "P.S. Pupils' Exhibits Are Highly Praised", in The Ottawa Morning Journal, Ottawa, September 13, 1921, p. 8.

140 "School Boys Have Splendid Exhibit", in The Citizen, Ottawa, September 14, 1922, p. 3.

surrounded it and a poultry yard stood in the foreground. The comment on its artistic and educational value was made, thus:

Every department of farm activity is represented by a carefully arranged set of models made by the youthful exhibitors, and the completeness of the details of the model farm reflects credit upon the knowledge of farming, as well as to the ingenuity of the boys.¹⁴¹

Apparently the handwork entailed the use of raffia, needlework and manual training skills.¹⁴²

The previous June, this community models innovation was commented on at length by The Ottawa Journal in connection with the exhibit of work at Rideau Street School. The reporter explained it as follows:

A new idea along two lines of study, manual training and history, formed part of the interesting exhibit at Rideau Street School. In the middle forms in this school groups were arranged to portray various people and countries. Two of the most interesting were groups showing an Indian village, with fire, canoes, tents, people and water, and the second showing an Egyptian desert scene, with camels, people, palm trees and a city in the distance. The ideas were worked out on a large table with carved wood, colored paper and sand. This appeared to be something distinctly new in creative work in the public schools. The idea was carried out in about a dozen different ways.¹⁴³

141 Ibid.

142 "Many Parents and Friends Visit Exhibitions At Public Schools Of Work Of Pupils During Year", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, June 28, 1922, p. 5.

143 Ibid.; and see further descriptions in "Hold Exhibition Of Work Done By School Children", in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 28, 1923, p. 5.

Whether the community models idea came from Britain, as Leake's 1914 manual training article and the name "community models" would lead one to surmise, or whether it was derived from the influence of Dewey and American progressive educators after 1917, is difficult to determine. Certainly, the newspaper account of the community models, and the "project method" described in numerous articles at that time bore a strong resemblance to that of W. H. Kilpatrick of Columbia University, first proposed in 1918.¹⁴⁴ But Putman's fellow Inspector, E. T. Slemon, writing in the 1922 Inspector's Annual Report, seemed to think that

The modern 'project method', just now so much in vogue in the schools of the United States, is but a new emphasis put upon the best practice of teachers of all time. It is but the selecting of an objective, generally suggested by the teacher, and such a division of labour between teacher and pupils as will make that objective or aim attainable. It is help and self-help. The teacher still has much to do.¹⁴⁵

Slemon's outline of the process involved in carrying out the project method sounded more Herbartian than Deweyan,

144 William H. Kilpatrick, "The Project Method", in Teachers College Record, Vol. 19, No. 4, September, 1918, p. 319-335; and see, Samuel Tenebaum, "An Informal Essay on William Heard Kilpatrick and Some of His Writings", in Educational Theory, Vol. 16, No. 1, January, 1966, p. 44-58.

145 E. T. Slemon, 'Supplied Help Or Self-Help', "Some Changes In Teaching, Actual and Desirable", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1922, Ottawa, January 4, 1923, p. 29.

particularly his reference to the "apperceptive powers" of the pupils. He emphasized the fact, once again, that the project method

[...] demands much of the teacher. It implies thorough preparation for the needs of the situation, fullness of information concerning the subject investigated, and intimate knowledge of the apperceptive powers of his pupils. There must be self-activity on the part of his pupils, for without it, there can be no real development; but the activity must be conserved, correlated, and directed to useful ends by the teacher.¹⁴⁶

It would probably be truer to conclude, therefore, that the project method, or community models exhibited by the Ottawa Public School classes, although stimulated by foreign innovations, were a natural development of Putman's handwork programme throughout the grades. They fitted in with Putman's New Education beliefs in child-centred activity, hand-eye training through manual skills, and self-expression by means of craft projects. The new ingredient at this stage was a co-operative social endeavour to construct a joint enterprise. But, as will be seen in the next chapter, this had a long tradition in kindergarten practices. Now it was entering the regular grades.

146 Ibid.

5. Assessment of the Programme, 1918-1923.

During the years 1918-1923, the Ottawa Public Schools led the province in domestic science and all forms of manual training.¹⁴⁷

After five years of operation, Leake judged Ottawa's sewing programme to be excellent. In the majority of centres in Ontario,

[...] efficient instruction is being given in plain sewing and exceedingly good results are being accomplished, as is shown by the various local exhibitions of the work of the schools. This work is organized better in the City of Ottawa than anywhere else in the Province, and the efforts made here, and the results accomplished under the management of a special Supervisor of Household Science are well worthy of study by other Boards interested in this subject.¹⁴⁸

A good description of the programme given the 2,800 Ottawa girls taking part in it was given in The Citizen. It outlined the stages that they underwent,

147 "A Special Exhibit By Public Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, September 8, 1921, p. 2: "The department of education in Toronto has stated recently that Ottawa public schools lead in the province of Ontario, and not excepting Toronto, in all forms of manual training and household science."

148 Albert H. Leake, "Report of the Inspector of Manual Training and Household Science", dated Toronto, January, 1919, in Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For The Year 1918, Toronto, Wilgress, 1919, p. 71.

[...] from stitching mats with woollen thread, taught in the third grade, through all forms of correct basting, hemming, seaming, felling and stitching, up to making caps and gowns for their cooking classes, and the successful construction of their own underwear and shirt waists. A pupil having successfully passed through these different stages in learning the art, which includes instruction at the Kent street school, has gained sufficient knowledge and experience to enable her to cut, fit and finish a blouse from neck band to belt.¹⁴⁹

Miss Calhoun reported, in 1923, that the girls were adapting their work to contemporary needs; "they are learning how to follow the modern trend of garment making and make for themselves the simple undergarments and one-piece dresses so popular to-day."¹⁵⁰ Again, The Citizen described the display of needlework of that year as "exceptionally good in all the schools, taking everything in line from plain stitching done on towels and simple dolls' clothing done by the junior girls".¹⁵¹

The cooking classes were commended in the newspapers, as well. A description of an efficiently-run class was given in 1918, in which twenty-four girls individually prepared a

149 "Ground Work Of Household Duties Is Well Taught In The Public Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 5, 1918, p. 4.

150 Grace Calhoun, "Household Science", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1923, Ottawa, February 7, 1924, p. 37.

151 "Displays Of Work At Public Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 27, 1923, p. 2.

dish of creamed parsnips, had it inspected, then neatly cleaned it up and filed out of the class-room.¹⁵² There were five cooking centres in operation by this time and instruction was offered to girls from Grade Six upwards.¹⁵³ The philosophy behind the course contained elements both of thrift and pragmatic application:

Conservation of all foods, the utilization of left overs and the wise substitution of the cheaper, but equally as good cuts and ingredients have formed the nucleus of the cooking instructions since the installation of the course, proving its unquestionable worth in these days of war time economy. The making of fancy iced cakes or breads, or any extravagant dishes, has never been advocated. Plain cooking adaptable for any home consumption, accompanied by instruction in buying and free discussion during class on the whys and wherefores of wise economy, are followed by the practical adaptation of all the rules and recipes.¹⁵⁴

The programme was well advertised to other urban boards when the trustees were given a dinner at First Avenue School during the Urban School Trustees' Association meeting in 1920. Once again, The Citizen described it as follows:

152 "Ground Work Of Household Duties Is Well Taught In The Public Schools", in Ibid., February 5, 1918, p. 4; and see, Nellie Lyle Pattinson, Canadian Cook Book, Toronto, Ryerson, 1923, p. 105-129: examples of recipes reduced to single portions for cooking classes at that time.

153 "Ground Work Of Household Duties", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 5, 1918, p. 4.

154 Ibid.

The dinner was a success in every sense of the word and the chief credit is due Miss Grace Calhoun, who was responsible for all arrangements, including the cooking of the meal. The menu consisted of tomato soup, rolls, olives, celery, roast beef, riced potatoes, peas in white sauce, lettuce and asparagus salad, salted wafers, steamed fruit pudding, brown sauce, ice cream, fancy cakes, crackers, etc. [sic] The cooking was faultless and the serving, which was done by about twenty of the pupils, was well carried out.¹⁵⁵

The manual activities of the boys reached a peak by 1920. There were over two thousand boys from Grade Four up receiving weekly lessons in twelve centres with eight specialized teachers.¹⁵⁶ The educational principles taught here were extended to all boys and girls in different types of handwork seen in the various grades. These were well illustrated in the exhibition of work in the Arts Building of the Central Canada Exhibition that fall.¹⁵⁷ The kindergarten section showed clay modelling, paper folding and bead work. The sub-normal pupils of Cambridge and Osgoode schools displayed weaving, basket-work, simple coping saw work and rug-making. Five hundred bird houses were featured by the manual training classes, as well as demonstrations by relays

155 "Teachers At Dinner Prepared By Pupils", in Ibid., January 7, 1920, p. 13.

156 Teachers' Association, "Ottawa A Pioneer In Manual Training", article submitted to The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, March 13, 1920, p. 5.

157 "Public Schools To Have Display In The Exhibition", in The Citizen, Ottawa, September 8, 1920, p. 19.

of boys of lathe work and wood turning. Interesting additions were the toys displayed; they included airplanes, sail boats, skiis, hand cars, scooters, kiddie cars and baseball bats. But more useful articles were shown, too, such as piano lamps, wastepaper baskets, ironing boards, medicine cabinets, tea trays, flower stands and telephone tables. There was a picturesque display of flowers and vegetables from the public school gardens. As the reporter, who saw it in advance, concluded, "The whole of the Public schools' exhibit will be the most attractive and effective displayed at any Central Canada Exhibition yet held [...]".¹⁵⁸ Even the Public School Board gave it high praise. As the motion expressed it, Mr. Medcalf, the teachers who assisted him, "also the boys who took part in the splendid Exhibition of Manual Training as taught in the Public Schools [were to] be advised of this Board's appreciation of their work.- Carried".¹⁵⁹

The display elicited a long editorial from The Citizen, which showed that Putman's philosophy of handwork was reaching the public consciousness. It began by calling the handicraft work of the Ottawa Public Schools

158 Ibid.

159 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1920, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1919, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.), p. 194.

[...] one of the most pleasing features of the Central Canada Exhibition. The children begin to do creative work with their hands practically from the time they enter the kindergarten. Paper-folding, clay-modelling, simple tasks in wood-working, and similar elementary occupations are enjoyed as play. The children in the public schools are becoming skilled in handicrafts by progressive steps, to a degree that is perhaps hardly appreciated by parents who had no such opportunities in the elementary schools of years ago.¹⁶⁰

The work of the senior classes was judged to be equal to that of skilled craftsmen of long experience. Then the Editor revealed one of the central post-war concerns that he felt this handwork programme could correct:

No civilized people can long remain blind to the consequences of an economic system that would tend to reduce the workers to a nation of machine-minders. No civilization could long endure on such an insubstantial foundation. The materialism of this machine age surely reached its limit in the years 1914-1918. A profound readjustment is due in what Sir Auckland Geddes recently called the 'industrial revolution'. The children will benefit by the readjustment, and the teaching of handicrafts and the rudiments of art work in the public schools should help to prepare the next generation for great strides forward, towards the higher civilization.¹⁶¹

This idealistic attitude to handwork, which was at the base of the curricular philosophy of New Educators of this time, was repeated fifteen years later by Putman as he surveyed the economic ruin of the post-Depression era.

¹⁶⁰ "An Exhibition Of Handicraft", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, September 16, 1920, p. 20.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

Knowing the dangers involved, he still dared to prophecy that

[...] if we Canadians ever succeed in getting out of the mess we are now in; if we ever again reach a stage where we shall have no unemployment except among the aged and infirm; if we ever succeed in balancing our Provincial and Federal budgets, it will be when we pay more attention to the cultivation of soil and when our educational policies take more thought of vocational handwork; not more vocational training for towns and cities, not more vocational training for textile workers, machinists, plumbers and auto-mechanics but more vocational training for every branch of agriculture, more small specialized vocational schools with inexpensive equipment within driving distance of boys and girls on farms. This is truly a machine age and machines have wrought wonders. But there is still need of many kinds of handwork. No machine can care for bees, feed chickens, make cheese, pick fruit or set out trees on rough ground.¹⁶²

Thus Putman continued to be a liberal democrat, concerned for the welfare of the low income people. But he retained his rural roots. As noted in Chapter Two, his concept of handwork in its most ideal form was centred in farming activities. It was pictured almost as the panacea of man's alienation, both moral and economic.

But Putman did not dwell at any great length on the idealistic plane. Basically he remained a pragmatist and was able to spell out his criticism of the curriculum in 1924 in very concrete terms. Coming from a position of strength

162 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 109.

in the Ottawa programme, which led the province, he addressed the Ontario Educational Association as follows:

[...] in my opinion our school curriculum in theory and still more in practice places too little emphasis upon hand-training for children between six and ten years of age. A very simple equipment is needed, scissors and paste, rulers and knives, small hammers and miniature saws, cardboard, paper, strips of soft wood 1/8" x 3/8", tacks, glue and raffia and your equipment is complete. A resourceful teacher will correlate this work with language, history, art, geography and number work. Her pupils will need neither to go to sleep because tired of books and working number problems nor to seek a change in mischief. They will educate themselves while satisfying their instinct to construct something.¹⁶³

All of this handwork curricular reform had been accomplished in the Ottawa Public Schools in the short space of twelve years, under Putman's dynamic leadership.

¹⁶³ J. H. Putman, "The Relative Value of Subjects on the Public School Course of Study", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Sixty-Third Annual Convention Held in Toronto, April 21, 22, 23, and 24, 1924, Toronto, James, 1924, p. 221.

JOHN HAROLD PUTMAN AND THE ROOTS
OF PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION IN THE
OTTAWA PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1911-1923

by B. Anne Wood

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CHAPTER VII

EVOLUTION OF THE KINDERGARTEN-PRIMARY

The kindergarten movement was well-established in Ottawa and in Ontario urban centres by 1911 (see Chapter One). Putman acknowledged its influence on him while he was at the Toronto Normal School (see Chapter Two). But, while at the Ottawa Normal School in 1908, he observed several serious weaknesses, principally the fact that the Kindergartens were not an integral part of the public school system (see Chapter Three). One of his first moves, then, was to utilize kindergarten teachers in the extension of his handwork programme (see Chapter Five) in the Ottawa Public Schools. But the weakness was more serious than this. In North America the original Froebelian philosophy was being attacked by the rising pragmatists, John Dewey and G. Stanley Hall. To correct the rift which developed between conservatives and liberals, a committee was appointed by the Ontario Department of Education in 1913 to revise the kindergarten regulations and courses of study. Both Putman and Miss Eliza Bolton, of the Ottawa Normal School, were on this committee. Its major recommendation was that kindergarten-primary classes should be established which would bring about a closer liaison between the Kindergartens and the primary classes. The differences in philosophy between the idealists

and the pragmatists continued for the next ten years, mainly expressed in their conflicting views on teacher-training programmes for kindergarten teachers. The schism was made more acute by the declining enrolment of kindergarten candidates. Throughout these discussions, Putman and the Ottawa schools remained in the vanguard of progressive kindergarten reforms. This chapter, then, will discuss the evolution of the Kindergarten-Primary in Ontario and the part Putman played in its development.

1. Progressive Changes in the Froebelian Kindergartens.

Between 1890 and 1910, a schism developed in the American kindergarten movement between the Froebelians and the Reconstructionists.¹ The former, led by Miss Susan Blow in the United States and Mrs. James L. Hughes in Canada, were infused with Froebel's idealistic philosophy.² The latter, influenced by the psychological findings of G. Stanley Hall (who began the child-study movement) and the educational

¹ Barbara E. Corbett, The Public School Kindergarten in Ontario 1883 to 1967; A Study of the Froebelian Origins, History and Educational Practice of the Kindergarten in Ontario, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1968, p. 18.

² Ibid., p. 16.

views of John Dewey,³ were led by Miss Patty Smith Hill, who "claimed it was Dewey who had transformed both the kindergarten and primary school for the United States".⁴ The Reconstructionists "emphasized two aspects of Dewey's thought, the socialized curriculum and the educational method of activity which was to further the child's physical and intellectual growth".⁵ By 1903, the schism was so bad that the International Kindergarten Union appointed a committee to study the issues which divided them.⁶

Ten years later, when the Committee of Nineteen published its report, three different views on kindergarten education were expressed, those of the Reconstructionists, those of the Froebelians, and those of a moderate group led by Miss Elizabeth Harrison.⁷ The result was that the Froebelians gave way and the breach was healed:

3 Ibid., p. 20, footnote 25: "The project began from an expression of the child's interest or need but was directed towards a desirable end. The project turned the classroom into what Dewey considered the best learning situation, a 'busy workshop'."

4 Ibid., p. 19.

5 Ibid., p. 21-22.

6 Ibid., p. 24.

7 Ibid., p. 25.

Froebel's doctrine of self-activity was continued in Dewey's thought with his emphasis upon the importance of the child's activity but the Froebelian programme was discarded. Froebel's small equipment was replaced by larger objects and larger materials were introduced. Both were added to and used in ways very different from Froebel's original purposes. Free play was accepted in place of Froebel's guided plays. The ideal kindergarten became a miniature society where each activity served a useful purpose, and where each child learned self-control through social co-operation.⁸

This view was equally shared by the Canadian President of the Kindergarten Department of the Ontario Educational Association, Miss Ada Baker, from the Ottawa Normal Kindergarten. As she explained, although Froebel originally defined the true aim of education, he himself

[...] would never have claimed to have said the last word, and would have been the first to have welcomed more light. He has given us much sound philosophy and much sound psychology - [...] - but we must keep our minds open to the new light which later experiment and practice may prove valuable. This will necessitate much more than a Froebellian [sic] diet.⁹

Miss Baker also emphasized the fact that the Kindergarten had been a leader in showing the practical working out of ideals.¹⁰ Its influence could be seen in the playground

8 Ibid., p. 25-26.

9 Ada H. Baker, "President's Address", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Forty-Ninth Annual Convention, Toronto, March 29, 30 and 31, 1910, Toronto, Briggs, (n.d.), p. 231.

10 Ibid., p. 230.

movement and in the relationship of its principles

[...] to school gardening, to reforms in nature study, to manual training, to domestic science, and even to the present enthusiasm for technical education. Through its earnest child study the Kindergarten has helped much towards improved educational methods generally by protesting against the former formal processes of school life. It has led in the idea of a social education, one of its strongest points, and in the matter of improving children's literature, and art [...]. It has brought the home and school much closer together, and related the school to the great outside world.¹¹

In other words, she emphasized the relationship of the kindergarten movement to what Corbett called the New Education movement,¹² founded in North America by followers of Froebel, Pestalozzi and Herbart. Corbett summarized the aim of the New Educators as follows:

Their purpose was to focus attention upon the child and the importance of his development; their method, to educate the child through his own activity. In the twentieth century their views, although altered somewhat, were upheld by the 'progressives' in education, particularly in Britain and the United States.¹³

Corbett also agreed with Miss Baker that Froebelian ideas in Canada had influenced manual training, domestic science and nature study programmes and that more emphasis had been placed on the child and his development and less on mere learning of subject matter as a result of the Froebelian Kindergarten.

11 Ibid.

12 Corbett, Op. Cit., p. 3.

13 Ibid., p. 4.

Further,

Froebel's doctrine of unity lent support to a move toward the correlation of subject matter; educators began to see the merits of a system of education which utilized the child's own activity in the learning process; and finally, there was a new awareness that education should be a pleasant experience and school a cheerful place.¹⁴

This was the view of Putman when he assessed the Ottawa Kindergartens in 1910: "In a very real sense the dominant philosophy of the new education being preached by John Dewey and Stanley Hall was implicit in the activities of the Kindergarten."¹⁵ At this time Putman considered the Kindergarten to be "the show department of every school",¹⁶ particularly the kindergarten closings, which "took precedence over every other public exhibition of school work".¹⁷ Thus, the Kindergartens had played an important role in introducing the concepts of the New Education movement into the public mind.

But, as well as a necessary change in its formal idealistic philosophy and methods, an extension of its programme into the primary grades was needed. As Miss Baker

14 Ibid., p. 27.

15 J. H. Putman, Fifty Years at School, An Educationist Looks at Life, Toronto, Clarke Irwin, 1938, p. 61.

16 Ibid., p. 60.

17 Ibid.

expressed it in 1910, "the greatest task before the Kindergarten, and certainly the most immediate, is that of perfecting the articulation of itself with the primary school".¹⁸ She pin-pointed two parts to the problem. In the first place, it was necessary to pass "many of our methods, principles and perhaps materials up to the primary-school".¹⁹ Secondly, "there is need on both sides for more knowledge and understanding of the other, and this is principally a problem for the training school".²⁰

Thus, by 1910, the kindergarten-primary movement was well defined. According to Corbett, this movement began as early as 1889 in Hamilton and, in 1894, the London Kindergarten Director assisted the primary grades in the afternoon in arithmetic and drawing.²¹ Where possible, she adapted kindergarten equipment to the primary child. In 1897, a committee of the Ontario Educational Association was formed to discuss the relationship between the Kindergarten and the primary grades, but no formal recommendations were made.

18 Baker, Op. Cit., p. 231.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., p. 231-232.

21 Corbett, Op. Cit., p. 152.

It was Putman's wholesale integration of the kindergarten teachers into the regular grades in 1910-1911, therefore, which led the province as a systematic organization of the Kindergarten-Primary into the public schools. With the consent of Superintendent John Seath, he worked out three separate plans for afternoon work for the kindergarten teachers.²² Their handwork activities in the primary grades and their domestic science assistance in the senior grades have been described in the previous chapter. Putman also tried out a form of day care, or full-day kindergarten classes for older pupils "in areas where the children had little opportunity for play at home and where the mother's household chores made it difficult for her to give her children proper guidance".²³

A number of changes were made in the allocation of kindergarten teachers, so that in each classroom there was a teacher with musical ability. Putman believed that all kindergarten teachers should be qualified to teach elementary music.²⁴

22 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 67-68.

23 Ibid., p. 68.

24 "Ten Per Cent Increase Made", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, December 2, 1910, p. 10; and see, Maud Lyon, "Kindergartens", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1911, Ottawa, December 18, 1911, p. 26.

The great advantage of this full-time arrangement for the kindergarten staff, Putman pointed out in his Annual Report of 1911, was that they could now receive "a salary as attractive as other teachers"²⁵ and he hoped that this incentive would attract the best kindergarten teachers in Ontario to Ottawa.

Using the same efficiency arguments as he used for the School for Higher English, Putman drew attention to the high cost of the Kindergartens at \$37.85 per pupil in 1911.²⁶ He believed this to be the result of the number of small schools, the low pupil-teacher ratio of seventeen and the irregularity of kindergarten attendance.

One final criticism Putman made of the 1910 Kindergartens was that three-quarters of their handwork was manufactured in Massachusetts and only one-eighth each was contributed by the teacher and the child.²⁷ As mentioned in the previous chapter, Putman's new policy, therefore, changed these American supplies into orders for "plain and coloured paper, cardboard, and raffia, and [the classes] have the children, from this raw material, fashion such forms

25 Putman, "Kindergartens", in Ibid., p. 13.

26 Ibid., p. 11.

27 Ibid., p. 12.

and designs as suits their stage [sic] of development".²⁸

These last two criticisms, the cost of kindergarten education and the use of American materials, were commented on by The Ottawa Free Press in an editorial which asked whether "the Ottawa Public School Board has been running somewhat riotously in the play education department. It certainly demands some thorough investigation",²⁹ the Editor concluded. This conservative line was put even more forcibly in an article on primary education by Vincent Massey at this time.³⁰ He deplored "the fads and anomalies in the [public school] curricula, the sentimentalism which makes play of work and abolishes discipline, and the low standards of efficiency demanded of its teachers".³¹

On the other hand, in April of 1912, The Ottawa Journal reported that James L. Hughes, Inspector of Toronto Public Schools, had extolled the virtues of kindergarten

28 Ibid.; see order of constructive work materials for \$100, which included, as well, modelling clay, clay crocks and oilcloth, in Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1911, Also Financial Statement of the Board, For the Year 1910 (n.p., n.d.), p. 65.

29 "Play Education Comes Expensive", lead editorial in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, January 9, 1912, p. 4.

30 Vincent Massey, "Primary Education in Ontario", in The University Magazine, Vol. 10, No. 3, October, 1911, p. 495-503.

31 Ibid., p. 503.

education for its power in building character. "Too much cannot be said in favor of this hand work in the kindergarten which combines thought and action upon the part of the child and thus is real self-expression."³²

By the end of June, 1912, Putman had decided that the cost of a kindergarten supervisor, necessary at first because of the number of students who lacked training, was now too great.³³ Thus, Miss Maud Lyon was demoted to the position of Directress of the Slater Street Kindergarten.

In his Annual Report for that year, Putman noted that the kindergarten classes had a registration of 969 pupils and employed thirty-nine teachers, which gave an average of twenty-four pupils per teacher.³⁴ Although he had managed to decrease the cost of kindergarten classes by \$1.62, they had increased in their average attendance only by one to eighteen.³⁵ Putman concluded,

32 "Value of Kindergartens In Educational Life", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, April 13, 1912, p. 9; and see, "Child Conservation", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, November 4, 1911, p. 6: similar idealistic attitude to the child.

33 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1912, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1911, (n.p., n.d.), p. 122.

34 J. H. Putman, Inspector's Annual Report, 1912, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, December 30, 1912, p. 19.

35 Ibid.

In my opinion, our Kindergartens still cost too much for the benefit received. Basing our calculations on actual attendances we now spend 25 cents to keep a child a half day in the kindergarten as compared with 16 cents to keep a child a full day in a primary class.³⁶

One year later, Putman could not report any improvement over the kindergarten record of 1912. The registration had not increased, the number of teachers had declined by three and the average attendance was barely nineteen.³⁷ There was an increase in cost per pupil of \$3.02 over 1912, which he blamed on "a stationary registration and increasing working expenses".³⁸ As Putman analyzed it, the problem was not restricted to Ottawa schools:

Kindergartens in Ontario [...] are not making the progress hoped for by their advocates of twenty years ago. Nor are they, in my opinion, appreciated throughout the Province as they ought to be. This, I think, is wholly owing to mistakes in their organization and not to any fundamental weakness in their purpose or plan of work. If they are to live they must be welded more closely to the primary classes and their teachers must have a course of training largely parallel with that given to primary teachers.³⁹

He gave statistics on the past growth and concentration of Kindergartens and drew attention to the fact that only nine

36 Ibid., p. 20.

37 J. H. Putman, "Kindergarten Classes", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1913, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, December 31, 1913, p. 41.

38 Ibid., p. 42.

39 Ibid.

per cent of the children in the province benefited from them, that the enrolment was almost stationary and that the decline in Kindergarten-Director candidates fell from sixty-five in 1910 to eleven in 1913.⁴⁰ Thus, he concluded, "Outside of a few large urban centres, the Kindergarten ideas have never taken root".⁴¹

The reasons for this slow Kindergarten growth, Putman suggested, were complex but could be determined. A major one was the cultivation by the kindergarten teachers of the idea of separateness:

Kindergarten teachers and those who train them have too often divorced their work from the regular school. They have had not only separate rooms and exclusive material which was necessary, but have tried to insist on special hours, special closings, special and exclusive meetings. They have allowed it to be assumed that the Kindergarten was one thing and the rest of the school something quite different. [...] They have even assumed that the Kindergarten teacher needs a special psychology. They have encouraged the public to believe that Kindergarten philosophy, method, and practices are so profound that they can be mastered only by a select few among well-educated people and after years of study.⁴²

Putman then pointed out how expensive this idea of separateness had been. Not only did the training of the teacher take a year longer than an ordinary teacher's, but

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid., p. 43.

the kindergarten room remained idle for one-half the day because instruction, material and games were only suitable for four to six-year-olds.⁴³ Since her work was thought to be so different from other primary work, the teacher could not encroach into the higher grade level, which needed reading and writing instruction, and could only work one-half the day with her thirty pupils. "Thus little by little, the idea would become fixed in the minds of the people that Kindergartens were expensive, not really necessary, and possible only in large centres."⁴⁴

Another difficulty encountered in recent years, Putman found, was that of securing qualified and able kindergarten teachers.⁴⁵ For a long while, the two years' training course had tended to attract girls lacking scholarship or perseverance to secure a teacher's certificate. Only recently had the Education Department "exacted the same entrance standing of prospective Kindergarten teachers as was required from regular teachers".⁴⁶ The result was a serious falling off in the number of kindergarten teachers-in-training because of the disadvantage of having to take a

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid., p. 44.

46 Ibid.

two-year course as against a one-year grade teacher's course.

At this point, Putman enunciated forcibly his arguments for a one-year kindergarten teacher-training course (an argument he was to reiterate for summer school kindergarten-primary courses, later on):

The most any training school can give is an intelligent grasp of first principles, a really good practical illustration of them by experts and some opportunity for its students themselves, to practice [sic] the theories set forth. The finished and skillful teacher must be wrought on the anvil of experience.⁴⁷

His basic assumptions were that kindergarten principles were neither more nor less difficult than the educational principles given regular normal school students, and that the materials of the Kindergarten were very simple and could be mastered by any student who had had a thorough art course and knew the principles of design and freehand drawing.⁴⁸ He objected to the Froebelian formalism regarding the Gifts; "a really good teacher who has mastered the spirit of the Froebelian gifts should be able to invent new and superior gifts suitable to the needs of her own pupils".⁴⁹

Putman also decried the hours spent by the student-teacher "in the preparation of elaborate exhibits of sewing,

47 Ibid..

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid., p. 45.

weaving, paper cutting and paper folding".⁵⁰ They neither increased the general culture of the teacher nor strengthened her intellectual powers. Shrewdly, he surmised,

The excessive amount of mat weaving and pattern sewing now demanded of our first-year Kindergarten students has, in my opinion, only one rational explanation, and that is a desire to have something pretty in material and permanent in form for the purpose of exhibition.⁵¹

Finally, using the same theory of learning, Putman asserted that long hours were not needed to master the Froebelian games:

A student-teacher who is naturally bright enough to become a Kindergarten director does not need to master the details of every game and every play. She masters types and every type stands for a group.⁵²

To the argument that American kindergarten teachers received a two years' course, Putman retorted that a good deal of the first year was spent in reviewing academic work, and that the American institutions only were superior to Ontario normal schools in their longer period of practice-teaching.⁵³

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid., p. 46.

For economic reasons, Putman concluded, a one-year course was a necessity.⁵⁴ He would strip the syllabus of study of "such extraneous and illogical topics as special psychology, special art work, and special physical exercises".⁵⁵ For a teacher whose scholarship was no broader than Normal Entrance, a one-year course of special kindergarten training, he considered, long enough. "To require more is to exalt devices and methods, and degrade that culture which may best be given outside of professional schools".⁵⁶

In his final paragraph, Putman mentioned the revision of the kindergarten courses by the Department of Education and he hoped that the result would be increased growth and popular support for kindergarten classes.⁵⁷

What he did not mention was that he was on this committee (see next section). Thus, the foregoing report on the Kindergarten summarized Putman's liberal views on the subject. He certainly must have contributed considerably to the main recommendation of the committee

[...] that a course which would combine kindergarten and primary education be introduced into the Normal Schools. The aim of the course was to unite the kindergarten into the primary grades.⁵⁸

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

58 Corbett, Op. Cit., p. 153.

As with the manual training movement at this time, then, the original idealism of the Froebelian Kindergartens was being altered by North American pragmatism and demands for efficiency. Putman played a leading part in the progressive changes that were taking place in the Kindergartens of 1913.

2. Revision of the Kindergartens, 1913.

For a variety of reasons, recounted in the previous section, public opinion had reached a consensus by 1913 that changes were necessary not only in the Kindergartens, but also in the regular primary grades. As an editorial in The Citizen put it,

When education becomes joy-killing and is transformed into a weary grind for childish minds, it is high time that the whole method was revised. That this is already largely the case, is an argument for the need of such change.⁵⁹

Paralleling the current manual training trend toward self-expression (noted by Albert Leake, as recounted in the previous chapter), educators were looking to the Kindergartens for guidance. The Editor continued,

⁵⁹ "School Days", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, September 3, 1912, p. 6.

It is agreeable to note that much interest is being taken by educators today in the new methods of education, whereby the child is taught expression, rather than repression. Froebel made an excellent beginning in his working out of kindergarten principles, as every one knows. And in the Montessori methods, which are making considerable advance at the present time, the same change is to be found.⁶⁰

The Minister of Education for Ontario, then, in 1912, decided that as part of a general policy to revise the courses of study he would set up a special committee to study the modifications of the kindergarten course.⁶¹ The Report,⁶² issued a year later, recommended sweeping changes in the certification of teachers, and integration of the Kindergartens with the primary grades.

The Minister appointed to the committee⁶³ two educational professors, Dr. H. T. J. Coleman⁶⁴ of Toronto

60 Ibid.

61 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1913, Toronto, Cameron, 1914, p. 328.

62 "Report of a Special Committee on the Kindergarten Regulations and Courses of Study", in Ibid., p. 328-340.

63 Ibid., p. 328.

64 Associate Professor of Education, whose scholarship on early childhood education could be seen in four articles on Froebel and Montessori at this time: H. T. J. Coleman, "Froebel and Modern Theories of Play", in The School, Vol. 1, No. 2, October, 1912, p. 86-95; Coleman, "The Children's House", in Ibid., No. 7, March, 1913, p. 456-461; Coleman, "The Children's House", in Ibid., No. 8, April, 1913, p. 519-523; Coleman, "The Children's House (concluded)", in Ibid., May, 1913, p. 582-586.

University, who was Chairman, and Dr. S. A. Morgan, Principal of Hamilton Normal School,⁶⁵ and two Normal School kindergarten directresses, Miss Eliza Bolton of the Ottawa Normal School, and Miss Mary E. MacIntyre of the Toronto Normal School. Finally, he appointed Miss L. W. Currie, Supervisor of Kindergartens, Toronto Public Schools, and Dr. J. H. Putman, Inspector of Public Schools, Ottawa, to represent the public schools.

Guidelines were provided for the kindergarten committee's consideration. They included reducing the training to one year, consideration of qualification for entrance to the teachers' course, a suitable course for teachers including useful parts of the Montessori system, a worthwhile course for pupils particularly with respect to closer relationship with the primary grades, the best age of admission of pupils, the length of the classes and feasibility of using the teachers' services full-time, the question of legislative aid, the desirability of a special inspector, and the means of educating public school inspectors to acquire competent knowledge of the course.⁶⁶ The Department

65 Dr. S. A. Morgan wrote at this time a critical booklet (Bulletin No. 1) on "The Montessori Method", Toronto, Cameron, 1913, 72 p., distributed by the Ontario Department of Education.

66 "Report of Special Committee", in Minister's Report, 1913, p. 328-329.

thus clearly drafted its terms of reference. They were based on the Minister's central concern, as Putman's, a decline in qualified kindergarten staff:

The need of some action in this matter was emphasized by the fact that the number of Kindergarten teachers-in-training is rapidly falling off and that in the near future the supply will not be equal to the demand.⁶⁷

To cure what Putman called the idea of separateness, and make the kindergarten training programme more attractive to prospective teachers, the committee recommended that a kindergarten-primary certificate be established.⁶⁸ This would qualify the holder to teach Form One classes in any public school. A considerable portion of the training should parallel the regular normal school students' training. The committee recommended that the standard of admission to the programme should be Normal Entrance and that, after passing the normal school examinations not covering the kindergarten-primary course, the candidate should be allowed to teach Forms Two, Three and Four.

The committee also recommended a one-year training programme leading to a kindergarten assistant's certificate. After two years of experience, a permanent kindergarten director's and primary teacher's certificate should be issued

67 Ibid., p. 328.

68 Ibid., p. 329.

by the Deputy Minister. Perhaps in keeping with Putman's maxim about acquiring experience,

The Committee was, [...] unable to give a unanimous vote on the advisability of admitting a Kindergarten student to a Normal School without a year of preliminary observation and practice in a Kindergarten.⁶⁹

After studying the Montessori system, the committee rejected its wholesale adoption, and considered it not that much of an improvement on the current Kindergartens. The Minister had ordered a set of Montessori apparatus for each Provincial Normal School with which to experiment, and the committee awaited the reports before deciding on even limited adoption of this method.⁷⁰

In 1913, however, Dr. Morgan addressed the Ontario Educational Association on the topic of "The Montessori Method", leaving the impression with one of his listeners, Miss Maud Courteney⁷¹ of Ottawa, that the progressive Kindergarten was much in advance of the Montessori school.

As a general rule, the Report advocated that five to five-and-a-half years be the usual age of kindergarten

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

71 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1913, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1912, (n.p., n.d.), p. 60; and see, Corbett's corroborating assessment of Morgan's Froebelian bias, which became the policy of the Department, in Op. Cit., p. 160.

admission. Two alternative recommendations, however, may have been influenced by Putman's Ottawa practices. It was suggested that

[...] where the home environment is not good it would be highly desirable to have a preliminary Kindergarten course for children from four to five years of age. Such classes, if established, might be largely along the lines of a Montessori school. They should extend over the whole school day, with a mid-day lunch provided by the school authorities.⁷²

The other recommendation tied in with Putman's ideas on handwork training for youngsters not ready for the book-oriented Grade One course. The committee proposed

That wherever possible, there be established Kindergarten, primary or transition classes which would take, at the age of six or six and one-half years, pupils who have completed the regular Kindergarten year. In this transition class the pupils' school time should be equally divided between hand occupations and the elements of reading, writing, and number work. Every occupation and every lesson should be used as a basis for other lessons in oral language.⁷³

Thus, when this kindergarten-primary class was established, it would do partly the work of the regular advanced Kindergarten and partly that of the regular primary class.

Another recommendation of the Committee, the use of the kindergarten teachers' services for the whole school

⁷² "Report of Special Committee", in Minister's Report, 1913, p. 330.

⁷³ Ibid.

day, followed Putman's Ottawa practices very closely. The preliminary argument, based on the improvement of kindergarten teachers' salaries, was one Putman had used in his 1911 Report.⁷⁴ Moreover, the specific alternative half-day work suggested for kindergarten teachers, such as primary constructive work, assistance in sewing, art and school gardens,⁷⁵ paralleled Putman's Ottawa practices (as noted in the previous chapter).

Regarding the desirability of a special inspector, once again some members of the committee echoed Putman's concern for the separation of the Kindergarten from the regular school. Thus,

To relieve the Public School Inspector of responsibility for the Kindergarten would tend to widen still further the breach between it and the grade classes. The Committee, therefore, feels that there should not be special inspection of Kindergartens any more than there should be special inspection of First or Second Book classes.⁷⁶

In three of its recommendations, the committee acknowledged the strong central leadership of the Ontario Department of Education to bring about reforms in education. It proposed that special legislative grants should be offered to encourage the establishment of kindergarten classes and

74 Putman, Inspector's Report, 1911, p. 13.

75 "Report of Special Committee", in Minister's Report, 1913, p. 330.

76 Ibid., p. 331.

the higher qualification of their teachers.⁷⁷ It also recommended the appointment of a Departmental Officer with a special knowledge of kindergarten work, who would be a consultant and would develop interest in kindergarten work through the Teachers' Institutes.⁷⁸ Finally, the committee suggested that the Department educate public school inspectors by means of departmental bulletins, conferences, normal school visits and extra kindergarten emphasis on examinations for the Inspector's license.⁷⁹

In the Minister's Report of 1914, the kindergarten-primary course was outlined for the first time.⁸⁰ It included many elements of the manual training movement, such as handwork, modelling, correlation with other subjects, and sewing,⁸¹ which had been urged for the lower grades by Leake for many years. The course of study suggested for the higher forms included far more manual training and handwork emphases.⁸²

77 Ibid., p. 330-331.

78 Ibid., p. 331.

79 Ibid.

80 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1914, Toronto, Cameron, 1915, p. 168.

81 Ibid.; and see, p. 197.

82 Ibid., p. 197-213.

Certainly, the expectations for the kindergarten teachers would be much more demanding in the future. As an editorial in The School put it, not only would she be required to be also a qualified primary teacher,

She will be encouraged, moreover, to become an expert in art, vocal music, manual training, household science, or physical culture in order that she may broaden her activities as well as her sympathies.⁸³

In her assessment of the kindergarten-primary movement in Ontario, which began with this 1913 Report, Corbett noted that the kindergarten programme and methods gradually infiltrated the primary grades and the three "R's" and traditional methods of instruction with the emphasis on work began to affect the Kindergartens, also.⁸⁴ In the long term, "the essential idea of the movement, the harmony of the child's first years in school, was not lost. It continued to live on under the new name of 'Early Childhood Education'".⁸⁵ But this did not occur until the 1930's. In the meantime, the work of Putman and others in the setting up of kindergarten-primary classes helped prepare for this.

83 "Editorial Notes", in The School, Vol. 3, No. 2, October, 1914, p. 79.

84 Corbett, Op. Cit., p. 155.

85 Ibid., p. 156.

3. Establishment in Ottawa and Training
of Teachers, 1913-1923.

A start in the campaign to have kindergarten teachers acquire specialized certificates was begun in Ottawa in 1912. One of Putman's kindergarten-sewing teachers, Miss Marjorie Pennock, was advised by Miss Calhoun to take the domestic science course at the Macdonald Institute, Guelph, because of her excellent work in teaching sewing.⁸⁶ Several days before she was due to leave, a telegram arrived saying that she could not be admitted because a second-class certificate was required.⁸⁷ In a following letter, the Deputy Minister explained that he sent the telegram at the request of Inspector Putman, who had reported the case to the Department.⁸⁸ Apparently the Kindergarten Normal course, which she had taken,⁸⁹ could not be counted for entrance to the domestic science course at Guelph. Thus, she would be required to take a two-year course there.

86 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1914, Box 7, 8-407, Item 1, letter of Putman to Seath, dated Ottawa, September 16, 1912.

87 Ibid., copy of C.P.R. telegram from the Deputy Minister, dated Toronto, September 18, 1912.

88 Ibid., copy of letter from Deputy Minister to Miss Marjorie Pennock, dated Toronto, September 26, 1912.

89 Ibid., letter of Pennock to Deputy Minister, dated Ottawa, September 25, 1912.

In 1914, Miss Pennock tried again to enter the one-year Guelph course.⁹⁰ The Deputy Minister sent back Circular Three and drew her attention to page thirty-eight, which stated that a professional second-class certificate was still required.⁹¹ Putman's letter, two weeks later with accompanying memorandum on Pennock's career,⁹² revealed not only his degree of support for bright women on his staff, but the fact that he could persuade the Department to change its policy when necessary.

Putman began by praising Miss Pennock highly:

She is, in my opinion, one of our most promising teachers -- perhaps the most gifted among those teaching kindergarten work. She took a very high place throughout her Collegiate course and did brilliant work at the Normal School as a kindergarten teacher. She has good executive ability, much musical talent, and is a woman of fine manner and more than average culture.⁹³

He also reported that she was skilful at sewing and he had encouraged her to apply for the training course as it was difficult to find really capable sewing teachers. That morning, however, she had sent in her resignation to the Ottawa Public School Board and planned to enter the Boston

90 Ibid., letter of Pennock to Education Minister R. A. Pyne, dated Ottawa, March 9, 1914.

91 Ibid., copy of letter from Deputy Minister to Pennock, dated Toronto, March 14, 1914.

92 Ibid., memorandum dated March 31, 1914.

93 Ibid., letter of Putman to Seath, dated Ottawa, March 30, 1914.

General Hospital to begin training as a nurse, rather than undertake the two-year course at the Macdonald Institute. Putman urged that the Department be more flexible, considering the coming revision of the kindergarten course:

We cannot afford to lose her services as a teacher. We have no promotion to offer her at present in kindergarten work. Do you not think that, in view of the coming revision of the kindergarten course and of the possibility of a closer union between it and the regular Normal course, some concession might be made which would enable us to keep in the profession a talented teacher. Already too many brilliant Ontario women have left our schoolrooms to enter American hospitals.⁹⁴

On the strength of this, Seath wrote a memorandum to the Minister recommending that Putman's request be granted. Thus, admission to the household science course would be open to both those holding kindergarten director's certificates and those with first or second-class certificates.⁹⁵ The Deputy Minister then wrote to Putman stating that the Minister had re-considered Miss Pennock's case and that he would inform President Creelman of Guelph that he would be authorized to admit her to the household science course.⁹⁶ After

94 Ibid.

95 Ibid., memorandum to the Minister from the Superintendent, dated Toronto, April 2, 1914.

96 Ibid., copy of letter of Deputy Minister to Putman, dated Toronto, April 2, 1914.

several more letters,⁹⁷ it would appear that Miss Pennock at last won her case.⁹⁸ Putman also had succeeded in cracking the high walls between the Kindergartens and the regular grade courses at the certification level.

In 1914, Circular Twenty-Five, reprinted in the Minister's Report for that year, stated the revised regulations for Kindergartens.⁹⁹ The previous kindergarten director's certificate and assistant's certificate were to be rescinded and all students were to attend Normal Schools before entering a Kindergarten.¹⁰⁰ In future, there were to be two certificates, an interim kindergarten-primary certificate after one year at Normal School, and, after two years' experience, a permanent kindergarten-primary certificate.¹⁰¹ It was recommended that the holder also obtain summer school training in elementary art, vocal music, manual training,

97 Ibid., copy of letter from Deputy Minister to President G. C. Creelman, dated Toronto, April 2, 1914; letter from Putman to Seath, dated Ottawa, April 23, 1914; copy of letter from Deputy Minister to Putman, dated Toronto, April 30, 1914; copy of letter from Deputy Minister to Miss Mary V. Watson, dated Toronto, April 30, 1914; letter of Miss Watson to Deputy Minister, dated Guelph, May 4, 1914.

98 Ibid., copy of letter Deputy Minister to Watson, dated Toronto, May 7, 1914.

99 Ontario, Minister's Report, 1914, p. 149-171.

100 Ibid., p. 149.

101 Ibid., p. 150.

household science and physical culture so that she could teach these subjects in the afternoons. For the four to five-year-old, half-day kindergarten courses could be offered.¹⁰² For six-year-olds, a combination Kindergarten and First Form course could be set up for the whole day and taught by teachers holding kindergarten-primary certificates, or by two teachers, one holding a kindergarten director's certificate and the other a public school certificate.¹⁰³

The hopes of the Department were that

The foregoing changes will enable the School Boards of the smaller urban centres to obtain teachers more adequately trained than heretofore for the peculiar needs of young children and at the same time will improve the efficiency of the elementary schools. The increased availability of the certificates will also provide a stronger incentive than heretofore to young women to take the Kindergarten Course.¹⁰⁴

There were to be courses offered at the Normal Schools of Toronto and Ottawa, "or at Toronto alone if the attendance does not justify the establishment of two centres".¹⁰⁵ The purpose of these teacher-training courses was to prepare the teachers in the theory and organization of these kindergarten-primary classes and to bring the two

102 Ibid.

103 Ibid.

104 Ibid.

105 Ibid.

levels into closer relationship. Hopes were expressed that

Such courses will preserve the freedom and play-spirit of the young child and at the same time prepare him to become an intelligent, orderly, and industrious pupil of the elementary school.¹⁰⁶

That summer the Ottawa Public School Board authorized Inspector Putman to combine the Kindergarten and Grade One classes in Cambridge Street School to form a Kindergarten-Primary and provide it with a suitable teacher.¹⁰⁷ Four teachers were assigned by Putman for this work, Miss Dobbie, supervisor, Miss Thornton, Miss Wright and Miss Hill.¹⁰⁸ Also that year, he increased the number of pianos for Kindergartens to twenty-three.¹⁰⁹

Putman reported in January of 1915 that Ottawa had thirty-four kindergarten teachers, of which twenty-two worked full time and twelve in the forenoon only.¹¹⁰ All of them

106 Ibid.

107 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1914, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1913, Ottawa, Dominion Printing, 1915, p. 137; a kindergarten-primary class was begun in Withrow Avenue Public School, Toronto, a year later, in September of 1915, see, Lillian B. Harding, "The Kindergarten-Primary", in The School, Vol. 5, No. 1, September, 1916, p. 191.

108 "Notes and News", in Ibid., Vol. 3, No. 8, April, 1915, p. 588.

109 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1914, p. 23-25, 48 and 242.

110 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1916, Box 20, 2-987, Item 63, Kindergarten qualifications and grants, letter of Putman to Seath, dated Ottawa, January 12, 1915.

held director's certificates. By February, an Order-in-Council was issued to authorize kindergarten grants.¹¹¹ Another letter between Putman and the Deputy Minister¹¹² further clarified the number of kindergarten directors and kindergarten-primary classes (one) and the number employed full time, with the result that the Ottawa Board received a grant of three thousand dollars by October of 1915.¹¹³ This was due to the revised kindergarten regulations of September, 1915, which based the amount of the Board's grant on the grade of its teachers' certificates.¹¹⁴

In 1915, the new kindergarten-primary summer courses and examinations were established by the Department.¹¹⁵ The following year, an eastern summer kindergarten-primary course

111 Ibid., copy of Order-in-Council, dated February 27, 1915.

112 Ibid., letter of Putman to Deputy Minister, dated Ottawa, August 12, 1915.

113 Ibid., copy of letter of Deputy Minister to Putman, dated October 1, 1915.

114 Ibid., 1915, Box 9, 2-935, Item 3, Kindergarten class regulations revised, September, 1915; copy of Order-in-Council, dated September 30, 1915.

115 Ibid., Item 5, Pamphlets on Summer School, Ontario Department of Education, Summer Courses and Examinations in 1915 for Teachers' Certificates, Toronto, 1915, Cameron, 105 p.

was established in Ottawa at Borden Street School.¹¹⁶ The first four graduates included the former Ottawa kindergarten supervisor, Maud Lyon, and three other kindergarten teachers (among them Miss Annie Slinn, kindergarten teacher at Creighton Street School).¹¹⁷

Because of the small number of students, the Department decided to drop the Ottawa Normal kindergarten course in 1917.¹¹⁸ Since only twenty-seven students took the course in Toronto and the Toronto Board took fifteen of them, Putman wrote the Minister that he found the supply of kindergarten teachers for the province critically short:

We have advertised again and again, but cannot get teachers. We shall have to close up some classes or employ uncertified teachers. The re-establishment of a training course at Ottawa under a competent head would I believe secure us the teachers we require.¹¹⁹

116 Ibid., 1916, Box 18, 1-237, Item 6, Kindergarten-Primary Summer Teachers, copy of letter from Deputy Minister to Ottawa Public School Board, dated Toronto, March 27, 1916; letter Crawford Ross to Colquhoun, dated Ottawa, March 30, 1916; copy of letter from the Deputy Minister to Ross, dated Toronto, April 6, 1916; and see, Ibid., Box 26, 8-41, Item 1, proposed Ottawa Normal-Model Kindergarten-Primary.

117 Ibid., Item 7, list of successful Kindergarten Director's certificates, Ottawa; also, interview with Miss Annie Slinn, Ottawa, November 30, 1974.

118 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1917, Box 37, 4-831, Folder 4, Item 176, Kindergarten Teachers' Supply, letter of Putman to Pyne, dated Ottawa, January 15, 1917.

119 Ibid.

In answer to Putman's plea, F. W. Merchant drafted a memorandum to Dr. A. H. U. Colquhoun, the Deputy Minister, that a note be inserted in the next departmental kindergarten circular stating that if sufficient numbers were to apply in the east, a kindergarten training class would be established at the Ottawa Normal School.¹²⁰

In 1918, for the first time, the statistics of the Minister's Report separated provincial kindergarten from kindergarten-primary classes.¹²¹ Next to Toronto, Ottawa had the largest combined numbers in these two classes. There were 1,327 pupils in the Kindergarten and 182 in Kindergarten-Primary.¹²² But by 1919, no pupils were listed in Ottawa's kindergarten-primary classes and 1,219 children were in Kindergarten only.¹²³ Thus, it appeared that Putman's fears about the closure of his kindergarten-primary classes (two more had been established by the Ottawa Board in 1918, at

120 Ibid., memorandum from F. W. Merchant to Colquhoun, dated Toronto, January 18, 1917; copy of letter from Deputy Minister to Putman to this effect, dated Toronto, January 24, 1917.

121 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For The Year 1918, Toronto, Wilgress, 1919, p. 173.

122 Ibid.

123 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For The Year 1919, Toronto, Wilgress, 1920, p. 106.

Slater Street and Evelyn Avenue Schools¹²⁴) had come true.

Four years after the institution of the 1913 Committee's Report, a private memorandum of Superintendent Seath to the Premier of Ontario, W. H. Hearst, stated as number fourteen in a list of necessary reforms, the reorganization of the provincial system of Kindergartens and kindergarten-primary classes.¹²⁵ Despite the summer schools, these classes were not very successful; in Seath's estimation,

[...] the adverse influence of the Kindergartens, the defective qualifications of most of the Inspectors, and the ignorance of the situation on the part of the public, have retarded the introduction of the Kindergarten-Primary. As matters stand in a great many cases there is a year's retardation.¹²⁶

But, heeding Putman's plea for more training courses, the Department continued Ottawa's summer course in 1918 and employed Putman as its principal.¹²⁷ And at the end of it,

124 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1918, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1917, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.), p. 156.

125 P.A.O., Cody Papers, MSS, V, Papers relating to Education, Box 61, Correspondence as Minister of Education, Envelope 1, 3 August, 1918-13 June, 1918, Item 6, unsigned copy of Seath's memo for the Premier of Ontario, "Necessary Reforms arranged in order of their urgency and feasibility", dated Toronto, March 25, 1918, p. 5.

126 Ibid.

127 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1919, Box 61, 6-711, Item 5, Summer Courses, unsigned typed sheet, "Instructors at Summer Courses, 1918", (n.d.): under 'Ottawa', the following names and salaries were listed: J. H. Putman, \$300, Liliias Henderson, \$252.00 and Margie Rattray, \$252.00

Seath received a strong letter from Putman, who had spent the summer term making a close study of the kindergarten system.¹²⁸ As in his 1912 speech to the Ontario Educational Association (see Chapter Four), Putman recommended shortening the two-year required summer course to one year:

In my opinion it is not in the interests of educational work in Ontario, and particularly not in the interests of kindergarten classes, that these teachers should be required to attend another session. Neither they nor the Department of Education should be put to this unnecessary expense. I am quite ready to admit that they are not finished kindergarten teachers but they do not need more training -- they need actual experience. I strongly recommend that they be given interim certificates as assistants in kindergarten or kindergarten-primary classes, valid for two years and that when they shall submit proof of two years' successful experience under competent kindergarten directors they be granted Directors' Certificates all without further examination.¹²⁹

Both Miss Liliias Henderson and Miss Margie Rattray, his summer school instructors, heartily agreed with him, Putman added.

From the number of replies and the memorandum which Seath sent out in August enclosing Putman's recommendation (also from Seath's earlier memorandum to the Premier), it would appear that he had purposely asked Putman, as a member

128 Ibid., 1918, Box 51, 8-37, Item 1, Putman's letter regarding Kindergarten-Primary, 1918, letter of Putman to the Deputy Minister, dated Ottawa, July 31, 1918.

129 Ibid.

of the 1913 committee, to look into kindergarten reforms. He asked numerous kindergarten experts throughout the province to comment on Putman's recommendation.¹³⁰ In the nine replies that Seath received could be seen the protagonists in the Froebelians versus the progressives kindergarten controversy.

The most vehement Froebelians were two Toronto teachers. Mary E. MacIntyre wrote strongly, "I consider that Dr. Putman's idea, if carried out, would mean the death of Kindergarten in Ontario in a very short time".¹³¹ She felt that a thorough understanding of kindergarten principles and materials could not be gained in five weeks.¹³² For her part, Louisa Oliver believed that a large majority of teachers were not familiar with play in education, as advocated by Froebel,

[...] and which in my opinion is the pivot on which all education with little children revolves; nor are they accustomed to the advantageous use of concrete material in regard to their work.¹³³

130 Ibid., copy of unsigned memorandum on Seath's letterhead, dated August 8, 1918.

131 Ibid., letter from Mary E. MacIntyre to Seath, dated Toronto, August 10, 1918.

132 Ibid., p. 3 and 4.

133 Ibid., letter from Louisa V. Oliver to Seath, dated Toronto, August 9, 1918.

Dr. Morgan, of Hamilton, Putman's colleague on the 1913 committee, agreed that the students he had dealt with were not "sufficiently imbued with the freedom and play spirit of the kindergarten".¹³⁴ Further, he had remarked to his staff, "They could not adequately correlate the work of the Kindergarten with that of the primary grades".¹³⁵ Their second year of training, he believed, had given the students a much wider vision of the aim of the kindergarten-primary classes.

On the other hand, Ellen Cody of Toronto, agreed with Putman that all the teachers needed was practice and supervision.¹³⁶ As Flora Carson put it, an experienced teacher could cover the kindergarten-primary course satisfactorily in five weeks, but she thought few Boards would undertake the expense of a teacher interning for two years, thus there would be few opportunities to make the certificate permanent.¹³⁷ Two London teachers thought Putman's idea

134 Ibid., letter from S. A. Morgan to Seath, dated Hamilton, August 10, 1918, p. 2.

135 Ibid.

136 Ibid., letter from Ellen Cody to Seath, dated Toronto, August 10, 1918, p. 2.

137 Ibid., letter of Flora L. Carson to Seath, dated Muskoka, August 13, 1918, p. 1-2.

"splendid"¹³⁸ were it practicable for the whole province. As Annie Davidson advised, it might work in Ottawa where all students would be assured of a kindergarten assistant's position and would be under Dr. Putman's supervision, but conditions in the province were so varied, it would be necessary to have a provincial inspector to certify their successful experience as kindergarten teachers elsewhere in Ontario.¹³⁹

On the score of efficiency, Dr. John Waugh, Chief Inspector of Schools for Ontario, judged that Putman's plan would not work. "My whole experience [...] with the Summer Model Courses would suggest a contrary conclusion to that reached by Dr. Putman",¹⁴⁰ he warned. This opinion was shared by another London teacher, who wrote that after five weeks' training the students would not be efficient and would need another session after a year's experience.¹⁴¹

In answer to these objections, and replying to a request from Seath for suggestions regarding a kindergarten-primary course, Putman, after consulting with Miss Henderson

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, letter of Clara Brenton to Seath, dated London, August 17, 1918, p. 1.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, letter of Annie Davidson to Seath, dated London, August 17, 1918, p. 1-2.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, memorandum of John Waugh to Seath, dated August 9, 1918.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, letter of S. J. Radcliffe to Seath, dated London, August 9, 1918.

and Miss Rattray, replied in a detailed fashion.¹⁴² First, he reiterated his belief that the course could be completed in one term, lengthening it if necessary to six weeks. But if two sessions had to be continued, he would recommend a more definite division of the work:

The first term's work might consist of training in hand work, practice in teaching songs and games, telling stories, and conducting classes of children in hand work. In the second term the emphasis might be placed on the planning of activities for Kindergarten pupils, suggestions for their occupations, choosing or adapting suitable kindergarten music, care of kindergarten material, and the giving of practical experience in directing a kindergarten class.¹⁴³

In keeping with his progressive bent, Putman recommended that the Froebelian gift and occupation work required be made simple and more interesting, with less elaborate weaving, sewing and folding, and that more education be given in free cutting, drawing, colouring, and clay modelling.¹⁴⁴ The Froebelian "Mother Play" work, he suggested, should "be done from actual observation of children, using the Mutter and Kose Lieder [sic] only as a book of reference".¹⁴⁵ Finally, instead of a winter reading course for the kindergarten

¹⁴² Ibid., letter of Putman to Seath, dated Ottawa, September 27, 1918.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

students, he would substitute a list of interesting stories by authors particularly successful at interpreting child life, such as Charles Dickens, Charles Kingsley, Kate Douglas, or J. M. Barrie.¹⁴⁶ Thus, Putman clearly identified himself with the more liberal wing of the kindergarten movement.

Although Ottawa's kindergarten-primary classes, according to the Minister's Reports, did not re-open until 1922, when 342 pupils were listed in this category,¹⁴⁷ the Ottawa Public School Board's Management Committee moved to have another one opened at Wellington School in September of 1919.¹⁴⁸ This may have been the result of an angry letter from a parent to the newly-elected woman trustee. According to this mother, her child of five was strongly encouraged to move on to Grade One in mid-year because of over-crowding in the Kindergarten and incomplete enrolment in the two primary classes.¹⁴⁹ Instead, she urged that an afternoon kindergarten

146 Ibid.

147 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1922, Toronto, James, 1923, p. 121.

148 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For The Year 1919, Also Financial Statement of the Board For The Year 1918, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.), p. 118.

149 'Parent', "Attention New Woman Trustee", letter to the Editor, in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 10, 1919, p. 12.

class be established so that "all children six years of age and under could have a fair chance in receiving the beginning, and an important part, of their education".¹⁵⁰

The kindergarten-primary summer school continued to operate in Ottawa for the next five years,¹⁵¹ with Dr. E. T. Slemon, Ottawa's Junior Inspector, replacing Putman as principal for one year, 1922.¹⁵² In 1921 and 1923, it was conducted in Glashan School.¹⁵³ This may have been because of the large enrolment. In 1921, when the new Minister of Education, the Honourable R. H. Grant, visited the Glashan Summer School, there were thirty-six teachers taking this

150 Ibid.

151 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1919, p. 93; P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1919, Box 61, 6-711, Item 5, copy of letter from the Deputy Minister to the Secretary, Ottawa Board of Education, dated Toronto, April 23, 1919; Ibid., 1921, Box 86, 0-427, Item 4, copy of letter from Deputy Minister to G. A. Brown, Provincial Auditor, dated Toronto, March 29, 1921: Dr. J. H. Putman appointed Principal of Ottawa kindergarten-primary course, March 29, 1921, with allowance of \$400; Ibid., 1923, Box 108, 1-237, Item 2, copy of letter from Deputy Minister to Brown with attached list, dated Toronto, July 5, 1923: Putman appointed principal again at salary of \$400.

152 Ibid., 1922, Box 89, 1-237, Item 1, letter from E. T. Slemon to Colquhoun, dated Ottawa, May 29, 1922.

153 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For The Year 1921, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1920, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 90; Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1923, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1922, (n.p., n.d.) p. 110.

special work in kindergarten teaching.¹⁵⁴

In these last five years, the spirit of the Kindergartens seemed to have penetrated the primary grades. As Ethel Hall wrote in an article on "The Fusion of Work and Play in the Kindergarten and Primary",¹⁵⁵ for The School in 1917,

When play was first introduced into the primary room, boards of education and parents became alarmed for fear that little children might gain a wrong idea of the meaning of school [sic]. Now they realize that more real work may be accomplished in the spirit of play than in the olden days.¹⁵⁶

Field trips, inspired by the Kindergartens, were described as basic training in observation and an important beginning in natural science for the primary grades:

Excursions to fields or parks or woods in search of flowers, butterflies, bugs, minerals; for the study of birds and their nests and of animals in their native haunts and fishes in their natural element, may be made sources of great pleasure. Trips to the zoo, followed by games descriptive of the animals seen, may be made a great incentive to keen observation.¹⁵⁷

154 "Will Regulate Teachers' Pay As Commodity", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, July 22, 1921, p. 2.

155 Ethel Hall, "The Fusion of Work and Play in the Kindergarten and Primary", in The School, Vol. 6, No. 2, October, 1917, p. 93-99.

156 Ibid., p. 98.

157 Ibid.

The community models of the junior grades (described in Chapter Six), appear to have been derived from the Froebelian Gifts. An examination question for kindergarten-primary summer schools, set in 1920, asked for an account of the "collective" town and "house" form, the Fifth Gift, leading to a story describing it in five simple reading sentences.¹⁵⁸ The relationship was more clearly outlined in a paper on "Clay Modelling For The Kindergarten",¹⁵⁹ delivered at the 1920 session of the Ontario Educational Association by Miss Mabel Cunningham of Ottawa.

After relating the instructional sequence of Froebel's basic Gifts, the ball, the cylinder, the cube, and the square prism,¹⁶⁰ all formed in clay by the child to familiarize himself with their elementary shape and function, the author came to the last sample, the village, or "community model":

In this every child makes and places a part [sic], and this may be carried to almost any extent. It may take a few lessons or quite a large part of the season at the discretion of the teacher.¹⁶¹

158 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1920, Box 66, 1-203, Folder 1, Item 4, Ontario Department of Education, "Annual Examinations, 1920, Summer Schools, Kindergarten-Primary".

159 Miss Mabel Cunningham, "Clay Modelling For The Kindergarten", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention Held in Toronto, April 5, 6, 7 and 8, 1920, Toronto, Wilgress, 1920, p. 284-289; signed at end by Arthur Crowson, an Ottawa manual training instructor.

160 Ibid., p. 285-286.

161 Ibid., p. 287.

Then Miss Cunningham outlined the advantages of this class project:

It gives a good training in proportion, in the careful fitting of each piece to the whole scheme, and offers a great chance for incidental teaching. It shows how a church looks from the top, how it is usually in the form of a cross, and enables us to tell the children how different crosses in the past have been the emblems of different religious orders.¹⁶²

Thus, the community model had a didactic function. From co-operative play the child's mind would be led into a learning situation. The model also had a practical use:

It shows how roofs are made, how chimneys are put on, how the streets may be wider or narrower depending on the locality and the demands for street cars in some quarters, and how different types of architecture are best fitted to each particular public building.¹⁶³

But the intent of the community model, as with all the Gifts, to this author in 1920, remained Froebelian and in the realm of idealism rather than pragmatism:

162 Ibid.

163 Ibid.

All the things I have mentioned, from the ball to the city architecture, are things which will enter largely into the life of every child in your class, enter as real things, and also as symbols. The children are vitally interested in such things as: - Crescents, crosses, circles, suns and stars. They love stories about such things as the swastica, the fleur-de-lis [sic], the lion and the unicorn, and heraldry in any shape or form.

The wise use of these things will result in their imbibing the highest ideals for their own lives and for their country. I would fire their imagination with all the glory of these old symbols, always for newer and better means of interpreting them, and would tell of the good and true men and women who have used them down the ages, to the honor and glory of the human race.¹⁶⁴

Thus, even in 1920, the thrust of the Kindergartens continued to be Froebelian, using the concrete practical world to lead the child into the higher world of the imagination.¹⁶⁵

But the Ottawa kindergarten teachers were exposed, as well, through their kindergarten meetings once a month, through Putman's handwork programme, and through their kindergarten-primary summer courses, to a much wider spectrum

164 Ibid., p. 288.

165 Corbett, Op. Cit., p. 145 and 160; and see the 1922 petition to increase the theoretical training of kindergarten teachers, in P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1923, Box 112, 2-960, Item 2, Resolutions of the Kindergarten Section of the Ontario Educational Association and Resolutions from Kindergarten Associations and Others Throughout the Province Supporting the Same, Submitted to the Honourable The Minister of Education, April, 1922, p. 4: Ottawa Kindergarten Association letter endorsing the resolution.

of ideas and practices. Miss Annie Slinn,¹⁶⁶ kindergarten teacher for over forty years at Creighton Street Public School, maintained that they were constantly being guided by their supervisors, especially, Miss Maud Lyon, Miss Grace Calhoun and Mr. Caleb Medcalf. At first the full-time kindergarten teachers travelled by street-car to different schools throughout the city (Miss Slinn taught handwork classes at Bronson, Wellington and Cambridge Schools) to teach afternoon classes in sewing, handwork, manual training or clay work, but it was decided that there were too many teachers in each school. They then stayed in their own schools. At Creighton, Miss Slinn taught senior sewing, junior boys' woodwork (mostly strip wood) in the manual training room, and handwork to the other grades. As a result, she not only enriched her teaching experience considerably (she later attended Columbia University and studied folk dancing), but established close rapport with the other teachers. As Miss Mildred Minter,¹⁶⁷ the Grade One teacher at Creighton remarked, they were constantly in one another's rooms looking for new ideas. In Miss Slinn's estimation,

166! Interview with Miss Annie Slinn, November 30, 1974; and see, Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1914, p. 60: Miss Slinn's appointment to Creighton School; and, Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1918, p. 156: Director of Creighton Kindergarten.

167 Conversation with Miss Mildred Minter, Ottawa, December 1, 1974.

the community models did not play a large part in the kindergarten work. The latter remained individualistic in nature, tied to the seasons or connected with a story.¹⁶⁸ Putman, however, claimed that his Ottawa Kindergartens varied from conservative to "unconventional and liberal. All are liberal and progressive in spirit".¹⁶⁹

In 1938, Putman deplored the slow growth in Kindergartens throughout the province,¹⁷⁰ despite the efforts he and the Department had made to increase their popularity. At that time, the establishment of a Kindergarten depended on there being at least twenty-five pupils under six years of age in any town or village. Lack of a suitable room, or the expenses of equipment and teachers often prevented them from being formed. Poor attendance due to weather or illness also reduced the actual days' attendance, thus increasing the cost. Putman concluded, however, that despite these difficulties, the Kindergartens had had an immense influence on primary education in Ontario:

168 Booklet of Evelyn Dawson, Miss Slinn's niece, of kindergarten work showing examples of two kinds of weaving, sewing, paper folding, free and outlined cutting work, examined November 30, 1974, in possession of Miss Annie Slinn, Ottawa.

169 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 69.

170 Ibid.

[...] the influence of the Kindergarten even on the one-room country school cannot be measured. It has completely changed the programme of study of every primary class and the methods of every normal-trained teacher. It has set up an ideal in primary education 'something to do' instead of 'a book to study' or 'something to learn'.¹⁷¹

As this chapter has outlined, Putman played a major part in this reform of primary education. The example of the Ottawa Public Schools was noted by the Department, the Editor of The School, educational authorities at the Ontario Educational Association and kindergarten teachers across the province. Putman's liberal views on kindergarten-primary training contributed substantially to the 1913 departmental committee's Report, which changed the direction of the Kindergarten in Ontario after 1914. They were also consulted in the 1918 provincial evaluation of Superintendent Seath. Obviously, Putman's opinion was respected on a provincial level by this time and the Ottawa Kindergartens, as the manual training and household science programmes, pointed the way for the classes of the future.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 70.

CHAPTER VIII

NATURE STUDY AND SCHOOL GARDENS

A major purpose of the Macdonald Plan to rejuvenate rural schools was to restore sympathy for rural work. Thus, nature study was included in the original suggested curriculum in 1902, and the Macdonald School Gardens were begun in Carleton County in 1903 (see Chapter One). As was mentioned in the previous chapter, gardening and the child's experiences in nature were basic New Education ideas introduced into Canada by the Froebelian Kindergartens. Putman wrote that, even by 1899, the American natural science impetus had affected his Ottawa Model School to the extent that he had increased the class time in this subject to an hour a week (see Chapter Three). He also had visited the United States and directed a departmental nature study summer school in Ottawa. Field trips and integrated studies with geography were tried in his Ottawa Model School (see Chapter Three). Although Putman's efforts in 1904 to establish a Model and Normal School garden were unsuccessful, the Department did set one up in 1908 under Carleton County's Mr. Wesley Gibson (see Chapter Three). The Ottawa Horticultural Society and the Ottawa Field Naturalists, both groups to which Putman belonged (see Chapter Three), as well as his

rural background, were influences in this New Education direction. Thus, when he had completed his major handwork and kindergarten reorganization by 1913, Putman turned his attention to the introduction of nature study and school gardening to the Ottawa Public School system. In this chapter, then, the progress of these New Education studies in the Ottawa schools between 1911 and 1923 will be described.

1. Natural Science Interests Cultivated.

In his evaluation of school costs during his first year, Putman suggested that a worthwhile addition would be the planting of shrubbery, climbing vines and tulip beds around all school grounds in the city.¹ They would provide aesthetic relief to the "stiff and naked"² school buildings, and the planting of bulbs under the teacher's direction could secure "a valuable lesson in nature study. The plants and flowers would also furnish the best of material for drawing and colour work".³

Another suggestion Putman made was that a two-and-a-half acre site bought in Ottawa East for a future school be

1 J. H. Putman, Inspector's Annual Report, 1911, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, December 18, 1911, p. 15.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

planted in trees and shrubs in advance so that the school would be afforded "grateful shade and a pleasing surrounding".⁴

But the real start on the introduction of nature study to the Ottawa Public Schools' classrooms began in 1912 when Putman ordered twenty copies of the newly-published Handbook of Nature Study.⁵ He advised that there was no equally good text-book available from a Canadian firm.⁶

Anna Botsford Comstock's Handbook of Nature Study⁷ synthesized the nature study philosophy of Dean Liberty Hyde Bailey of Cornell's Agricultural School.⁸ The essence of Bailey's philosophy, as Putman's, was that the farm was the "moral mainstay" of America. From 1890 to 1910, he

[...] poured forth a flood of books, tracts, articles, and pamphlets which, taken together, constituted the most elaborate justification of agriculture attempted in his time.⁹

4 Ibid.

5 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1912, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1911, (n.p., n.d.) p. 107.

6 "New Trustee In Attendance", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 3, 1912, p. 2.

7 Anna Botsford Comstock, Handbook of Nature Study, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1911, xx-937 p.

8 Lawrence Cremin, The Transformation of The School, Progressivism In American Education, 1876-1957, New York, Vintage Books, 1964, p. 75-80.

9 Ibid., p. 76.

The regeneration of civilization was at stake in this revival of rural values:

To be close to the earth is to set one's life in order, to return to the simplicities that are the moral bulwarks of civilization. Agriculture is not only the rock foundation of democracy; it is the very basis of humanity, morality, and justice.¹⁰

The nature study movement, which Bailey led, then, had strong moral overtones:

For Bailey himself nature study quickly became the jumping-off point for a pedagogy extending far beyond the birds, the bees, and the flowers. Properly taught, nature study was the great remedy for the alienation of man from the land and from his neighbor. It educated 'countryward', toward 'naturalness', 'simplicity of living', and 'sympathy with common things'. Children who studied the Creator's work first-hand would hardly join the flight to the artificialities of the city.¹¹

These were the same values that Putman had proclaimed in his 1895 OEA address on "Country Schools", in his nature study efforts at the Model School and in his campaign for a Model-Normal School garden (see Chapter Three).

By 1913, Putman reported that nature study and "even some school gardening"¹² had been added to the school curriculum. But more definite direction was needed, a direction

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 J. H. Putman, "Foreward", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1913, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, December 31, 1913, p. 4-5.

that the already over-taxed Putman¹³ had no time to give.

At a Board Meeting on April second, 1914, the Management Committee recommended that an assistant inspector to Dr. Putman be hired at an initial salary of \$2,600.¹⁴ The top candidate was Dr. E. T. Slemon, a lecturer in mathematics and the history of education at the Ottawa Normal School, who was the second person in Ottawa to win the Doctor of Pedagogy from Queen's University¹⁵ (Dr. Putman was the first). He was appointed to the post of Junior Inspector for the Ottawa Public School Board at a Board meeting on May seventh.¹⁶ As the newspaper assessed it,

13 "New Inspector For Schools Is Wanted At Once", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, April 3, 1914, p. 13.

14 "The Union Jack Must Fly On All Public Schools During Class Hours In Future", in The Citizen, Ottawa, April 3, 1914, p. 5.

15 'Dr. E. T. Slemon', "In The Public Eye", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, April 26, 1912, p. 6; and see, E. T. Slemon, "General Methods in Teaching", in The School, Vol. 2, No. 2, October, 1913, p. 194-198; and, Slemon, "Educational Principles and Primary Arithmetic", in Ibid., No. 3, November, 1913, p. 154-159; and, Slemon, "The Programme of Studies and the Inspector", in Ibid., No. 10, June, 1914, p. 634-638; and, Slemon, "The Use of Cylindrical Blocks to Illustrate the 'Steps' of a Lesson on Number", in Ibid., No. 5, January, 1914, p. 291-292.

16 "Asst. Inspector of Local Public Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 8, 1914, p. 2; and see, "Dr. Slemon Is A Man Enthusiastic In School And Educational Affairs", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, May 8, 1914, p. 1 (includes picture); and see, Ibid., p. 8.

The City of Ottawa is fortunate in securing the services of a man so eminently adapted to the work of school supervision and inspection. In Dr. Putman and Dr. Slemon this city has secured two inspectors of whose ability and standing as educationists it may well be proud.¹⁷

One of Dr. Slemon's first tasks was the rejuvenation of nature study in the course of study. After a year's effort he wrote,

During the past year especial effort has been put forth to make the course in this subject more definite by giving in more detail the work to be attempted in the different grades and by suggesting sources of information and methods of presentation.¹⁸

He had written a twenty-page booklet, "Nature Study", which was presented to each teacher on the staff and was reprinted in the 1915 Annual Report.¹⁹ It was advertised in The Canadian Statesman and this advertisement was sent to the Department in 1916.²⁰ The clipping stated that every public school inspector in the province had received a copy of Slemon's

17 Ibid., p. 1.

18 Dr. Slemon, "Nature Study In The Schools", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1915, Ottawa, January 26, 1916, p. 33.

19 Ibid., p. 34-36.

20 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1916, Box 22, 4-831, Folder 7, Item 116, clipping re Dr. Slemon's article, from The Canadian Statesman, pencil dated March 23, 1916 and initialled "J.B."; and see, the commendation of Slemon's report on nature study and the circulating museum specimens: "Ottawa has set an admirable example for other cities to copy", in "Editorial Notes", of The School, Vol. 4, No. 9, May, 1916, p. 746.

booklet and that it was a very fine contribution to educational literature.

Approximately sixteen lessons every two months, or sixty minutes per week were allocated on the timetable for nature study.²¹ Slemon suggested that topics of seasonal interest should be chosen by the teacher. Field trips and visits to the Victoria National Museum should be undertaken, when convenient, on Friday afternoons. As with Putman's model school class, Slemon demanded clear objectives:

It is expected that when a class goes out for study the pupils and teacher go with well-defined plans and with some definite object in view. Whenever possible, teachers should make a visit to the locality to be studied before they take their classes.²²

A primary prerequisite for the success of the nature study programme, Slemon believed, was the interest and first-hand experience of the teacher in outdoor observation. The same rule applied to children; "the living animal or plant is greatly to be preferred to the mounted or pressed one".²³ To encourage this, bulbs and seeds, pots and window boxes were supplied in the school room, and each school was provided with a cage for the observation of live animals.²⁴

21 Slemon, "Nature Study", in Inspector's Report, 1915, p. 34.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid., p. 35.

24 Ibid.

Slemon admitted, however, that the number of living animals which could be obtained for the classroom was limited. "And the opportunities for taking a class out into nature to study bird or animal must be in a city, also comparatively few."²⁵ To correct this, the loan of mounted specimens from the Victoria Museum was begun that year. Ten boxes, each containing eight or ten specimens, of animals and birds, were circulated during the year throughout the schools so that a total of ninety-five specimens could be studied.²⁶ In addition, free tickets to museum lectures were distributed to public school children, which allowed them to visit the collections at any time.²⁷

As a result of the year's effort, Slemon reported,

A new interest is already shown in this subject and it is hoped that by the various aids supplied and by the teachers' own initiative, nature study may become one of the most popular of school studies.²⁸

The following year, 1916, "marked improvement"²⁹ in nature study was noted by Slemon. The National Museum loaned

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.; list of the contents of each box given, p. 35-36.

27 Ibid., p. 36.

28 Ibid.

29 Dr. Slemon, "Class Room Proficiency", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1916, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 7, 1917, p. 14.

a greater number of boxes and, thanks to Mr. P. Taverner, made a better classification and arrangement of the specimens. But Slemon warned against too great a dependence on supplied specimens. "Nothing can take the place of personal, out-of-door selection of material for nature study lessons",³⁰ he stated. He praised the assistance given the teachers by the new Ontario Nature Study Manual, five thousand of which were purchased that year by the Ottawa Public School Board.³¹

Slemon commended the diminishing use of "canned information"³² in the form of teacher's notes on nature study to be memorized by the child. As Anna Botsford Comstock stated in an address³³ to the Ontario Educational Association in 1916, nature study was "simply the personal point of view toward a science".³⁴ She quoted Professor Bailey in saying that it was concerned with the child's outlook on the

30 Ibid., p. 15.

31 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1916, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1915, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 152.

32 Slemon, "Class Room Proficiency", in Inspector's Report, 1916, p. 15.

33 Anna Botsford Comstock, "The Relation of Nature Study to Science", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Fifty-Fifth Annual Convention Held in Toronto April 24, 25, 26 and 27, 1916, Toronto, Briggs, 1916, p. 367-373.

34 Ibid., p. 370.

world.

By 1918, the Ottawa Public School Board reported to the Department that it had 224 pupils participating in elementary science,³⁵ as well as 9,452 pupils learning nature study.³⁶ The City of Toronto was the only other city offering elementary science³⁷ that year and it had only fifty students taking it.

Putman believed that more should be done in the teaching of elementary chemistry and physics, especially to boys and girls of twelve to fourteen years of age. As he argued,

These subjects form the basis of all progress in the manufactures and the arts. Chemistry and biology are absolutely necessary to a proper understanding of the laws of hygiene. To say that these subjects should be taught only in a high school is to say that ninety per cent. [sic] of our children are to leave our schools and take up their duties as citizens ignorant of the fundamental principles underlying modern industrial and agricultural progress.³⁸

He believed that Form Four could be taught elementary science with simple and inexpensive apparatus by their regular class teachers in the manual training rooms. He estimated that it

³⁵ Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For The Year 1918, Toronto, Wilgress, 1919, p. 175.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 174.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 175.

³⁸ J. H. Putman, "Reforms In Education", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1918, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 5, 1919, p. 27.

would not cost more than two to three hundred dollars per school for this apparatus.³⁹

Two years later, the Ottawa Public School Board ordered three thousand dollars worth of science supplies for the Entrance Classes.⁴⁰ In 1921, the effect of this was to boost the registration of the elementary science class to 325⁴¹ (an increase of 106 from 1920⁴²). That year, as well, seventeen copies of "Elementary General Science" and an equal number of "Science of Common Life" were ordered to be purchased.⁴³ Science cupboards were made in the manual training rooms,⁴⁴ and seventeen stands for these science cupboards bought from Davidson's Sons.⁴⁵

39 Ibid.

40 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1920, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1919, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 144.

41 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1921, Toronto, James, 1922, p. 111.

42 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For The Year 1920, Toronto, James, 1921, p. 141.

43 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For The Year 1921, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1920, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 112.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid., p. 201.

In 1922, the Entrance Classes were supplied with one hundred dollars worth of science equipment⁴⁶ and seventeen four-volume sets of "Outline of Science" were purchased.⁴⁷

The Saturday morning natural science lectures at the Victoria Memorial Museum reached a high point of popularity in 1921. The first one, delivered by Mr. R. M. Anderson in February, was on the topic of fur-bearing animals in Canada and was meant to arouse interest in the Museum and in outdoor nature.⁴⁸ As a result of the interest shown by the throngs of children, the Editor of The Citizen suggested that the educational use of moving pictures for this purpose was hardly tapped by teachers and other community leaders.⁴⁹ Further lectures on the sea-birds of Bonaventure Island,⁵⁰ irrigation of the desert,⁵¹ and "The Asbestos of Canada"⁵² proved equally

46 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1922, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1921, (n.p., n.d.) p. 155.

47 Ibid., p. 269.

48 "Free Lectures For School Children", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 11, 1921, p. 2; and see editorial, "Children's Day at the Museum", in Ibid., p. 14.

49 "Moving Pictures In The Schools", editorial in Ibid., February 14, 1921, p. 16.

50 "Children Throng To Lectures On Natural History", in Ibid., February 21, 1921, p. 3.

51 "Children Told of Irrigation Effort", in Ibid., April 4, 1921, p. 2.

52 "Children Told About Asbestos Of Canada", in Ibid., April 11, 1921, p. 4.

popular.

But the most successful natural science venture at this time was the Humane Society's bird-house project. For a number of years the Society had been conducting essay contests and awarding prizes to school children.⁵³ By 1916, a concerted campaign was launched, in conjunction with School Boards across Canada, to stop the destruction of birds.⁵⁴ As Medcalf expressed it, "the average boy is likely to take more interest in birds and their protection if he has done something towards providing homes for them".⁵⁵

The result of the competition was that over one thousand bird houses of assorted design were built and exhibited in March of 1917.⁵⁶ They were judged by Mr. P. Taverner of the Experimental Farm staff and Dr. Gordon Hewitt, Dominion Entomologist.⁵⁷ The prize for the highest number built was given to Vernon Caverley of Hopewell Avenue School,

53 "Prizes Given For Essays On Nature", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, June 19, 1915, p. 4.

54 "Boys and Birds", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 2, 1917, p. 10.

55 Caleb Medcalf, "Manual Training", in Inspector's Report, 1916, p. 32.

56 "School Pupils Have Splendid Exhibit", in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 3, 1917, p. 12.

57 Ibid.

who built twenty bird houses.⁵⁸

Caleb Medcalf, the Manual Training Supervisor, was very pleased with the effort:

The Bird House Competition conducted last spring was very successful, over a thousand nesting boxes, more or less suitable for the birds of this locality, were made in the Manual Training classes. A public exhibition and sale was held early in March at the Public Library. In addition to the interest that was thus aroused in the protection of bird life, over eighty dollars was realized for the funds of the Red Cross from the sale of surplus bird houses. In view of the interest shown by the pupils, we are likely to repeat the experiment this year. Prizes were donated by the Ottawa Humane Society to those who made particularly good nesting boxes. Hopewell Ave. School, with over two hundred bird houses to its credit, was the winner of a silver cup for the school sending in the greatest number.⁵⁹

In 1918 over seventy dollars was raised by the sale of bird houses.⁶⁰ The money was donated to the Prisoners of

58 Ibid.; and see, P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1920, Box 70, 2-960, Item 9, two photographs of bird houses, one with pencil inscription at back: "Bird house competition. Over 200 bird houses made by boys in the manual training classes of Hopewell Avenue School in one season"; the other photograph shows a boy surrounded by a variety of bird houses with pencil inscription on the back: "This boy is seen standing behind his contribution of twenty-two properly constructed bird houses"; sign in both pictures: "Hopewell Avenue School", (n.d.).

59 Caleb Medcalf, "Manual Training", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1917, Ottawa, January 21, 1918, p. 40; and see, "Made Bird Houses Then Bought One", in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, March 13, 1917, p. 6.

60 "Realize \$70 From Bird House Sale", in Ibid., March 9, 1918, p. 16; and see, "Splendid Work Of Public School Boys", in Ibid., March 5, 1918, p. 3.

War Fund. Two years later, another one thousand bird houses were planned and built by the boys in the manual training classes.⁶¹ Medcalf explained,

These were made partly as manual training projects but mainly as a stimulus to more interest in birds and their protection. These nesting boxes have since been placed in suitable locations by the boys in readiness for future bird tenants.⁶²

Ottawa's bird protection campaign, then, not only fulfilled the provisions of "The Protection of Birds Act", printed at the front of each classroom register,⁶³ but also gave New Education direction by offering

[...] an outlet for boyish enthusiasm in such activities. The completed houses later were placed in suitable locations in readiness for prospective bird tenants, which I am informed in the majority of cases rarely failed to occupy them, to the great delight of the builder also, I imagine, to the other members of his household. All this leads to further interest in birds and their protection and is far reaching in its effects.⁶⁴

By 1930, the nature study work had been developed in the first-year intermediate school course to the point where

61 Caleb Medcalf, "Manual Training", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1920, Ottawa, January 19, 1921, p. 33.

62 Ibid.

63 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1920, Box 71, 4-831, I, Item 5, Ontario Department of Education, Public (Or Separate) School Daily Register For Recording the Attendance of Pupils, Toronto, Wilgress, May, 1920, p. 2.

64 Caleb Medcalf, "Manual Training", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1921, Ottawa, March 1, 1922, p. 30.

observation and experiment were used exclusively.⁶⁵ Books were referred to only as supplements to the pupils' own observations. Putman wrote, "As much as possible is done out of doors or in the laboratory. The project method is used as widely as possible and the topics of study are chosen in view of the local environment".⁶⁶ The purpose was to prepare the pupils for the broad general science course of the second and third years.⁶⁷

Thus, by this date, the idealism of New Education had been replaced by the scientific method of pragmatism in the nature study course of the Ottawa Public schools.

2. Ottawa Public School Gardens Started, 1916.

Putman's efforts to establish school gardens, on the other hand, retained many overtones of idealism, even as late as 1938. In that year he introduced a chapter on "Our School Gardens"⁶⁸ with references to the Bible, mythology and Shakespeare, in order to assert his belief that a

65 J. H. Putman, Inspector's Annual Report, 1930, Ottawa Public School Board, Ottawa, January 21, 1931, p. 46-47.

66 Ibid., p. 47.

67 Ibid., p. 46.

68 J. H. Putman, Fifty Years at School, An Educationist Looks at Life, Toronto, Clarke Irwin, 1938, p. 240.

"knowledge of how things grow is a basic kind of education that is indispensable for the interpretation of books and of life".⁶⁹ He reiterated his conviction, expressed originally in 1916 that the city child loses

[...] important knowledge gained incidentally by country children; they lose the discipline of labour involved in the care of plants and animals, and through lack of a flower garden they lose that refining influence insensibly reflected upon every human being whose labour nourishes something beautiful for his own and others' unselfish enjoyment.⁷⁰

! Thus, in 1913, Putman stated before the Dominion Educational Association that he "would not be satisfied until Ottawa had a school garden in connection with every school where possible".⁷¹ But he had to wait for three years, first instituting his reforms in handwork and the Kindergarten-Primary, although he began in a small way by supplying classrooms with bulbs.⁷²

The Minister's Report for 1914 urged that school gardens be established in connection with the new kindergarten-

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid., p. 241; and see, Putman, Inspector's Report, 1916, p. 6.

71 J. H. Putman, "The Aim and Practice of Education in Public Schools as a Preparation for Industrial Life", in The Dominion Educational Association, Proceedings of the Eighth Convention of the Association, Ottawa, August 20-23, 1913, Ottawa, Dominion Printing, (n.d.) p. 77.

72 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 242.

primary course.⁷³ It also noted that grants were available from the Department for this purpose, provided a report was submitted on the organization of the project and the certification of its instructor.⁷⁴

In April of 1915, a fifteen-acre vacant lot (a former market garden in the Glebe) bounded by Bronson, Percy, Carling and Fifth Avenues was offered to the public of Ottawa by the trustees of St. Andrew's Church.⁷⁵ The results of these Glebe gardens promised to be excellent:

The soil on this property is rich and especially suited for growing vegetables. Good results have already been obtained and in one or two cases garden produce is so far advanced that the owners have already been able to use it for domestic purposes. Potatoes, onions, radishes, and in fact everything plantable is doing well.⁷⁶

The following spring Alderman J. D. Denny, President of the Ottawa Teachers' Association in an address at the Normal School, urged the establishment of a rural school for city children, a place where they could devote part of their

⁷³ Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1914, Toronto, Cameron, 1915, p. 167.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 233.

⁷⁵ "Garden Plots Offered Free", in The Citizen, Ottawa, April 28, 1915, p. 7.

⁷⁶ "Glebe Church Garden Plots", in Ibid., June 21, 1915, p. 3.

time to outdoor nature study.⁷⁷

In the meantime, the Ottawa Public School Board gave Putman permission to secure two or more of St. Andrew's Glebe lots for garden plots to be used by pupils of Grades Three, Four, Five and Six of Mutchmor and Borden Schools.⁷⁸ Moneys were allocated to cover expenses,⁷⁹ and Miss Alida Lapp sent to the Agricultural College, Guelph, at the Board's expense to take the school gardening course.⁸⁰ The garden was to be in charge of Miss Ella C. Robertson,⁸¹ assisted by Miss L. M. Smith, of Borden School, who was paid sixty dollars for five weeks' service during the summer.⁸²

Many people were involved in the setting up of this Glebe garden in 1916. As Putman described it,

77 "The Child And His Training", in Ibid., March 24, 1916, p. 3.

78 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1916, p. 10.

79 Ibid., \$300, and p. 72, \$100 allocated.

80 Ibid., p. 118.

81 Ibid., p. 85.

82 Ibid., p. 118.

Mr. Medcalf arranged to have a manual training class build a small tool house and also made blueprint plans of the garden. Mr. Macoun of the Experimental Farm and Mr. R. B. Whyte gave us valuable advice in planning the garden. The Experimental Farm gave us some plants. Mr. G. H. Clark, Chief of the Dominion Seed Division, gave us an ample supply of grains and garden seed. Mr. Newlands gave valuable assistance in staking out and supervising the garden, and the teachers of Mutchmor, Borden and Cambridge Schools, whose classes took part, spared no effort to make the garden a success.⁸³

The three lots, each fifty feet by one hundred feet, were divided into 368 individual plots, each three feet by four feet, leaving one-third of the garden space for a community plot.⁸⁴ In the latter were grown "common economic cereals for observation, or flowers to be cut by the children and taken to the city hospital".⁸⁵ Among the cereals grown were oats, barley, spring wheat, flax and Indian corn. The flowers included gladiolus, aster, pansy, coreopsis, antirrhum and sweet pea.

Each child was given a choice of three vegetable and three flower seeds, as well as a gladiolus bulb.⁸⁶ The most commonly-chosen vegetables were lettuce, radish, beet, turnip, tomato and carrot. Most children chose, for flowers,

83 Putman, Inspector's Report, 1916, p. 7.

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid.

candytuft, sweet alyssum, nasturtium, aster, pink and poppy. From May to October, each class spent from fifteen to twenty hours in the garden, instead of taking nature study. The total cost to the School Board was just over three hundred dollars, which included the expenses of garden tools, hose, and water service.⁸⁷

In Putman's estimation, the whole garden experiment was worthwhile:

Children learned about nature from an actual contact with nature. They were given sense experiences which will form a basis for after-instruction from books, and we believe that many of them will next year be eager to have gardens at home.⁸⁸

A thorough description of the garden project and the September blooms was given in The Ottawa Free Press, which praised the Public School effort:

Friendly competition among the youngsters with adjoining plots has played its part in the success of the garden, but nothing short of conscientious work and an evenly maintained interest could have produced such flowers as riot over the plot now. Tall gladioli bending with bloom, nasturtiums, pansies, cosmos, nicotina, asters, sun flowers, marigolds and quite marvelously [sic] successful borders of sweet alyssum are everywhere.⁸⁹

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid.

89 Elizabeth Irwin, "How the School Kiddies Made Gardens Bloom in Vacant Lots", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, September 19, 1916, p. 11.

Early in 1917, Putman sent out a Circular to school principals regarding the formation of Home Garden Clubs.⁹⁰ The local Horticultural Society promised assistance,⁹¹ as did the Ontario Department of Agriculture. The School Board allocated an expenditure of one hundred dollars for the purchase of seeds to promote the work.⁹² Putman asked for teachers to volunteer to help the Ottawa Horticultural Society Officers, who would visit the children's gardens. These home gardens were launched after a special appeal by Premier Hearst and the Honourable Martin Burrell that all available space in cities and towns be used for the cultivation of "war" gardens.⁹³

As a result of the successful school garden experiment of 1916, the Ottawa Public School Board negotiated the purchase of eight lots for thirteen thousand dollars from the Glebe trustees of St. Andrew's Church.⁹⁴ The proposal

90 "Inspector Favors Home Garden Clubs", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 22, 1917, p. 7.

91 "To Grow More Garden Produce", editorial in Ibid., January 13, 1917, p. 16.

92 "Inspector Favors Home Garden Clubs", in Ibid., February 22, 1917, p. 7.

93 "School Kiddies To Have Gardens", in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, February 23, 1917, p. 12.

94 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1917, p. 73-74 and 104; and see, "P.S. Meeting Would Buy Garden Plot", in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, March 30, 1917, p. 3; and, "School Board To Buy Garden Lots", in Ibid., May 4, 1917, p. 14.

was warmly approved by the Editor of The Citizen, who considered that

Any public expenditure to make the public schools of this community better schools, more attractive to the children and to the parents, anything to broaden education and promote better citizenship, might well be considered worthy of financial support by the public school taxpayers.⁹⁵

This idealistic view was not shared by an angry taxpayer, who wrote a virulent letter to the Editor several months later complaining about the fact that the expenditure of thirteen thousand dollars, borrowed at five per cent rate of interest, would add eight hundred dollars to the tax bill for "market gardening purposes".⁹⁶ Another letter in protest was written to the Ottawa Public School Board by Trustee R. W. Hamilton.⁹⁷

Despite these objections, the sale was completed and Putman was able to outline to the Deputy Minister exactly what the Ottawa plans were.⁹⁸ The garden was to be under the charge of Miss Alida Lapp, who had completed part of the course in elementary agriculture at Guelph in 1916. With his

95 "The Public School Garden Plots", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 31, 1917, p. 14.

96 S. W. Spicer, letter to the Editor, in Ibid., June 1, 1917, p. 12.

97 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1917, p. 125.

98 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, Box 37, 1917, 4-831, Folder 4, Item 161, Putman and School Gardens, letter of Putman to the Deputy Minister, dated Ottawa, June 7, 1917.

eye on the new grant regulations, Putman wrote,

I do not think that any teachers besides Miss Lapp hold the Elementary certificate, but I am hoping in view of the fact that Miss Lapp is giving whole time to this work and that we are expending a considerable sum of money to encourage it you may be able to make a liberal grant, both to Miss Lapp and to the Ottawa Public School Board.⁹⁹

He enclosed a timetable which showed that eight schools would use the garden, Grades Three to Six participating.¹⁰⁰

A memorandum asking for guidance in the matter of school garden grants was sent by Deputy Minister Colquhoun to J. B. Dandeno, Inspector of Elementary Agricultural Classes in the Department of Education.¹⁰¹ There seemed to be an overlapping and confusion between nature study, school gardens and rural agriculture courses, necessitating a separate manual for the latter.¹⁰² The Department, however, through its Guelph horticultural and floricultural courses at the elementary and intermediate levels, was definitely instructing teachers in practical problems of school gardens

99 Ibid.

100 Ibid.; enclosed timetable of school gardening periods (n.d.).

101 Ibid.; copy of memorandum from Colquhoun to Inspector J. B. Dandeno, dated June 12, 1917; copy also sent to Putman, copy of covering letter dated Toronto, June 13, 1917.

102 Ibid., Item 170, school gardens versus agriculture, 1917, letter from J. B. Dandeno to Colquhoun, dated Toronto, March 14, 1917.

by 1917.¹⁰³

Despite a late start in taking possession of the land, Putman was able to report in 1917 that

[...] every crop sown made a good growth. The garden was laid out into 125 plots, each 10 feet by 16 feet. Each of these plots was given to a group of 8 pupils and in this way we provided space for 1,000 children. Classes from grades 3, 4, 5, and 6 in First Avenue, Hopewell Avenue, Mutchmor Street, and Borden Schools were given plots. Besides these, we gave plots to the pupils of the Special Class in Cambridge Street School. We also brought to the garden by street car and gave plots to the pupils of grades 5 and 6 in George Street, Rideau Street, and Bolton Street Schools. In every case the regular teacher came with her pupils and gave them the major part of the instruction given in planting and caring for the gardens.¹⁰⁴

Miss Lapp had laid out the plots, decided upon the seed to be planted, and supervised the teachers and children.¹⁰⁵

So keen were some classes that they tended their plots just as regularly during July and August as they had during the school term. They planted lettuce, carrots, beets, turnips, beans and other common vegetables, influenced by the national drive for greater food production during these war years.¹⁰⁶ There were community plots, as well, of corn,

103 Ibid., Box 41, 7-302, Item 1, Final Exams of Ontario Agricultural Summer Course, 1917.

104 Putman, "School Gardens", in Inspector's Report, 1917, p. 9.

105 Ibid.

106 Ibid.

tomatoes, cucumbers and common grains.¹⁰⁷ Seven varieties of clover and many flowers were also grown.

By this time, there were fourteen Home Garden Clubs operating with sixteen to twenty-five members in each.¹⁰⁸ A member of the Ottawa Horticultural Society acted as a technical adviser; he paid three visits to each child's home garden, giving advice and encouragement. Putman wrote that

[...] reports are so encouraging that we propose to enlarge this part of our work next year because we feel that successful home gardens will be the measure by which to estimate the worth of the school garden.¹⁰⁹

In spite of his earlier plea for legislative grants for horticulture and floriculture, it would appear that they were only available for rural agricultural courses.¹¹⁰ Putman pointed out in 1918 that

107 Ibid., p. 10.

108 Ibid.

109 Ibid.

110 Putman, "Reforms In Education", in Inspector's Report, 1918, p. 23.

As the Regulations stand at present a city school in order that the board or its teachers may share in these grants must teach the same programme in agriculture as a country school [...]. There is no good reason why the Education Department should not arrange a special programme of work in horticulture and floriculture for town and city schools. If the Federal grants cannot be used for the encouragement of this work, similar grants might be provided by the Province of Ontario.¹¹¹

But the lack of legislative grants did not hinder the expansion of the Home Gardens, particularly to help in the war effort. An exhibit in the east end of Ottawa was described in The Citizen in 1918 as follows:

The pupils of Osgoode Street Public School has [sic] a splendid exhibit. This school has a Horticultural Club under the management of Miss McFarlane. The exhibit is not large but of a splendid quality. The first prize in this collection has been given to Master Cottee, of Creighton St. School. [sic] he is only ten years of age but has in his exhibit an onion measuring 16 inches around.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 23-24; changes in this direction were already in motion. They included an up-grading of qualifications of public school inspectors, who, before the close of 1920, were to have an intermediate certificate in agriculture from the Ontario Agricultural College, and were to receive \$8.00 for each qualified teacher who conducted classes in agriculture and horticulture. Superintendent Seath estimated that the Federal agricultural grants would increase from \$4,936 in 1915 to \$12,000 in 1916-17, as a result of these new qualifications: see P.A.O., R.G.3, Hearst Papers, "Education Public Schools Act", memoranda and draft regulations of Seath, dated March 21, 1916 and April 20, 1917.

¹¹² "War Gardens Display Prove Splendid Feature, Shown In The Horticultural Building", in The Citizen, Ottawa, September 11, 1918, p. 11.

At last, by 1919, the Department recognized Ottawa's pioneering efforts. Inspector Dandeno reported considerable success in the promotion of garden work in cities and towns, but the work was still in its infancy.¹¹³ Good progress had been made in Ottawa, though. As he wrote,

School gardens are not easy to secure in the city because of small school grounds, but to overcome this difficulty, the Board of Education of the city of Ottawa purchased an acre of land close to three or four schools, paying \$13,000 for the plot.¹¹⁴

He named the eight Ottawa schools which utilized the school garden from September, 1917 to June, 1918.¹¹⁵ Only two other centres were listed for the province for this period. Amongst the inspectors who successfully passed Part One of the Agricultural Intermediate Certificate for 1918, was Dr. E. T. Slemon of Ottawa.¹¹⁶

By May of 1919, in a letter from Miss Lapp the Board received \$490, the balance of legislative grants for its school garden.¹¹⁷ In October, eleven teachers in charge of

113 J. B. Dandeno, "Report of the Inspector of Elementary Agricultural Classes", dated January, 1919, in Ontario, Report of the Minister, 1918, p. 96.

114 Ibid.

115 Ibid., p. 97.

116 Ibid., p. 111.

117 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For The Year 1919, Also Financial Statement of the Board For The Year 1918, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 94.

school garden clubs were paid forty dollars for their work, in addition to their regular salary.¹¹⁸

At the Teachers' Institute in February of 1919, a number of teachers talked of the rewards of the work with pupils in the school gardens. Miss Margaret Taylor of Borden School is reported to have said, "These scholars showed great enthusiasm and did their work thoroughly and this proved of great value in producing qualities of concentration and steadiness".¹¹⁹

As a result of four years' experience, in 1919, Putman was able to draw certain conclusions from the Ottawa Board's experiment with school gardens.¹²⁰ They found that they were most suited to junior pupils because "primary pupils are too young to do gardening in classes and [...] pupils of fourth book classes, having manual training and household science, have less time for this work [...]".¹²¹ Their first arrangement of individual plots was changed so that two plots

118 Ibid., p. 193.

119 "Marriages Of Soldiers Are A New Problem", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 8, 1919, p. 7; and see, "Scholars Take Great Interest In Gardens", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, May 31, 1919, p. 5.

120 J. H. Putman, "Gardening For City Schools", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1919, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 23, 1920, p. 21-25.

121 Ibid., p. 22.

now were given each class, one of twenty-two feet by forty-three feet for vegetables and the other, six feet by twenty feet, for flowers.¹²² This had advantages and disadvantages: "It encourages group work and insures that every plot will be properly looked after. It does not call forth individual effort as well as the giving of a small plot to each child".¹²³

By this time five large schools were within walking distance of the school garden.¹²⁴ Pupils from three smaller schools reached it by street car, and two other large schools had small gardens on their school property. But more land was needed if all Second and Third Form classes were to be included.

Putman gave full credit to Miss Lapp for the success of the school garden. "She has spared no effort to give the work the highest possible educational value, and at the same time have a garden which would present a creditable appearance",¹²⁵ he wrote. He acknowledged that not all approved of the school garden, but objections tended to be few. Aside from the considerable annual interest charges of nearly eight hundred dollars a year, the school garden was not a great

122 Ibid.

123 Ibid.

124 Ibid., p. 23.

125 Ibid.

expense. Putman wrote,

Three or four hundred dollars a year will buy fertilizer, seeds, plants, and implements. We aim at growing everything possible from seed and find cold frames a valuable addition to our equipment. Incidentally, it may be of interest to state that the School Board is receiving more than \$1,000 a year in government grants for school garden work.¹²⁶

They were already building up a permanent perennial border, with "many fine specimens of plants, and in time we hope to have a collection of those most suitable for the Ottawa climate".¹²⁷ Its two-fold purpose was to provide a succession of bloom from May to October, and to show the children what could be grown in their home gardens.¹²⁸

Putman still complained that the Regulations of the Ontario Department of Education made no distinction between agriculture for rural schools, and horticulture in city schools.¹²⁹ He urged the Department

[...] frankly to admit that urban and rural schools, in some subjects and especially in plant and animal study, require different courses of study, different regulations, and a different basis for the distribution of government grants.¹³⁰

126 Ibid., p. 24.

127 Ibid.

128 Ibid., p. 24-25.

129 Ibid., p. 25.

130 Ibid.

Inspector Dandeno, however, did not seem to agree. In his estimation, the country teachers transplanted to city schools, "found that good results could be accomplished by teaching Agriculture in the city schools".¹³¹ As a result of the provision of grants for graded schools established by Circular Thirteen in 1917, very "gratifying progress"¹³² had been made, with Ottawa and four smaller cities leading the province.

In 1920, Miss Alida Lapp made her first Report as Supervisor of School Gardening.¹³³ By this time twenty-five classes from ten schools were participating. All except two were Third Form pupils. She described her instructional programme as follows:

131 J. B. Dandeno, "Report of the Inspector of Elementary Agricultural Classes", dated January, 1920, in Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For The Year 1919, Toronto, Wilgress, 1920, p. 54.

132 Ibid.

133 Alida Lapp, "School Gardening", in Inspector's Report, 1920, p. 47-48.

The children who come to the garden are given instruction on the physical composition and classification of soils, the uses of water and air in the soil and the means of circulating them, value and methods of drainage, fertilizer and plant food, effects of sunshine and moisture upon plants, effects of weeds and how to eradicate them, the preparation of a seed-bed, the distances plants should be placed apart to allow for proper development, thinning, transplanting, methods of cultivation, and insect enemies of plant life. In addition to these studies they become acquainted with flowers and vegetables at all stages of growth.¹³⁴

That August, Miss Lapp reported,¹³⁵ . more than one hundred volunteer summer pupils exhibited flowers at the Horticultural Society's midsummer show. There was also a display of flowers and vegetables at the Central Canada Exhibition in connection with the manual training exhibit. Both exhibits elicited many complimentary comments for the very high standard of produce shown.

For only three hundred dollars to cover the cost of fertilizer, seeds, plants and implements, a peak of efficiency was reached by 1920. Miss Lapp explained,

Everything possible is grown from seed. The past season by the use of five cold frames in the garden and boxes in the school windows over four thousand plants were grown. About three thousand of these were transplanted in the school garden while the remainder were given to pupils belonging to home garden clubs. In the autumn flower seeds are collected, packaged and labelled ready for the next season.¹³⁶

134 Ibid.

135 Ibid., p. 48.

136 Ibid.

In the Minister's Report for 1920, Ottawa was listed as having thirteen schools participating in school gardening (surpassed only by East York with fourteen).¹³⁷ The next year Ottawa had fourteen schools involved.¹³⁸ By that time the Board was receiving \$2,379.81 and the nine Ottawa teachers, all of whom had their elementary agricultural certificates and several their intermediate certificates, were receiving over one thousand dollars in grants from the Ontario Government.¹³⁹

The school gardens and Home Garden Clubs operated successfully for the next three years, annual reports on their progress being given each year by Miss Lapp.¹⁴⁰

137 J. B. Dandeno, "Report of the Inspector of Elementary Agricultural Classes", dated Toronto, January, 1921, in Ontario, Report of the Minister, 1920, p. 77.

138 J. B. Dandeno, "Report of the Inspector of Elementary Agricultural Classes", in Ontario, Report of the Minister, 1921, p. 56.

139 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1921, Box 83, 4-875, Item 14, School Garden Grants, 1921, covering letter from Dandeno, and List of Agricultural and Horticultural Grants for the Graded Public Schools of Ontario, from September 1919 to June, 1920 in accordance with the Regulations given in Circular 13, 1919, pages 4-8 inclusive, dated Toronto, October 13, 1920 (in ink: "Notices sent December 28-January 8"), p. 36: "Ottawa Inspectorate under J. H. Putman and E. T. Slemon".

140 Alida J. Lapp, "School Gardening", in Inspector's Report, 1921, p. 43-45; and in, Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1922, Ottawa January 4, 1923, p. 54-56; and in, Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1923, Ottawa, February 7, 1924, p. 48.

Putman continued to believe in the practical and aesthetic values of school gardening.¹⁴¹ From his rural roots, he affirmed that

[...] it has a marked effect for good on a large number of children and [...] it can be made a great aid in the teaching of Nature's laws, and in this way bring city children to take a more sympathetic interest in Canada's greatest industry agriculture.¹⁴²

Thus, the nature study programme and the Ottawa Public School gardens fulfilled two basic New Education aims, as first enunciated in Canada through the Macdonald Plan for rural schools (see Chapter One). These were the building up a sympathy for nature and rural life, and, through the practical experience of gardening, moral maxims for daily living. As Putman expressed it in 1938,

A garden is a school in itself. It requires physical exertion and gives valuable lessons in industry. It demands skill in planning and teaches us to wait patiently for results. Its success depends almost wholly upon our understanding of Nature's laws. [...] But the gardener learns more than this. He learns that a pretty garden requires careful planning, that certain combinations of foliage and colour produce more artistic effects than others and that there are aesthetic laws as well as chemical and physical laws.¹⁴³

141 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 241-242.

142 Ibid., p. 245.

143 Ibid., p. 241-242.

Here the idealistic goal of the New Educators is clearly seen. Through concrete, active experiences they hoped that the children would rise to an appreciation, not only of Nature, but also of aesthetics and the spiritual realm. In Putman's expanded programmes for art and music in the Ottawa Public Schools this aesthetic thrust of his educational philosophy was even more evident. This will be described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IX

EXPANSION OF ART AND MUSIC

Putman's art and music programmes achieved a high level of success in their first twelve years. In two areas, pottery classes and violin lessons, they became pioneers for the province of Ontario. Both subjects illustrated Putman's administrative style of leadership and his method of changing public opinion toward progressive educational reforms.

In A. F. Newlands and Donald Heins, Putman chose supervisors of exceptional ability. His continued praise and encouragement of the high quality of their work, as well as that of his music supervisor, James A. Smith, led to remarkable results in the pupils. As his annual reports illustrated, Putman believed in explaining and advertising his progressive reforms. Thus, school exhibitions and concerts were held frequently to demonstrate the excellent artistic and musical results of the public school pupils.

These two subjects also revealed the underlying aims of New Educators toward the aesthetic aspects of the curriculum at that time. Newlands' art programme and his explanatory annual reports showed the influence on children's art instruction of graphic and industrial arts, the former derived from Britain, the latter from the United States. British idealists, such as William Morris and John Ruskin,

influenced both Putman and Newlands to place a high priority on the cultivation of artistic taste in the children's minds. Another aim, revealed by the instrumental music programme, was to uncover talent and develop a future hobby for the leisure activity of the citizen. Above all, these two subjects were designed to cultivate a more civilized and efficient type of Canadian citizen of the future.

1. Beginnings of the Art Programme.

Putman placed a high value on art for the public school curriculum. He first expressed it in his plans for the School for Higher English (see Chapter Five, section 2). The defence which he successfully waged for his hiring of A. F. Newlands as Art Supervisor in 1911 has been outlined (see Chapter Five, section 3). After twenty-five years Putman was able to write, "I am more proud of what we are doing and have done in art than in any other single educational achievement".¹ As mentioned previously, he gave full credit to Newlands for the success of the programme.²

Newlands began in September of 1911 by spending one-half of his time with two hundred senior students and the other half with the work of supervision and teacher-training.³

1 J. H. Putman, Fifty Years at School, An Educationist Looks at Life, Toronto, Clarke Irwin, 1938, p. 71.

2 Ibid., p. 72.

3 Ibid., p. 74.

Every grade teacher taught her own class under his supervision.⁴ As a result, Putman reported that "all teachers made some progress and that 75 per cent. [sic] of them did really good work. It is surprising how many things ordinary teachers can do if they have competent leadership".⁵

Putman and the Board provided Newlands with solid support in the form of good art supplies. As Putman outlined,

From the very beginning we supplied our pupils with good material for art work. The paper was bought by weight in quantities sufficient for a year. Pencils, pastels, brushes and water colours were bought in the same way and a few cents per year per pupil gave an ample supply of all that was necessary. Kindergarten pupils and pupils of grades I, II and III used pastels. From grade IV up pupils made use of many mediums but chiefly water colours.⁶

Newlands himself reported in his first year that because of a shortage of time he had concentrated largely on nature drawing and lettering.⁷ A beginning had been made in industrial design, but simple and direct methods were used

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., p. 74-75; and see, Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1911, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1910, (n.p., n.d.) p. 149 and 206: 2,000 water colours, brushes, water cups, and 3,000 boxes of pastels, as well as 12 reams of crayon drawing paper were ordered.

7 A. F. Newlands, "Art And Penmanship", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1911, Ottawa, December 18, 1911, p. 32.

with pencil as the chief medium.⁸ He added, "Owing to the hearty and intelligent co-operation of the members of the teaching staff, more progress has been made in this work than I had any reason to expect".⁹

On the score of aesthetics, Putman advised that improvement was needed,

We have spent only a trifling amount during the past year on pictures and school ornamentation. Many of our school halls and class-rooms are admirably arranged for the display of pictures. These, if good, have a silent but powerful influence upon children, and may easily be so chosen as to have a positive educational value because of some historical or literary associations.¹⁰

The following year the Board bought a modest one hundred dollars worth of pictures for the school-rooms.¹¹

Newlands' report for 1912 reflected the increased scope of his programme because of the newly-arrived art supplies. Now his major emphasis was on colour:

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Putman, "Text Books, Stationery, and Kindergarten Supplies", in Ibid., p. 15.

11 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1912, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1911, (n.p., n.d.) p. 201.

Colour study was begun in all of the schools at the first of the year, pastels being used in the primary, and watercolours in the advanced grades. The pupils in the primary grades were allowed a free use of the crayons at first in expressing themselves, and were afterwards led by the teachers' example in handling this medium, with the aim of training the colour sense, and without making the work mechanical or forced, of directing the attention to the development of the colour perception.¹²

During the spring and fall, the pupils used colour continuously in drawing from nature specimens "-sprigs in bud, sprays, leaves, fruits and vegetables the efforts being directed towards the making of the representations as truthful as possible".¹³ Putman correctly guessed the influence of the professional art training schools on this emphasis in the children's art programmes of realistic drawing and colouring:

I think it would be correct to say that the drawing and colouring of leaves, branches and flowers receives more attention than any other natural objects. Partly this is because colour work is an essential part of art training.¹⁴

Newlands added another reason for his emphasis on colour and drawing. It was his philosophical agreement with the British idealists who dominated art education then:

12 A. F. Newlands, "Art And Penmanship", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1912, Ottawa, December 30, 1912, p. 42.

13 Ibid.

14 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 75.

An examination of the courses of study in art in the schools of Great Britain, and on the Continent, shows that drawing from nature specimens is gaining in importance as a means of developing accuracy of observation and an appreciation of beauty. It contributes to the general culture of the mind and particularly in the development of taste. Nature drawing cultivates habits of neatness and accuracy in the use of the hand, and stores up in the mind material that will be a valuable assistance on occasions when the application of design is desired.¹⁵

The British influence was acknowledged specifically in 1913, when Newlands described the freehand lettering course which he began that year. Quoting William Morris, Newlands wrote, "to do the useful thing so well that it is beautiful is the spirit of true art".¹⁶ He also referred to Ruskin when highlighting the Board's further purchase of reproductions for wall decorations: "Ruskin said that nothing made by man's hand can be indifferent, it must be either beautiful and elevating or ugly and degrading".¹⁷

Newlands utilized freehand lettering as a useful exercise to improve the pupils' drawing. It seemed to be effective for this purpose:

¹⁵ Newlands, "Art and Penmanship", in Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 42-43.

¹⁶ A. F. Newlands, "Art and Penmanship", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1913, Ottawa, December 31, 1913, p. 53.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 54.

This work has been followed up until pupils have shown considerable skill in drawing, spacing, and grouping letters in words and in arranging sentences to fit rectangular spaces. As it takes a lot of practice and painstaking work to adapt a single line of letters to a given space, the accurate and beautiful specimens secured from many of the pupils, as a result of this training, reflect great credit on the grade teachers.¹⁸

Again, the influence of professional graphic artists could be seen in Newlands' assertion that

At the International Drawing Congress held in Dresden in 1912 more attention was given to the teaching of lettering than to any other department of the work. It was held by teachers of various nationalities that lettering is a most important phase of art instruction and should be thoroughly taught in elementary schools.¹⁹

Design work was another example of the influence of graphic art. The basic principles of design were taught the Ottawa school children by using "either geometrical or natural and artificial forms interpreted in terms of squares".²⁰ They were used as units "on squared paper [...] for borders and surface patterns and coloured in harmonies of self tones of two or more values".²¹ The geometrical forms of still life were instilled into the children by the techniques of the professional art school:

18 Ibid., p. 53.

19 Ibid., p. 53-54.

20 Ibid., p. 54.

21 Ibid.

Object drawing, or still life, was largely confined to the drawing of cylindrical objects. Pupils were carefully drilled in the appearance of foreshortened circles and in drawing ellipses of various widths. Next year there will be a good supply of models in each of the schools and it is intended to spend a larger proportion of the time on this work.²²

But the major accomplishment of 1913 was the purchase by the Board of a number of reproductions of masterpieces of art to be hung on the school walls.²³ (A few years earlier, Superintendent John Seath ordered 130 carbon reproductions of masterpieces when on his tour of industrial schools of Europe in 1909.²⁴) The proceeds from an exhibition of nearly four hundred reproductions of masterpieces held in Ottawa schools that spring²⁵ also were turned over by the Board to the Picture Committee.²⁶ The next year the

22 Ibid.

23 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1913, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1912, (n.p., n.d.) p. 51: \$300, and p. 156: \$720 for pictures from England.

24 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 50, XIV, Item 9, 1909-Permanent Carbon Prints ordered by Seath when in Paris, letter of John Seath to Messrs. Braun, Clement & Co., Paris, dated Toronto, December 24, 1909; and see, P.A.O., Government Documents Education, Ontario Department of Education, Educational Pamphlet No. 5, 1914, List of Reproductions of Works of Art, Toronto, Cameron, 1914, 31 p.; and, Julien R. Seavey, "Picture Study in Schools", in The School, Vol. 1, No. 2, October, 1912, p. 117-119.

25 "Reproductions of Masterpieces", lead editorial in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, May 15, 1913, p. 6.

26 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1913, p. 115.

Board authorized that another picture exhibit be held and the proceeds again be used for the purchase of reproductions.²⁷ Twenty-four hundred feet of white oak picture moulding was ordered²⁸ and a man hired to construct two hundred picture frames.²⁹ More reproductions were ordered in 1914.³⁰ About nine or ten pictures were placed in each school,³¹ with Newlands! hope that

[...] they will be effective when seen from any distance in the room and, when well-framed and properly placed with reference to the wall spaces, they will, without question, be a means of increasing the power of the children to appreciate beauty in any form of art.³²

After four years' effort an exhibition of the Ottawa Public School children's work was held in First Avenue School to show the public what had been accomplished.³³ The results

27 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1914, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1913, Ottawa, Dominion Printing, 1915, p. 75.

28 Ibid., p. 48.

29 Ibid., p. 79.

30 Ibid., p. 99: \$105 spent.

31 "Nine or Ten Pictures Go Into Each School", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, February 9, 1914, p. 1.

32 Newlands, "Art", in Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 54.

33 "Post Impressionism at the Show of Products From the Brains and Hands of Public School Children", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, June 18, 1914, p. 3.

of Newlands' emphasis on drawing and colour work could be seen in the following description in the newspaper:

Some fine pencil and water color drawing by higher grade scholars in [sic] exhibited. In some of the water color drawings of flowers it is noticeable that the pupils were allowed to join color to color, with only a pencil line between instead of a white space.

The teacher who explained the exhibits [...] pointed out [...] that only in Ottawa schools are the young artists allowed to do this. It is presumed that this is but an instance of the principle of freedom that the instructors adopt, for it is much easier to use pencil lines than to do without them. The pupils are allowed to use their own devices to produce effects, so long as the end justifies the means.³⁴

Inspector Albert Leake, who attended the exhibit on the instructions of the Deputy-Minister of Education for Ontario,³⁵ was most impressed by it. He praised the manual training objects made by the Kent Street Fifth Form pupils as "especially deserving of commendation both from an artistic and constructional point of view".³⁶ He considered that "The exhibits of needlework of all grades was the finest that has ever been made of public school needlework in the Province".³⁷ Dealing with the examples of drawing and writing

34 Ibid.

35 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1914, Box 7, 4-874, Item 12, Leake's favourable report on Ottawa's Exhibition of P.S. Work, "Memorandum for the Minister re Exhibition of Public School Work at Ottawa", dated June 25, 1914, p. 1.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid., p. 1 and 2.

displayed on twenty-four by eight foot boards, he judged that

[...] all were of the highest character. The adaptation of lettering to purposes of design and the application of design to leather work were particularly good. This exhibit shows the excellent work that can be done by public school children under proper and expert supervision.³⁸

Leake concluded his Report by praising Putman's whole idea of an exhibition of children's work:

This exhibition is regarded as an experiment and was remarkably successful from every point of view. Properly organized and carried out exhibitions of this character are exceedingly valuable as a means of interesting the people in these newer branches of school instruction.³⁹

He regretted that it had to remain purely local.⁴⁰

Newlands attributed his pupils' accomplishments in art

[...] to the fact that we have tried to reduce the work in drawing to its simplest terms. Non-essentials have been left out and the work has been taken up slowly with the idea of teaching a few fundamental subjects as thoroughly as possible so that nothing later need be unlearned.⁴¹

38 Ibid., p. 2.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.; this was a feeling shared by Chief Inspector John Waugh, who wrote Inspector H. H. Burgess of Owen Sound from Toronto, March 12, 1914, asking what schools in his inspectorate, which had won numerous Departmental art prizes, could exhibit their work at the Central Canada Exhibition: in Ibid., Box 6, 4-831, Folder 1, Item 26.

41 A. F. Newlands, "Art and Penmanship", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1914, Ottawa, January 29, 1915, p. 42.

He also had omitted popular subjects such as pose drawing, figure-illustration and landscapes because "they have little disciplinary value".⁴²

Newlands was pleased that his art classes were beginning to influence other subjects,

[...] and it is particularly noticeable in the improved drawing, colouring, and lettering of the geographical maps. It is to be desired that this influence should spread until its effects are shown in all of the visible results of the school work. Language and spelling papers, letters, essays, diagrams, etc., should be to some extent applied art, that is to say they should be done as well and as tastefully as the limitations of time and other conditions will permit.⁴³

Thus, by 1914, Newlands had made a marked step forward in the training of teachers and pupils in artistic design work.

2. Pottery Classes, 1914-1923.

In April of 1914, Caleb Medcalf, Supervisor of Ottawa's Manual Training classes, gave a significant address to the Manual Arts Section of the Ontario Educational Association. Entitled "Making And Firing Pottery A New Phase Of The Manual Arts",⁴⁴ it suggested that although

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.

44 Caleb Medcalf, "Making And Firing Pottery, A New Phase Of The Manual Arts", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Fifty-Third Annual Convention of the Ontario Educational Association Held in Toronto, April 14, 15, 16, 1914, Toronto, Briggs, 1914, p. 288-293.

Clay modelling has long been recognized as a most valuable form of educational handwork, particularly in the kindergarten and the lower grades of the school, [...] there is little doubt that much more use might be made of this inexpensive and convenient material.⁴⁵

Medcalf acknowledged the close correlation between art and handwork,⁴⁶ and put forth the idea that pottery could give the principles of design real meaning. He then outlined the kind of clay and equipment to be used, giving specific details as to cost, company to order from and construction directions for the damp closet, plaster of paris "bats", galvanized iron pail and wire loop modelling tool.⁴⁷ In order of difficulty, he described the sequence of exercises, beginning with "How to Make a Tile"⁴⁸ and going on to "Bowls and Vases"⁴⁹ and "Glazes".⁵⁰ During all stages, the child was to gain

[...] a clear idea of the fundamental features of each stage from the manipulation of the raw clay to the final production of the finished vessel, an acquaintance and knowledge of an important industry - ceramics.⁵¹

45 Ibid., p. 288.

46 Ibid., p. 289.

47 Ibid., p. 290.

48 Ibid., p. 290-291.

49 Ibid., p. 291-292.

50 Ibid., p. 292-293.

51 Ibid., p. 293.

Medcalf's description was based on his experience with the newly-opened Manual Arts School in which both boys and girls received weekly lessons in clay work.⁵² A kiln was purchased for the School and by the end of 1913 Medcalf reported that, "One batch of work has been fired in the kiln. The result is some very creditable bowls, vases, and tiles".⁵³ In his 1913 Report, as well, Medcalf commended the constructive handwork of the lower grades, which included clay work,⁵⁴ showing that beginnings in this medium were being made throughout the city in the lower grades.

By 1914, Newlands commented on the integration that was developing between the art and manual training classes:

Through the work in pottery a closer relationship was established between the Manual Training and the Art Work of the Manual Arts School and the School for Higher English and Applied Arts - designs being made in the Art classes and carried out in the Manual Training classes. This is felt to be a decided gain to both departments: the fact that the designs were to be applied not only aroused greater interest in their preparation but tended to vitalize the constructive element.⁵⁵

For his part, Medcalf described the results both at the School for Higher English and the Manual Arts School.⁵⁶

⁵² Medcalf, "Manual Training", in Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 62.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Newlands, "Art", in Inspector's Report, 1914, p. 43.

⁵⁶ Caleb Medcalf, "Manual Training", in Ibid., p. 45-46.

In the former,

Some interesting work was attempted in pottery, decorated tiles, tea pot stands, and fern pots being made in clay, afterwards being fired and glazed in the pottery kiln. The design for the decoration was in each case the pupil's own, having previously been prepared in the Art room, so that real and very helpful correlation existed between the two departments.⁵⁷

At the Manual Arts School, as well,

The pottery is [...] taken by both boys and girls and has proved a very fascinating form of hand work, and one that has without doubt great possibilities. All the best work is fired and glazed in the school pottery kiln. As much as possible of the work of mixing and grinding the glazes, watching the firing of the kiln, is attended to by the senior boys under the guidance of the teacher.⁵⁸

By 1916, public attention was drawn to the fine work being produced by the Manual Arts' pupils at an exhibition which "caused great surprise to visitors".⁵⁹ As the reporter elaborated,

Probably the most interesting branch of the exhibition was the pottery. There were on display vases, dishes, candlesticks and jars of all descriptions, which looked, in many cases, as if they had come from a china shop. When it is considered that the children design, mold, bake and glaze the articles themselves it is doubly wonderful.⁶⁰

In an effort to improve the form and quality of the ware, advice was sought from Mr. Joseph Keele, of the Mines

57 Ibid., p. 45.

58 Ibid.

59 "Waller St. School Work Exhibition", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 8, 1916, p. 7.

60 Ibid.

Branch of the Department of Mines.⁶¹ As a result,

He has shown his keen interest in this phase of school work by donating prizes to the value of \$10.00 to the three girls and three boys making the best pieces. From this source, also, some experience has been gained in the use of Canadian clays, clays from Prince Edward Island and from Saskatchewan having been made into pottery and fired.⁶²

After five years of experimentation in the Manual Arts School and the School for Higher English, in his typical style, Putman decided to expand the pottery work throughout the city. Thus, in 1918, Grade Six classes in Percy, Laurier, Glashan and Kent Street Schools began a course in clay work.⁶³ Its design, working through a sequence of problems (window letters, paper weights, square tiles, circular tiles, square receptacles, circular receptacles, candlesticks and lamp stands) bore a distinct resemblance to both the manual training classes (see Medcalf's OEA speech,

61 C. Medcalf, "Manual Training", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1917, Ottawa, January 21, 1918, p. 40.

62 Ibid., p. 40-41; and see, Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1917, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1916, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 87: Keele's offer of prizes accepted.

63 A. F. Newlands, "Art and Penmanship", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1919, Ottawa, January 23, 1920, p. 48; and see, Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For The Year 1919, Also Financial Statement of the Board For The Year 1918, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 13: \$40 tools for clay work ordered.

noted earlier) and the kindergarten clay exercises, which worked through the Froebelian gifts (see 1920 OEA address, "Clay Modelling For the Kindergarten",⁶⁴ by Miss Mabel Cunningham of Ottawa, referred to in Chapter Seven).

By now, Newlands had trained the regular grade teachers sufficiently that they could instruct the pupils in the design phase of the operation, after which the shaping in clay could be done at Kent Street School.⁶⁵ Back in the classroom, underglaze colours were applied. Apparently, much of the pupils' work, although fired, was not glazed because the Board had not yet purchased a ball mill for grinding glaze (it was installed at Kent Street School in 1920).⁶⁶

That June, the school exhibitions featured this first year's effort in pottery, with high praise for the results:

64 Miss Mabel Cunningham, "Clay Modelling For The Kindergarten", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention Held in Toronto April 5, 6, 7 and 8, 1920, Toronto, Wilgress, 1920, p. 284-289.

65 Newlands, "Art and Penmanship", in Inspector's Report, 1919, p. 48.

66 Ibid.

The clay work was a revelation to anyone interested in pottery. Much of it, although made by quite young children, would bring very good prices in an art craft shop. It was modelled and designed individually, and thanks to wise instruction, the children were encouraged to use their own ideas [...]. The result is a large number of beautifully decorated vases, cylindrical and square; biscuit jars, boxes, and tiles. All were glazed in a kiln in Kent Street S[c]hool where Mr. A. Newlands and Mr. J. C. Carter have given the instruction which places Ottawa schools above all other Public Schools in the Dominion in this respect.⁶⁷

The source for this last judgment was apparently Provincial Inspector Leake, who visited the exhibition on June twenty-fourth.⁶⁸ Perhaps repeating his judgment that fall when the pottery was again displayed at the Central Canada Exhibition, The Citizen advertised it as follows:

67 "Exhibition of Manual Work By Scholars", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, June 26, 1919, p. 14.

68 "Most Remarkable Clay Work In The Public Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 26, 1919, p. 11.

The centre of the Public school exhibit will be the pottery display, something in the art line that no other public schools on the North American continent have ever attempted. Ottawa public schools are admittedly pre-eminent in several phases of school work and art work is one of them. The excellence of attainment by the young students of pottery in the local schools is not paralleled even by students of high or secondary schools anywhere else in Canada. Here are displayed vases in many designs, plaques [sic], round and square tiles, paper weights, lamp stands, candlesticks, jewel boxes, biscuit jars, and other useful and ornamental articles. All the work is original [sic] in design and it is safe to say there is nothing like it produced in any other school in the United States or Canada.⁶⁹

As Newlands reported in 1919, "Experts in Ceramics, Sculpture, Handicrafts, and Design pronounced the work remarkable".⁷⁰ He attributed this success once again first to the supervisors' structured, pragmatic approach: "A thoroughly worked-out plan of instruction [...] was kept well within the powers of the pupils".⁷¹ Secondly, he attributed it to the enthusiasm of the pupils and the teachers who kept the quality of work high right up to the close of the term: "A number of pupils who had unfinished

69 "Art Display By Public Schools At Exhibition", in Ibid., September 6, 1919, Saturday addition, p. 35; and see, "High Standard of Efficiency Evident In Every Branch Of The Public Schools Of Ottawa", in Ibid., August 16, 1919, p. 21: "In some lines of art work, Ottawa public schools stand unsurpassed on the continent."

70 Newlands, "Art and Penmanship", in Inspector's Report, 1919, p. 48.

71 Ibid.

articles at the end of the term walked more than two miles several times in the extreme heat during the street car strike in order to complete the work".⁷²

That September six additional classes began this work.⁷³ In 1920, three large orders for modelling clay, amounting to 6,500 pounds, were made to two different companies.⁷⁴ The next year a new pottery centre was opened at Mutchmor School so that eight additional Grade Six classes could be accommodated.⁷⁵ Miss Margaret Stephen was employed to conduct these classes both at Mutchmor and at Kent, as well as teaching the art class at the latter.⁷⁶ Newlands reported, "All of this work is being done most efficiently and a high standard is being attained".⁷⁷

Again, in 1922, the Board expanded its pottery classes. A new centre was opened at York Street School and

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid.

74 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1920, Also Financial Statement of the Board For The Year 1919, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 99, 117 and 211.

75 A. F. Newlands, "Art and Penmanship", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1921, Ottawa, March 1, 1922, p. 46.

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid.

now over nine hundred pupils were taught pottery.⁷⁸ Newlands added,

On account of the successful use of the damp cupboards at Mutchmor and York Street Schools we feel that we have solved the problem of keeping the work of large classes of pupils in perfect condition.⁷⁹

Kent Street School had a kiln ordered from England and installed that year.⁸⁰ Newlands predicted, "The reopening of this centre will greatly facilitate the handling of material by saving much time and effort in the finishing operations of all the work turned out in the three centres".⁸¹

In 1923 a fourth centre was opened at Elgin Street School.⁸² Moreover, a slightly used pottery kiln was purchased from one of the manual training teachers, A. Crowson.⁸³

78 A. F. Newlands, "Art and Penmanship", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1922, Ottawa, January 4, 1923, p. 57.

79 Ibid.

80 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1922, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1921, (n.p., n.d.) p. 269.

81 Newlands, "Art and Penmanship", in Inspector's Report, 1922, p. 57.

82 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1923, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1922, (n.p., n.d.) p. 191.

83 Ibid., p. 21.

Two thousand pounds each of white and coloured pottery clay⁸⁴ were ordered that year, besides the usual order of 1,200 pounds of pottery clay.⁸⁵ By this time, 1,200 children, or all those in Grade Six were taking pottery lessons.⁸⁶

Putman was very proud of these classes and had four leading specialists inspect and evaluate them. Their comments he included in his Annual Report for 1923. Dr. J. W. Robertson of the Royal Commission on Technical Education was impressed both by some of the finished objects, and by the workmanlike habits instilled in the pupils.⁸⁷ They were able to think clearly, draw effectively and complete the plan in the clay form. The late Joseph Keele of the Mines Department, who had observed the work since its beginnings, wrote that he also was greatly impressed with the improvement that had been made.⁸⁸ He found it difficult to believe that such excellent work could be done by children who were so young. A good deal of the success he attributed to the Art

84 Ibid., p. 135.

85 Ibid., p. 89.

86 A. F. Newlands, "Art and Penmanship", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1923, Ottawa, February 7, 1924, p. 42-43.

87 J. H. Putman, "Our School Fads and Other Things", in Ibid., p. 21.

88 Ibid., p. 22.

Supervisor, A. F. Newlands, who knew how to teach good form and design and get these qualities from the pupils.

In the estimation of Dr. S. J. Keyes, Principal of the Ottawa Normal School, no other school exercises were as valuable as the lessons he saw in Miss Stephen's pottery class at Mutchmor School.⁸⁹ The children were able to sketch their own ideas on paper, form the objects in clay, decorate them with combinations of colours and thus produce useful, ornamental and educative artifacts. He believed the clay work superior in quality to that which was being made in other art and paper construction work in the schools.

Putman included another educator's comment:

Mr. McKenzie of New Zealand, a government inspector of schools, who spent two years in Canadian schools in Vancouver and Toronto, assured me that our work in clay modelling was the most artistic and highly educative handwork he had seen in Canada.⁹⁰

After these high compliments were related, Putman wrote that he hoped his pioneering efforts with clay modelling in the public schools would be extended rather than curtailed. To win the public support he needed, he asked parents to "examine what has actually been done and freely express their opinions. If Canadians are ever to surround themselves with things Canadian, we must begin with the

89 Ibid., p. 23.

90 Ibid.

Canadian child".⁹¹

3. Rationale for the Art Programme.

For both Putman and Newlands, the art programme in the Ottawa Public Schools had national as well as cultural importance. Newlands first expressed this in 1915 when he argued that art had "great economic importance".⁹² He cited the recent public awakening to the need for good design in both town planning and public taste:

No matter what the particular life work is to be, a sense of form, colour, and arrangement must always be of great service. Practically every one, whether he will or not, is compelled to use form and colour in his dress and surroundings.⁹³

Then he cited the influence of good design training on the leading industrial nations of the world.⁹⁴ As he concluded, "No country can now hope to compete successfully in the markets of the world for finely manufactured products without years of preparation in artistic and technical training".⁹⁵ He noted the trend in the United States to

91 Ibid.

92 A. F. Newlands, "Art Work In Public Schools", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1915, Ottawa, January 26, 1916, p. 53.

93 Ibid., p. 54.

94 Ibid., p. 54-55.

95 Ibid., p. 54.

have art specialists teach all seventh and eighth grades.⁹⁶ "This is one of the means that is being taken to prepare for European competition in what may properly be called manufactured art products",⁹⁷ he added.

For Canada, because of the small number of producers, the chief value of the art instruction from the economic point of view, in Newlands' estimation, was the extent to which it trained pupils to be discriminating choosers.⁹⁸

Two years later, Newlands used another argument. As a result of a magazine inquiry on the aim of art instruction in elementary school, Newlands submitted the twenty reasons elicited and their order based on frequency of response. He began his discussion, then, by stating, "There was practical unanimity among the correspondents regarding the first four statements".⁹⁹

At the top of the list was the idealist's claim that art develops the appreciation of the beautiful.¹⁰⁰ This meant, according to Newlands, the appreciation

96 Ibid., p. 55.

97 Ibid.

98 Ibid.

99 A. F. Newlands, "Art", in Inspector's Report, 1917, p. 37.

100 Ibid., p. 38.

[...] of all things of good form and colour. It means good taste or judgment in discriminating between good and bad in the appearance of clothing, household furnishings, and decorations, vehicles, gardens, buildings, streets; in short, anything shaped, coloured, or arranged by human hands.¹⁰¹

It was for this reason that the Ottawa Board had made a start to create an artistic environment by holding the picture exhibitions and thereby raising money to buy reproductions of masterpieces. But the war had interrupted this effort. In the spring of 1917, however, the Board was able to secure the loan of more than a hundred Medici Prints from the collection of the National Gallery of Canada.¹⁰²

As Newlands described them,

These unsurpassed facsimile reproductions in colour of the great paintings of all periods help to surround the pupils with what is good and wholesome in art; they present ideals to the eyes of the children and help to create the desired atmosphere.¹⁰³

Another two reasons for teaching elementary art that Newlands cited from the magazine survey were gaining facility for expressing ideas of form, and cultivating accuracy of observation.¹⁰⁴ To these ends, the Ottawa Public Schools taught nature and object drawing. Newlands attested that a

101 Ibid.

102 Ibid.

103 Ibid.

104 Ibid., p. 39.

prominent American art teacher, who had travelled to all the important centres in North America, "remarked that the Ottawa nature drawing not only is accurate, but also has an artistic quality unusual in the work of public school children".¹⁰⁵

The final aim, that teaching of elementary art gave skill of hand, Newlands claimed was being attended to by his practice in lettering. He reported,

Well-formed, spaced and massed freehand lettering demands a considerable degree of skill, and in this department there is reason to feel that the work in many of our schools is far above the average.¹⁰⁶

In 1918, Newlands acknowledged that, due to economic conditions in manufacturing centres and to pragmatic demands of society, American schools were revising their public school art courses.¹⁰⁷ As he explained it,

105 Ibid.

106 Ibid.

107 A. F. Newlands, "Art", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1918, Ottawa, February 5, 1919, p. 44.

The call has been for more design and less drawing. Figure illustration, pose drawing, and landscape painting have been largely discontinued. The new emphasis is upon the application of art to everything that touches human life in the home, the office, or the factory. Utility it is claimed is the key to everything in life that is worth while. The aim is to teach design that is fundamentally well organized according to aesthetic laws and to apply it to things of vital interest in the daily living experiences of school children. This new course was launched under the name of Industrial Art.¹⁰⁸

Newlands' criticism of the extremists of the movement was that "the number of possible experiences related to more or less permanent articles made by pupils is so limited that without abstract exercises in design there would be little opportunity to develop a sense of pattern [...]".¹⁰⁹

Efforts to institute Industrial Art courses had been undertaken with success in the Ottawa Public Schools. Stick printing was introduced into the primary grades,

[...] the implements consisting of stamps of wood in the form of circles, squares, triangles, and oblongs. These type-forms are used with prepared water color in printing decorative forms, singly as page ornaments, or as combinations in producing rosettes, borders, and all-over patterns. Pupils soon gain an appreciation of the limitations of the stamps which in no way hamper inventiveness, but rather tend to foster manual dexterity.¹¹⁰

Another experiment in Industrial Art was begun that spring with costume designing using cut paper on supplied

108 Ibid.

109 Ibid.

110 Ibid., p. 45.

figure shapes.¹¹¹ Newlands felt that important lessons in simplicity of dress could be learned through this medium.

But the medium that Newlands considered superior to all others was clay:

Clay is a particularly responsive medium involving a building up and growing process - thought shaping itself in concrete form. Of all materials clay, on account of its plasticity, is undoubtedly the most suitable for purpose of design; the form may be changed with a few touches and the variety of contours, applied design, and possible color schemes is practically unlimited.¹¹²

This thought was echoed by Putman in 1923 when he defended his Grade Six clay modelling course. He argued,

Modelling in clay is the cheapest and most perfect method known for the expression of form. When objects made in clay are coloured and glazed we have a combination of form and colour, the essential elements of art. Every great educator has recognized the value of modelling. Froebel, Parker and Dewey are outstanding examples. Clay is the simplest and most perfect means of expression used in our kindergartens.¹¹³

Thus, Putman's primary reason for introducing art into the schools, as Newlands', was an aesthetic one, to improve the general standard of Canadian taste, which he found deplorable. As he wrote in 1923 and repeated in

¹¹¹ Ibid.; and see, "Art Display By Public Schools At Exhibition", in The Citizen, Ottawa, September 6, 1919, Saturday addition, p. 35.

¹¹² Newlands, "Art and Penmanship", in Inspector's Report, 1919, p. 49.

¹¹³ Putman, "Our School Fads And Other Things", in Inspector's Report, 1923, p. 20.

1938,¹¹⁴

We have built so many ugly houses and public buildings and furnished them with so much tawdry furniture; we have so much in country and town that is uncouth and unsightly because of our lack of taste; we manufacture so little that owes any part of its commercial value to beauty of form or colour; we are so wholly dependent upon foreign countries for ideals and creations of things beautiful that it might be thought our people would welcome with open arms every attempt made in our schools to cultivate the taste of the young.¹¹⁵

The Ottawa Board, therefore, continued its efforts to improve this taste. By 1938, Putman reported that for

[...] an actual cost of only a few thousand dollars the Ottawa elementary schools have a collection of reproductions (one or two schools have purchased some really good original paintings) much better than I have seen in any other schools in Canada or in the large cities of the United States.¹¹⁶

In 1933, a comprehensive display of art work and penmanship from the Ottawa Public Schools was assembled at the request of the New Zealand government.¹¹⁷ The items included over a hundred pieces of pottery work, such as tiles, vases, candlesticks, matchesafes, lamps, and book-ends. The graphic work showed representative samples of artistic and

114 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 73 and 76.

115 Putman, "Our School Fads", in Inspector's Report, 1923, p. 19.

116 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 81.

117 A. F. Newlands, "Penmanship and Art", in Ottawa Public Schools, Chief Inspector's Annual Report, 1933, Ottawa, February 21, 1934, p. 31.

formal designs, water-colour studies of plant life, lino-blocks, posters and examples of illuminating.¹¹⁸ It was highly praised in the New Zealand newspapers, an example being included in Newlands' report.¹¹⁹

As a result of Ottawa's 1934 Exhibition of School Art at the Central Canada Exhibition, an invitation was issued to have a similar display mounted in Toronto at the Canadian National Exhibition in 1935.¹²⁰ Newlands selected "Nature Drawings in water colour and in ink; Still Life in pastel; Linoleum Block Prints on paper and on fabrics; Designs in black and in colour; Lettering and Illuminating; Posters, and Pottery".¹²¹ Over 2,200 square feet of wall space and 270 square feet of table space were utilized and brilliantly illuminated. Great interest was shown in the work, reported Newlands, not only by officials of the Exhibition and other exhibitors, but by many school officials, designers, engravers, painters, printers, ceramists and press representatives. The climax was that

118 Ibid., p. 31-32.

119 Ibid., p. 31.

120 A. F. Newlands, "Art", in Ottawa Public Schools, Chief Inspector's Annual Report, 1935, Ottawa, February 6, 1936, p. 36.

121 Ibid.

The Directors of the Canadian National Exhibition awarded the Ottawa Public School Board a beautifully designed Gold Medal for the excellence of the exhibit.

After the close of the Toronto Exhibition at the request of the Secretary of the Ingersoll Art Gallery [...] a large selection of one wall exhibit was loaned to the Gallery for an exhibition of one month's duration.¹²²

The Royal Ontario Museum requested that the pottery be sent to a special exhibit of Ontario Potteries in connection with a convention of ceramists in February.¹²³

Thus, Putman could affirm confidently after twenty-five years that

[...] I cannot believe that the thousands of boys and girls now for the most part men and women - who received art lessons in the Ottawa Public Schools are quite as they would have been without this instruction. You could not watch them in the art rooms and note the joy they show over every bit of good work, the satisfaction they have because they have created something and then believe that their lives will not in some way be changed because of this experience.¹²⁴

George Tait attributed a good portion of this success to the dynamic leadership provided by Putman and Newlands. He concluded that, "In cities such as Toronto, Ottawa, Windsor and London excellent work was accomplished through the interest and initiative shown by inspectors, supervisors and

122 Ibid.

123 Ibid., p. 37.

124 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 77.

teachers".¹²⁵

4. Vocal Music.

Since 1906, under the able supervision of James A. Smith,¹²⁶ the Ottawa Public Schools taught vocal music to its pupils (see Chapter One). As Putman acclaimed,

His engagement was a stroke of good fortune for the children of Ottawa. His success as a teacher and trainer of teachers has been quite as much owing to his personal qualities of cheerful good humour and optimism as to his undoubted musical talent. When he enters a classroom whether it be a primary, intermediate or senior grade he is greeted with smiles of approval. No higher tribute can be paid to a teacher.¹²⁷

From the beginning, as Putman noted,¹²⁸ Smith's aim was to teach the children to read tonic sol-fa and staff notation and to teach rote singing mainly for its aesthetic and disciplinary value. He began by conducting teachers'

¹²⁵ George Edward Tait, A History of Art Education in The Elementary Schools of Ontario, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1957, p. 158.

¹²⁶ Patricia Connolley, "Has Guided Musical Education of 300,000 Ottawa Children James A. Smith Is Commencing 35th Year as Supervisor of Music in Public Schools", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, September 12, 1940, p. 16; and see, Jas. A. Smith, "Place of Music in Schools is One of Great Importance", in The Citizen, Ottawa, August 14, 1939, p. 14.

¹²⁷ Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 83.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 84.

classes three days each week for five years.¹²⁹ After six years he reported that "there is not a class in any school where the children cannot read at sight from the Tonic Sol-fa notation, and the senior classes are making fair progress with the Staff notation [...]."¹³⁰ He was pleased with the quality of tone which the children produced, "and the lack of shouting so common in school singing, a feature which has been commented upon by several visitors from other cities who have heard the children sing".¹³¹ Putman attributed the success also to

[...] the versatility, resourcefulness and adaptability of the ordinary grade teacher in meeting a new situation. Real talent for teaching music is probably almost as rare as real talent for teaching art and yet at least 80 per cent. [sic] of our grade teachers, under competent supervision, have been able to secure really good results in both art and music.¹³²

One handicap noted by Smith in his first Report was that music was not recognized by the departmental authorities as of equal importance as other special subjects on the curriculum.¹³³ As a result, only fifteen minutes a day

¹²⁹ Jas. A. Smith, "Music", in Inspector's Report, 1911, p. 30.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 84.

¹³³ Smith, "Music", Inspector's Report, 1911, p. 30.

could be given to it and it was taught by the regular class teacher aided only once a month by the Supervisor.¹³⁴ This discouraged Smith, for by 1913 he wrote,

It would seem that we have reached a stage in our musical education in which [sic] the schools from which under the present conditions we cannot make much if any progress. The time for study is limited, and as our school system grows my supervisory visits necessarily become less frequent. If at any time we can have more expert supervision, real steps forward could be reasonably expected.¹³⁵

There was a great variation in quality of music taught, Smith judged, dependent largely on the musical ability of the staff. He suggested spreading the musical talent among the schools more judiciously as a corrective.¹³⁶

Putman made a start, however, in the general improvement of music throughout the system by insisting that all kindergarten teachers have musical training (see Chapter Seven) and by ordering twenty-two pianos to be "more or less for use in the schools".¹³⁷

The enjoyment of singing by the pupils and the "remarkable advances"¹³⁸ made by the senior grades in reading

134 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 84.

135 Jas. A. Smith, "Music", in Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 50.

136 Ibid.

137 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1913, p. 219.

138 Jas. A. Smith, "Music", in Inspector's Report, 1914, p. 38.

staff notation heartened Smith, for his 1914 Report was much more positive. In 1915 he noted that there was "a distinct advance in the ability of the pupils to read music in both tonic sol-fa and staff notations, and, [...] a decided appreciation of the relative merits of quality and quantity of tone".¹³⁹

This was "strikingly displayed"¹⁴⁰ at the annual school concert in Dey's Arena at the end of May, when 1,200 pupils formed a choir and sang national anthems of the allied nations and patriotic songs.¹⁴¹ The quality of the singing was praised by the newspapers. The Citizen reported that

[...] everyone voted the chorus of fifteen hundred small, sweet voices as it rang in the dark recesses of the big hall to be a treat well worth going a long way to hear. It has often been remarked that Canadian children do not sing as the children of older countries do. Mr. Jas. A. Smith, supervisor of music for the public schools, and the teachers who had trained the children in the schoolrooms, has [sic] exploded this theory.¹⁴²

And The Ottawa Free Press judged it a high point in Smith's career:

¹³⁹ Jas. A. Smith, "Music", in Inspector's Report, 1915, p. 50.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ "Ottawa Public Schools Annual Concert, Friday Night in Dey's Arena", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, May 27, 1915, p. 2; and see, "Annual Concert Of The Public Schools", in Ibid., May 29, 1915, p. 1.

¹⁴² "Public School Children Give Fine Program", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 29, 1915, p. 2.

From every standpoint also, the concert was a distinct success, surpassing anything of the nature ever before attempted here. It will prove a red letter day in the history of the public schools of Ottawa and reflects great credit on the teachers [...].¹⁴³

The Concert Committee donated \$150 of proceeds to a special account of the Board for eye examinations and glasses for poor children.¹⁴⁴

Putman's hiring policy of acquiring good teachers for the Ottawa schools began to benefit Smith, as well, for from 1915 on he remarked in his reports about the natural ability and enthusiasm of the new teachers attending his classes.¹⁴⁵ These qualities gave him "high hopes for their future success as teachers of music".¹⁴⁶

The following year, the annual concert at Dey's Arena was even larger, with 1800 massed voices singing so well they made the five thousand members of the audience join in.¹⁴⁷ That year, too, operettas were performed in two

143 "Public School Pupils Score Huge Success", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, May 29, 1915, p. 2.

144 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For The Year 1915, Also Financial Statement of the Board For The Year 1914, (n.p., n.d.) p. 130-131.

145 Smith, "Music", Inspector's Report, 1915, p. 50.

146 Ibid.

147 "Public School Pupils' Annual Song Festival", in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 3, 1916, p. 13.

schools.¹⁴⁸ Breeze Hill Avenue School produced "The Cruise of the Trundle Bed" under the direction of the talented Miss Florence Jamieson.¹⁴⁹ It was performed at the Russell Theatre to raise funds for the Red Cross Society and The Citizen pronounced it a decided success, especially the singing:

The various choruses by the children were sung in splendid harmony, which reflects credit on the director, Miss Florence Jamieson, who spent much effort and worked untiringly to make this part of the program successful.¹⁵⁰

In 1917, First Avenue and Elgin Street Schools held cantatas, which "delighted overflowing audiences of parents".¹⁵¹ Another successful concert was held in Dey's Arena: "Some 1700 with sweet and well trained voices made the very air melodious".¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ Jas. A. Smith, "Music", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1916, Ottawa, February 7, 1917, p. 26.

¹⁴⁹ "School Children Cleverly Present Little Operetta", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, March 2, 1916, p. 10.

¹⁵⁰ "Public School Children Give Fine Program", in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 2, 1916, p. 11.

¹⁵¹ Jas. A. Smith, "Music", in Inspector's Report, 1917, p. 34; and see, Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1917, p. 226.

¹⁵² "The Public School Children Present Program of Merit", in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 8, 1918, p. 3.

In 1918, as George Campbell Trowsdale wrote, the Department at last considered music to be an important means of developing aesthetic appreciation and self-expression.¹⁵³ Grants were based partly on whether or not a supervisor's certificate was held by the director of music. To obtain it, he had to undertake and pass two departmental summer courses.¹⁵⁴ Thus, despite his overseas qualifications, Smith was sent by the Ottawa Board to summer school in Toronto in 1917.¹⁵⁵

Musical supplies, including gramophones and phonograph records could also receive provincial aid.¹⁵⁶ Thus, the Ottawa Board in 1920 agreed to pay half the cost of a gramophone for any school, provided the school raised the

¹⁵³ George Campbell Trowsdale, A History of Public School Music in Ontario, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1962, p. 118.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 179; and see, Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For The Year 1921, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1920, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 151: four teachers and Jas. A. Smith sent to Toronto; and see, P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1923, Box 113, 2-987, File III, Item 4, Music Grants: A. T. Cringan, "List of Music Grants to School Boards", (n.d.), Ottawa P.S. Bd. \$30 and Jas. A. Smith \$60; A. T. Cringan, "List of Music Grants to Boards For Calendar Year Ending December 31, 1922", Ottawa P.S. Bd. \$30 and \$60 for Smith.

¹⁵⁵ Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1917, p. 105.

¹⁵⁶ Trowsdale, Op. Cit., p. 179.

other half.¹⁵⁷ As the Minister's Report of 1919 put it, "Music and art are seen to be no longer mere adjuncts to education. They are channels for self-expression. They train the imagination. They open the eye to the beautiful in nature".¹⁵⁸

By 1923, the Department wrote Putman asking for the names of his qualified art and music teachers.¹⁵⁹ He replied that as well as his two supervisors,¹⁶⁰ three teachers were certified to teach music.¹⁶¹ All were choir leaders in their own schools and, he continued,

I think they are doing a fine work and deserve recognition in this way. They devote more time to the teaching of music than would be given by the Supervisor of Music in a small school.¹⁶²

157 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1920, p. 141; and see, Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1922, p. 76: \$100 expended for phonograph records.

158 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For The Year 1918, Toronto, Wilgress, 1919, p. 8.

159 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1923, Box 113, 2-987, File III, Item 2, Music Grants, 1923, copy of letter of Colquhoun, dated Toronto, May 4, 1923.

160 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1917, p. 105: A. F. Newlands also sent to Toronto summer course by the Board.

161 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1923, Box 113, 2-987, File III, Item 2, letter of Putman to Colquhoun, dated Ottawa, May 7, 1923.

162 Ibid.

As Putman mentioned, school choirs had begun in 1919.¹⁶³ Smith appeared to be very pleased with their efforts:

A new departure which promises great success was launched this fall when school choirs were organized in the different schools. The choir consists of from forty to sixty of the best voices in each school and these singers are given extra practice after school hours by teachers selected because of their musical abilities. The progress already made is surprisingly good and I look forward to being able to display the work of these choirs to the public in the near future. Two choirs have already sung before public audiences and have been the subject of much favourable comment by discriminating critics. Too much credit cannot be given to the teachers who give so liberally of their own time in the interest of good singing.¹⁶⁴

Harking back to the deep influence on him of the Toronto choirs under his friend Lew Rees (see Chapter Two), Putman considered the school choir an important aspect of school life.¹⁶⁵ It was important for uncovering special talent, for providing an exacting standard to encourage pupils to do their best. But, even more important,

¹⁶³ J. A. Smith, "Music", in Inspector's Report, 1919, p. 43.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 85.

[...] another aim is the enrichment of the corporate social life of the school. The choir is an aid in building up a healthy school spirit and is the backbone of every entertainment when parents and friends visit the school. A by-product rather than a conscious aim of a school choir is its disciplinary value. More than any other school activity the choir requires of the child perfect self-control and close attention to the leader's direction. It also frequently demands self-sacrifice because many practices are outside of regular school hours. The refining influence upon the whole school is marked.¹⁶⁶

5. Violin Classes.

For these reasons, also, Ottawa pioneered the introduction of public school violin lessons in Ontario in 1919.¹⁶⁷ A precedent for them was the 1917 Amendment to Clause Eleven of the Rules for Public School pupils, which the Ottawa Board changed to allow absences for a one-hour period per week to take instrumental music lessons¹⁶⁸ (provided they did not conflict with sewing, cooking or manual training). This indicated the importance Putman attached to music lessons. In his own family all nine children, with the exception of the two older boys, took piano lessons, at one time

166 Ibid.

167 Trowsdale, Op. Cit., p. 478.

168 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1917, p. 51; four years later, the Department amended the School Law to allow the music lesson absences provincially: see, Trowsdale, Op. Cit., p. 185.

necessitating two pianos and practising beginning at seven o'clock in the morning.¹⁶⁹

In 1918, the Ottawa Public School Board hired "an excellent English violinist and teacher, Donald Heins, [...] to initiate violin classes in the schools".¹⁷⁰ He was given permission to instruct teachers on the violin every Saturday morning.¹⁷¹ They, in turn, had to pledge that they would assist him in instructing pupils in violin playing after four o'clock.

Heins described his organizational procedure in an important address to the Ontario Educational Association in 1923.¹⁷² In September, 1919, the first violin classes were

169 Interview with Miss Irene Putman, March 6, 1972; and see, J. H. Putman, "Secondary Education for Girls", in The School, Vol. 1, No. 1, September, 1912, p. 20: "Music is the most popular of the fine arts. It appeals to all classes. It is immediately practical because it bears so directly, and with such an elevating influence, upon family life." He advocated high school vocal and instrumental music lessons in the course of studies.

170 Trowsdale, Op. Cit., p. 478; and see, 'Mr. Donald Heins' "In The Public Eye", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, January 24, 1912, p. 6 and picture; and, "The Work of Donald Heins", lead editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, April 16, 1914, p. 14.

171 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1918, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1917, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 156-157.

172 Donald Heins, "Violin Classes in the Ottawa Public Schools", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Sixty-Second Annual Convention Held in Toronto, April 2, 3, 4, and 5, 1923, Toronto, James, 1923, p. 444-447.

begun. They were open to pupils of Grades Four, Five and Six.¹⁷³ The pupils were to provide their own violin "outfits", consisting of

[...] a very satisfactory violin, bow, case, box of resin, extra set of strings, pitch-pipe for tuning, a violin stand and the Mitchell Public School Violin Class Method. The violins are fitted with a chin and shoulder rest, and patent non-slip pegs. Each violin has a finger-board chart added at slight additional expense. The whole outfit costs less than thirty dollars.¹⁷⁴

The children were placed "in Strathcona formation, about four feet apart".¹⁷⁵ At first they were taught the names of the open strings and the first finger positions. Then, a blackboard open string drill was written down and, while the children played, the instructor accompanied them on the piano with, "say, Dvorak's 'Humoresque'".¹⁷⁶ The assistant teachers travelled between the rows of children correcting faulty positions as they played. Three times a year individual tests were given to determine the pupils' progress in time, tone, correct notation, bowing, position, and sight-reading. Heins noted,

173 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1919, p. 138.

174 Heins, "Violin Classes", in OEA Proceedings, 1923, p. 444.

175 Ibid., p. 445.

176 Ibid.

Four main classes usually develop out of these tests. First, musical, quick minds, obviously talented; second, average musical ability, but slow mentally and slower to develop; third, unmusical, but anxious to acquire - plodders; fourth, do not even remember the names of notes, their position on the staff and finger board [...].¹⁷⁷

After two years of public school instruction, it was expected that talent would be unearthed.¹⁷⁸ For some it would lead to a profession, for others to a hobby. In 1920, Heins had 140 pupils being taught in six centres.¹⁷⁹ Many of the children, he added, had sought private instruction as a result of these classes. By the end of this first year he decided that pupils below Grade Five did not have the necessary concentration for the course. He also announced that an orchestra was being formed. Its members were composed of the twenty best players from each school, who formed a "Master Class".¹⁸⁰ By the end of June, 1921, they were able to perform the first movement of Schubert's "Unfinished Symphony" with great success. "The violin sections were made up entirely of public school pupils [while] the remaining sections were augmented by members of the Ottawa Symphony

177 Ibid.

178 Ibid., p. 444-445; and see, Donald Heins, "Violin Classes", in Inspector's Report, 1920, p. 27.

179 Ibid.

180 Heins, "Violin Classes", in OEA Proceedings, 1923, p. 445.

Orchestra",¹⁸¹ of which Heins was the conductor.

By 1922, Heins' classes were so successful that the Board extended his hours of instruction from twelve to eighteen hours per week, and his salary was increased to \$2,400.¹⁸² Fifteen teachers assisted him (at a rate of fifty cents to a dollar an hour),¹⁸³ ten being public school teachers, two ex-public school pupils, and three his own private pupils.¹⁸⁴ There were 395 pupils and fifty-four orchestra members.¹⁸⁵ The practice teachers, as well as assisting Heins once a week, conducted a weekly "supervised practice class", which he found improved the children's performance considerably.¹⁸⁶

In 1923, the Ottawa Public School Orchestra had fifty-four violins, two clarinets, two cornets, a flute and drums.¹⁸⁷ Its repertoire included the first movement of

181 Ibid., p. 445-446.

182 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1922, p. 99 and 105.

183 Ibid., p. 221.

184 Donald Heins, "Violin Classes", in Inspector's Report, 1922, p. 48.

185 Ibid., p. 47.

186 Ibid., p. 48.

187 Heins, "Violin Classes", in OEA Proceedings, 1923, p. 446.

Haydn's "Military Symphony", the "Minuet" from Mozart's "E flat Major Symphony", Rubenstein's "Romance", selections from Handel's "Messiah" and smaller selections from school orchestra books.¹⁸⁸

Heins concluded that his work,

[...] is planting seeds upon erstwhile barren ground. It is certainly sowing vast tracts of mentality with food upon which the mind may feed in the years to come, when the inordinate passion for material interests is waning and giving place to the spiritual necessities.¹⁸⁹

6. Evaluation of Music Programme.

In 1920, the Ottawa Public Schools held their first choir competition.¹⁹⁰ These festivals had been introduced to Ontario by Putman's friend, Lew Rees (see Chapter Two), who had seen them in England on a visit there in 1908.¹⁹¹ Toronto had held choir festivals since 1909, and Hamilton began in 1919.¹⁹² Mr. A. T. Cringan, Ontario's Supervisor of Music, adjudicated Ottawa's competition and was quoted as

188 Ibid.

189 Ibid., p. 447.

190 Jas. A. Smith, "Music", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1920, Ottawa, January 19, 1921, p. 26.

191 Trowsdale, Op. Cit., p. 493.

192 Ibid.

saying not only that all the entries were very fine but "that he should go back to Toronto and tell them they needed to take a leaf out of Ottawa's book in the matter of training school children in music. He classed the whole exhibition as remarkably good".¹⁹³

Cringan was very impressed with the excellence of Ottawa's violin classes, as well.¹⁹⁴ He was quoted in The Ottawa Journal as saying that "Ottawa was the first city of his knowledge to introduce teaching of musical instruments in the schools".¹⁹⁵

It was fortunate that he had made this commendation for in the municipal elections eight months later, the Board was heavily criticized by the President of Ottawa East's Municipal Association, J. Firth, for increasing Heins' salary to \$1,600 a year for twelve weekly hours of violin teaching.¹⁹⁶ Public School Trustee Moffatt of Capital Ward thought only wealthy children benefited from these violin lessons, and he believed extra lessons in handwriting would be more beneficial

193 "Osgoode Street School Choir Is Adjudged Best", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 29, 1920, p. 2; and see, "Six School Choirs In Singing Contest", in Ibid., May 22, 1920, p. 9.

194 "School Choir Contest Won By Osgoode", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, May 29, 1920, p. 10.

195 Ibid.

196 "Criticize Board For Increasing D. Heins' Salary", in Ibid., January 11, 1921, p. 7.

than time devoted to the mastery of the violin.¹⁹⁷ At the inaugural meeting of the Public School Board for 1921, eight days later, Chairman Chapman is quoted as saying that he "strongly defended the action of the board at its last meeting in granting an increase in salary to Mr. Donald Heins, violin teacher [...].¹⁹⁸ Trustees Gowling and Hill endorsed the chairman's stand, saying that public school violin classes were not a fad for wealthy people's children; they provided opportunity, as well, for those unable to pay for private lessons.¹⁹⁹ Gowling had attended each class held in Kent Street School and was reported as amazed at the splendid progress made by the pupils.²⁰⁰

A letter to the Editor a month later also came to the defence of Putman and Heins. The writer concluded, "Ottawa may not be musical but it is certainly making manly efforts in that direction and men like Dr. Putman and Mr. Heins are setting an example which will surely bear good fruit".²⁰¹

197 Ibid.

198 "Elect Chapman To Be Chairman of School Board", in Ibid., January 20, 1921, p. 16.

199 Ibid.

200 "Trustee Chapman Heads The Public School Board of 1921", in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 20, 1921, p. 3.

201 J. Collins, "Music In The Schools", letter to the Editor, dated Plattsville, Ontario, in Ibid., February 21, 1921, p. 14.

At this time, Miss Mae Skilling, a teacher in the Toronto public schools, addressed members of the Women's Canadian Club, saying that in Ottawa's violin classes the city was superior to any other city in the province as far as music education was concerned.²⁰² It was probably her to whom Smith referred, when he wrote in his 1921 Report:

A distinguished teacher of music from Toronto visited our schools during the past year and commented very favourably on the quality of tone she heard and thought our sight-reading quite equal to any she had heard in Toronto.²⁰³

In Cringan's adjudication of the nine choirs participating in the competition of 1921, he said that "he was greatly impressed with the great advancement over the work he heard here last year".²⁰⁴ He is reported to have stated emphatically that the standard of singing in Ottawa's public schools was very high indeed.

The violin playing had improved a great deal during the year, as well. The forty violin pupils performing at that June competition were described as playing

202 "Music In Schools Of Great Benefit", in Ibid., March 17, 1921, p. 2.

203 Jas. A. Smith, "Music", in Inspector's Report, 1921, p. 26.

204 'T.J.P.', "The Public School Choirs Competition", in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 1, 1921, p. 2.

[...] in a finished manner that Ottawa may feel proud of and boast about. The tone was full and round, the intonation good and freedom in bowing excellent. Big results may be looked for in the near future from this very important branch of our public school music. The audience was deeply impressed with the violin playing of the children proving Mr. Heins is producing results that ensure the teaching of the violin to the school children is more than worth while.²⁰⁵

Many of the violin pupils continued their studies that summer under the instruction of two private teachers, showing "the enthusiastic interest in music which has been fostered by the public school board of this city",²⁰⁶ the newspaper noted.

By 1922, editorials in The Citizen²⁰⁷ were backing Putman's progressive music policies against critics of his "fads and frills".²⁰⁸ At the Ottawa Public School Concert in June of that year, The Ottawa Morning Journal judged the quality of performance so high that

205 Ibid.

206 "Violin Classes Of The Public Schools", in Ibid., August 10, 1921, p. 3.

207 "Music In The Schools", editorial in Ibid., April 3, 1922, p. 16; and, "Ottawa Public School Orchestra", editorial in Ibid., June 16, 1922, p. 18; and, "Children Respond To Music", editorial in Ibid., June 20, 1922, p. 16; and, "School Frills and Fads", editorial in Ibid., November 4, 1922, p. 22.

208 "Again Voices His Protests Against Frills And Fads", in Ibid., November 3, 1922, p. 12.

Those Jobs who have shaken their heads at the fads and frills promoted by [the] Ottawa Public School Board would have been converted in a twinkling by the recital of the public school orchestra in the Collegiate Institute auditorium last evening. It was an exhibition that amply vindicated the principle of having musical training in the primary schools, and provided a remarkable demonstration of the teaching genius of Mr. Donald Heins, the conductor and instructor of violin pupils. The children, most of whom were less than 14 years old, gave a programme that senior musicians could not but admire, following their conductor with a child-like precision that was a great asset in attaining a good result.²⁰⁹

The Board itself at a special meeting moved a vote of congratulations to all teachers who had contributed toward making the concert the "grand success it was. Those taking part deserve all the praise that can be accorded them".²¹⁰ A balance of \$475.40 was realized from the event.²¹¹

By 1923, the choirs were singing in two and three parts. A central choir of select voices from all the schools and trained by Smith sang A. S. Vogt's "Indian Lullaby", a work written for the women's section of the Toronto Mendelssohn Choir.²¹² As T. J. Palmer wrote, it

²⁰⁹ "P.S. Orchestra Gives A Recital Of Much Merit", in The Ottawa Morning Journal, Ottawa, June 17, 1922, p. 10.

²¹⁰ Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1922, p. 139.

²¹¹ Ibid., p. 149.

²¹² T. J. Palmer, 'Public School Choir Concert', "Music", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 26, 1923, p. 4.

[...] was an achievement to boast about. It was well sung, not only from a technical standpoint, but also from an interpretative point of view. The blend of the parts was excellent, and the attack was all that could be desired. I trust that Mr. Smith will feature the choir of select voices every year, for the results have proved the venture to be well worth while. Mr. Smith conducted the choir himself.²¹³

This choir won the prize shield for junior choral work at the Ottawa Eisteddfod (a choir festival) held at the Russell Theatre.²¹⁴

By this time, the public school orchestra (with sixty-four public school pupils participating) could give its own concert and play pieces such as selections from Handel's "Messiah", this last "excellently played, especially the Hallelujah chorus".²¹⁵ Two hundred violin pupils provided "a most inspiring sight [...] playing with very creditable intonation, good sense of rhythm and musical conception of phrasing",²¹⁶ at the June Concert.

213 Ibid.

214 "Public School Choir Regains The Edwards Challenge Shield By Defeating Pembroke Entry", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, April 6, 1923, p. 2; and see, Smith, "Music", in Inspector's Report, 1923, p. 45.

215 T. J. Palmer, 'Public School Orchestra Concert', "Music", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 11, 1923, p. 4; and see, 'A.E.F.', "Orchestra Of Public Schools Sets A High Standard of Skill in Performance of Much Merit", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, May 11, 1923, p. 16.

216 T. J. Palmer, 'Public School Violin Classes Exhibition', "Music", in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 12, 1923, p. 4; and see, 'A.E.F.', "Public School Pupils Show Skill On Violin", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, June 12, 1923, p. 10.

After twelve years of effort by Putman, his Board, Smith and Heins, the public agreed more and more that the humanistic values of the music programme were worth supporting. As the Editor of The Citizen expressed it,

[...] if education is to be a 'means of life and not a means to livelihood', then musical instruction should be retained. No other subject, it is safe to say, can serve better to lay the foundations of cultural development in the citizens of tomorrow, and it is quite certain that Mr. Donald Heins carries on his arduous work as much for the love of the thing as for the money that is in it.²¹⁷

By supporting talented supervisory staff, such as Smith, Heins and Newlands, advertising their high quality work by means of concerts and exhibitions,²¹⁸ as well as using the thousands of dollars raised to finance school activities which could not be paid for out of taxes,²¹⁹ Putman won over both Board critics and the taxpayers of Ottawa.²²⁰

217 "School Frills And Fads", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, November 4, 1922, p. 22.

218 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 198-203.

219 Ibid., p. 202.

220 Ibid., p. 88.

Thus, his astute leadership was able to successfully promote these progressive reforms²²¹ in art and music in the Ottawa Public Schools.

221 In 1927, the Ottawa Board began band lessons under Lieut. W. B. Finlayson, and Mr. Donald Heins, who left for Toronto, was replaced by Mr. Drury Pryce: see, Jas. A. Smith, "Music", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1927, Ottawa, January 18, 1928, p. 37 and 38; in 1928, public school piano instruction was begun: see, Jas. A. Smith, "Music", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1928, Ottawa, February 5, 1929, p. 34; in 1932, the Glashan School Choir performed at the Ontario Educational Association Convention: see, Jas. A. Smith, "Music", in Ottawa Public Schools, Chief Inspector's Annual Report, 1932, Ottawa, February 21, 1933, p. 19; Putman's chapter on "The Value of Music and Art as School Subjects" from the 1924 Putman-Weir Report was reprinted in his Inspector's Annual Report, 1930, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 21, 1930 [sic], p. 43-45; the previous year he had devoted a section to "Music As A School Subject", in J. H. Putman, Inspector's Annual Report, 1929, Ottawa Public School Board, Ottawa, February 17, 1930, p. 24-25.

CHAPTER X

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

During the first twelve years of Putman's Inspectorship, the physical education programme underwent a gradual transformation. The emphasis on patriotic drills and military efficiency (see Chapter One) continued to prevail under the Strathcona Trust Plan during the war years. Rifle practice, cadet camp and the formation of cadet corps occupied the time of the senior boys and Supervisor E. J. Collins. Competitive inter-school team games, often suffering from the minor evils of semi-professional sport, also were popular, particularly hockey and football. In an attempt to check these evils the Public School Athletic Association was organized by several Ottawa teachers.

In the meantime, girls and younger children were not benefiting from proper physical training. Putman thus encouraged several dynamic women teachers to acquire their elementary physical training certificate and to coach their fellow teachers. He sent several to Columbia and Harvard Universities to learn about the new art of eurhythmics and folk dancing. In 1919 classes in these dance forms were set up throughout the primary grades. Physical training in the form of calisthenics expanded under departmental guidance and with the construction of gymnasias in the schools.

Gradually, Putman's humanistic attitude to the value of play, organized physical exercises and games attained equal status with the prevailing military drill and competitive athletics, which had dominated the physical education programme when he arrived in 1910.

1. The Strathcona Trust in the Ottawa Public Schools.

Putman recorded in 1938 his evaluation of the physical education programme on his arrival in 1910:

When I associated myself with the Ottawa Public Schools in 1910 I found the physical side of the educational system much in advance of the average in at least two respects: efficiency in military drill and organized inter-school contests in football and hockey. Both these activities were fostered by the Board but with this difference: the military drill and rifle shooting had received a big push from the active interest of three trustees who were or had been colonels in local military companies while inter-school football and hockey were in the hands of a number of enthusiastic school principals and male assistants.¹

After his first year, Putman commended the Board for its excellent care of pupils' health, by "providing well-ventilated school-rooms, airy play-rooms, and well-kept playgrounds".² He noted that provision had been made "to

1 J. H. Putman, Fifty Years at School, An Educationist Looks at Life, Toronto, Clarke Irwin, 1938, p. 111.

2 J. H. Putman, "Physical Training", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1911, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, December 18, 1911, p. 23.

encourage organized play by supplying pupils with footballs, basket balls, wands, Indian clubs, and dumbbells".³ The senior boys for many years had had military drill and rifle practice, as well as gymnastics.⁴ But he asked,

If physical exercise is a good thing for a boy of fourteen years in the Senior class, ought it not to be a good thing for a boy of seven, nine, or eleven, in First Book, Second Book, or Third Book classes? And if a good thing for boys, ought it not to be good for the girls who will be the mothers of the next generation? Ought the big boys to enjoy a monopoly of physical training?⁵

Some slight change in direction seemed to have been accomplished by the end of that year, for Putman mentioned that the Drill Instructor was

[...] gradually assuming a supervision of the physical training of all pupils, old and young, boys and girls. In many of our classes the boys and girls are now taking physical exercises together, either under their class teacher or under Mr. Collins.⁶

E. J. Collins himself reported that nearly all the boys and girls above Grade One were given fifteen to twenty-five minute lessons in physical culture during the fall and winter

³ Ibid., and see, Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1910, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1909, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, 1911, p. 59: 655 pairs of dumbbells and 355 pairs of Indian clubs ordered.

⁴ Putman, Inspector's Report, 1911, p. 23.

⁵ Ibid., p. 24.

⁶ Ibid.

terms.⁷ But, in the main, this Report and subsequent ones until 1920 dealt with details of rifle shooting and military drill.

Putman thought that the work of the Strathcona Trust would soon encourage physical training for both boys and girls.⁸ Half the prizes offered were for physical exercises for the pupils and half for military drill and rifle practice. As to the latter, Putman admitted his own attitude between 1914 and 1938 changed a great deal.⁹ In 1911 he was not averse to military training, particularly if the results were "strong, healthy, and graceful bodies".¹⁰ His conception of military training, though, leaned more toward gymnastics:

In my opinion, a system of military training for schools may be more largely made up of gymnastics than it is at present. Prompt obedience to a command, orderly mass movements, rapid changes in forming ranks, and graceful marching to music are as essential a part of any good system of gymnastics as they are a part of military drill, and in these lie the great educational advantages of both military drill and gymnastics.¹¹

7 E. J. Collins, "Physical Training", in Ibid., p. 29.

8 Putman, "Physical Training", in Ibid., p. 24.

9 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 112.

10 Putman, "Physical Training", in Inspector's Report, 1911, p. 24.

11 Ibid.

A key prerequisite for good physical education, Putman emphasized, was the training of the regular grade teacher. As he wrote,

The Department of Education assumes that every public school teacher in Ontario will become duly qualified to instruct his or her own pupils in physical training, and the Minister of Education has already completed arrangements with the Dominion Militia Department to send qualified officers to instruct the teachers until all shall be fully competent.¹²

Thus, with the special help from the Militia Department (through the Strathcona Trust), the supervision of Collins, special training of several Ottawa teachers of both sexes, and the start made by a number of teachers to master the prescribed text-book on gymnastics, Putman had high hopes for 1912.¹³

The Strathcona Trust, to which Putman alluded, was established in 1909 by Lord Strathcona, formerly Donald Smith of the Canadian Pacific Railway and, in 1909, Canada's High Commissioner to London.¹⁴ While Sir Frederick Borden was Canada's Minister of the Militia, he completed arrangements to have Lord Strathcona support the training of Canada's

12 Ibid., p. 25.

13 Ibid.

14 Norah Story, The Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature, Toronto, Oxford, 1967, p. 781; and see, "Lord Strathcona Canada's Grand Old Man, Is Dead In London, Eng. [sic]", in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 21, 1914, p. 1.

school children in military drill and rifle practice.¹⁵ (The Strathcona essay prize, referred to in Chapter Three, in which Putman won a seventy-five dollar fourth prize, was sponsored by the Trust Fund.)

Overtures to the Ontario Government were made as early as May of 1909. Colonel Eugene Fiset wrote a letter to Dr. R. A. Pyne, Ontario's Minister of Education, and invited him to be Vice-President of the Executive Council of the Strathcona Trust.¹⁶ Perhaps listening to the anti-militaristic resolution of the Ontario Trustees' Association,¹⁷ Premier James Whitney rejected¹⁸ the original conditions laid down by Sir Frederick Borden,¹⁹ and asked for

15 "Lord Strathcona's Gift", editorial in The Morning Citizen, Ottawa, March 25, 1909, p. 6; and see, "What the Strathcona Grant Means", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 26, 1909, p. 6.

16 P.A.O., Whitney Papers, MSS, 1909, May 1st to 6th, letter from Colonel Eug. Fiset to R. A. Pyne, dated Ottawa, May 5, 1909, p. 2.

17 "Military Work In the School", in The Citizen, Ottawa, April 16, 1909, p. 4: resolution against compulsory military training in the public schools passed by the Trustees' Section of the Ontario Educational Association.

18 P.A.O., Whitney Papers, MSS, 1910, January 24th to 31st, copy of Memorandum for Sir James Whitney from A. H. U. Colquhoun, dated Toronto, January 24, 1910.

19 Department of National Defence, DHIST, 506.009 (D14), "Strathcona Trust", dated May 4, 1909, p. 2: (c) conditions included the Department of Education encouraging the formation of cadet corps and (b) all teachers to have a physical education certificate as part of their teacher's certificate.

more liberty in carrying out the terms of the Trust, especially with respect to female teachers' compulsory physical education training.

By October of 1911, the Department was ready to issue instructions regarding the Strathcona Trust. Four thousand dollars was allocated to Ontario for 1911.²⁰ The competitions to be set up under the Trust would be based on the Trust's "Syllabus of Physical Exercises".²¹ Throughout the province, instructors from the Department of Militia and Defence would give courses of instruction beginning in January of 1912 based on this syllabus.²²

Part of the terms of the Trust was that an Executive Committee appointed by the local teachers had to manage the yearly competitions in accordance with the Strathcona Trust

20 "The Strathcona Trust (Instructions No. 10a)", dated October, 1911, in Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1911, Toronto, Cameron, 1912, p. 257-258; and see, "School Cadet Corps (Instructions No. 10)", in Ibid., p. 250-253; and, "The Strathcona Trust (Instructions No. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$)", in Ibid., p. 254-257.

21 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 38, III, Item 35, Military Training in Public, Separate or High School, "The Strathcona Trust, Instructions No. 10", dated October, 1912.

22 Ibid., Box 50, Item 5, Form 50^a), November, 1911; re Syllabus of Physical Exercises for Public Elementary Schools, copy of letter from R. A. Pyne dated December 12, 1911.

Regulations.²³ Putman reported at the end of 1911 that the Ottawa teachers had organized this Executive Committee.²⁴ Sergeant Spalding, a Dominion Government officer, was sent by the Department of Education to give instruction to Ottawa teachers in physical exercises, beginning May sixth, 1912, in Elgin Street Public School.²⁵

On June first at the Annual Concert at Dey's Arena, as well as the choir singing, there were interesting drills executed under Sergeant Collins. As the newspaper noted, "Perhaps the greatest interest of the evening attached to the Strathcona competition for physical drill by different classes".²⁶ These drills were judged by three military men and the prize, the Strathcona Competition Shield, was awarded

23 Ibid., Box 38, III, Item 35, "Strathcona Trust, Instructions No. 10a", dated October, 1912.

24 Putman, Inspector's Report, 1911, p. 24.

25 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1912, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1911, (n.p., n.d.) p. 105; and see, "New Trustee In Attendance", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 3, 1912, p. 2.

26 "Public School Concert Held", in Ibid., June 1, 1912, p. 2.

to Glashan Public School.²⁷

Another feature of the evening was a ribbon drill given by girls of Kent Street School under Miss Gertrude MacArthur.²⁸ Dressed in white with blossoms in their hair, the girls executed their "movements [which] were decidedly graceful, and the drill passed off without a hitch",²⁹ reported the newspaper.

Putman's assessment of the event was that

In every case the work done by the pupils under the direction of their teachers was most creditable, and I have been assured by scores of parents who saw the exhibition of their hearty approval of the work.³⁰

In future, Putman suggested, the Executive Committee proposed to divide the schools into two or three groups to avoid unfair competition among schools of different sizes.³¹

27 "Annual Presentation Public School Prizes", in Ibid., December 7, 1912, p. 2; Putman reported that the shield was a "handsome bronze one" and that Principal Frank Perney was given a gold locket. The prizes were presented by the Honourable Colonel Sam Hughes, Minister of Militia: see, J. H. Putman, "Physical Training", Inspector's Annual Report, 1912, Ottawa Public Schools, December 30, 1912, p. 22.

28 Interview with her sister, Miss Christina MacArthur, Ottawa, on February 9, 1974: Gertrude was later sent by Putman to Columbia University, New York, to learn about sight-saving classes, which she then set up in Ottawa in 1930.

29 "Public School Concert Held", in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 1, 1912, p. 2.

30 Putman, "Physical Training", in Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 22.

31 Ibid., p. 23.

As a result of the militia training programme for teachers, which was continued in October of 1912 and was to be completed in March of 1913, Putman reported that a number of teachers were to be qualified to teach physical training.³² Sergeant Collins praised the teachers for their effort: "I think that they deserve a great deal of credit for the very hearty and enthusiastic way in which they have co-operated in the carrying on of this work".³³

Putman described the prescribed exercises from the Strathcona Syllabus, which were carried on in the classrooms:

The exercises most used by teachers are free gymnastics suited for both boys and girls and capable of being performed in the regular class-rooms. Sometimes teachers prefer to take the pupils to a basement playroom. Sometimes the exercises are taken in the playground in the open air. In every case the exercises are planned to strengthen and develop the lungs, the limbs, the muscles, or the carriage of the children. Usually a lesson lasts ten or fifteen minutes. Often exercises are taken in the class-room which require only three, four or five minutes.³⁴

But, although Collins reported that he was giving about fifty-six lessons a week in physical training, and that great progress had been made by the pupils during the year, a thorough physical training course could not be given until

32 Ibid., p. 22.

33 E. J. Collins, "Physical Training", in Ibid., p. 36.

34 Putman, "Physical Training", in Ibid., p. 22.

the public schools built gymnasias and every grade teacher became qualified. These measures did not come into effect, however, until the early 1920's.

In the meantime, war clouds were worrying both the Dominion Government and the Colonels on the Ottawa Public School Board. In December of 1911, Colonel Anderson suggested at a Board meeting that six cadet companies be established with fifty boys in each, which the Militia would supply with uniforms, provided the citizens of Ottawa raised one thousand dollars to help pay the cost.³⁵ Colonel White added that for the past two years there had been no school cadets and that rifle practice was now being conducted by the Rifle Association. In his opinion, the Strathcona Trust Syllabus, based on a similar British one, included excellent drills. Inspector Putman added that it also contained particularly good physical exercises.

An editorial in The Citizen in January of 1912 commented on the fact that the Dominion Government would be establishing summer training for forty thousand cadets with the object of building up Canada's militia force.³⁶ Further announcements in the newspapers through the spring highlighted

35 "Military Drill in the Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, December 8, 1911, p. 2.

36 "The Cadet Movement", editorial in Ibid., January 3, 1912, p. 6.

the plans being made by the enthusiastic new Minister of Militia, Colonel Sam Hughes, who was a firm advocate of the cadet movement.³⁷ It would appear from Putman's criticism of the arrangements, however, that they were completed too late to be effective for 1912. He reported,

For the first time in its history the Canadian Militia Dept. [sic] this year conducted Cadet Camps for boys. The one for this district was held at Barriefield near Kingston. Unfortunately, the details of the arrangement were not completed until after our schools were closed in June. It was, therefore, impossible for us to use our school organization to aid this movement.³⁸

Although one thousand Ottawa boys were at first expected to attend,³⁹ only thirty-five actually went, under the supervision of Sergeant Collins.⁴⁰ Putman, Principal

37 "Camp For Cadets", in Ibid., February 7, 1912, p. 11; and, "Canada's Move [sic] Cadet System", in Ibid., March 18, 1912, p. 2; and, "Col. Sam Hughes Gives Reasons For Military Training of the Boys", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, March 18, 1913, p. 4.

38 Putman, "Physical Training", in Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 23; and, corroborating editorial, "The Cadet Movement", in The Citizen, Ottawa, July 17, 1912, p. 6; and, "Grant To Teachers", in Ibid., July 5, 1912, p. 12; and, Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1912, p. 139: recommended that a grant of twenty-five dollars be paid any male teacher who attended this summer military school and secured a certificate as a cadet instructor.

39 "School Boys Going To Camp", in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 26, 1912, p. 14.

40 Putman, "Physical Training", in Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 23; and see, "Ottawa Cadets Set The Pace", in The Citizen, Ottawa, July 27, 1912, p. 10.

McNabb and D. S. Kemp went along to inspect the camp for its educational value. In his Annual Report for 1912, Putman described it as follows:

We found some 700 boys in Camp, and after spending six days there in watching every phase of the work we came home convinced that the plan has much to commend it, and no real dangers if boys are accompanied by their own teachers. The Militia Dept. [sic] provided free transportation, tents, blankets, and food. A boy might have gone from Ottawa, to return a week later, without having spent a penny of his own money. Every real need was supplied by the Camp authorities. The water was pure, the blankets clean, the food wholesome and plentiful. The instruction consisted partly of military drill and partly of physical exercises. If a similar camp is held during 1913 I am hoping that our schools may send a large contingent of boys.⁴¹

Putman noted that during the summer of 1912, seven male teachers, including three principals, had attended one of three different schools and had acquired their certificates as Cadet Instructors.⁴² Thus, their services would be available for any future cadet camps.

In 1912, Putman, despite his New Education curricular philosophy, was not averse to military training. He discussed the controversy surrounding its inclusion in the schools in his Report for that year,⁴³ and stated first,

⁴¹ Putman, "Physical Training", in Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 23.

⁴² Ibid.; and see, "Teachers Are Expected Back", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, August 15, 1912, p. 8.

⁴³ Putman, "Physical Training", in Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 23-25.

I am one of the last persons who would wish to glorify war or to aid in the cultivation of a jingo spirit among our youth. I cannot see, however, that a sane military training should make a boy blood-thirsty or quarrelsome, or that it should lessen his feeling of brotherhood for all mankind. On the contrary, we are more likely to meet strangers frankly, courteously, and kindly when we are so disciplined and under such perfect self-control that we are sure of ourselves. The dangerous man is the undisciplined man.⁴⁴

Then he analyzed what he thought was the major fault with Canada's current military training programme:

The root difficulty with our military training in Canada has been that we have not taken it seriously. The majority of our most sturdy, intelligent and upright people have said by their actions, if not in so many words, that they will have nothing to do with any form of soldiering. [...] Largely this attitude has arisen from our unwillingness to make any material sacrifice of either time or money. [...]

The result has been what might naturally have been expected. Military training was left to a few enthusiastic believers in it. These real enthusiasts were so few in number that they have made comparatively little progress.⁴⁵

Putman believed that either military training should be abolished, or the system should be reorganized toward the training of boys from fourteen to eighteen years of age.⁴⁶ He pointed out, "Compulsory training [sic] need not, and does not, mean compulsory service in time of war".⁴⁷ He

44 Ibid., p. 24.

45 Ibid., p. 24-25.

46 Ibid., p. 25.

47 Ibid.

finally concluded about the military training offered in the Ottawa Public Schools for the past twenty years that

I have yet to learn that the military training given at school seriously interfered with other school work or that it lessened in any way the boy's value as a future private citizen. On the contrary, it has probably had a general disciplinary effect upon all the boy's activities. I shall, therefore, feel, unless the Public School Board should change its whole attitude towards military training, that I am bound to support any movement to improve it as long as its improvement and extension moves along lines which do not conflict with legitimate school aims, and along lines which give a maximum of attention to physical development, with a minimum of attention to purely military affairs.⁴⁸

As a result of this pragmatic assessment of the Board, government policies and, probably the world's political state, Putman did not comment again on physical training until after the 1914-1918 War. Sergeant Collins was sent to a special physical training course in Toronto, run by the Militia Department,⁴⁹ and his reports for the next five years increasingly emphasized the military drill and rifle shooting aspects of the Strathcona Trust Plan, as well as the results of the Strathcona Competition.

During the war years the cadet programme flourished. In 1913, the cadet camp was attended by 216 public school

48 Ibid.

49 "Public School Board Oppose Tax Pooling", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 7, 1913, p. 5.

boys under Sergeant Collins and ten teachers.⁵⁰ Again, in 1914, 150 boys, seven teachers and one trustee attended.⁵¹ A cadet corps was formed in Ottawa in 1914, consisting of seven companies, which received the second highest grant (\$350) in the province.⁵² By 1918, fourteen companies were listed for the Ottawa Public Schools, surpassed in the province only by Toronto with thirty-eight.⁵³ In 1923, denoting the shift in Collins' responsibilities toward more physical training and less time with military drill and cadets, the Board accepted the offer of the Department of National Defence to supply a Sergeant to train the cadet

50 E. J. Collins, 'Cadet Camp', "Physical and Military Training", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1913, Ottawa, December 31, 1913, p. 52; and see, Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1913, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1912, (n.p., n.d.) p. 155: Collins paid \$15 by the Board.

51 "Cadets Going to Camp", in The Citizen, Ottawa, July 6, 1914, p. 7; and, E. J. Collins, 'Cadet Camp', "Physical and Military Training", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1914, Ottawa, January 29, 1915, p. 41.

52 Collins, 'Cadet Corps', in Ibid., p. 40-41; and see, Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1914, Toronto, Cameron, 1915, p. 595.

53 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For The Year 1918, Toronto, Wilgress, 1919, p. 302.

companies.⁵⁴ (During the war, as well, twenty of Ottawa's teachers, several of whom had taken the qualifying summer course, formed part of the Home Guard.⁵⁵) As Collins assessed the worth of the cadets during the war,

The Cadet system has proved and is still proving its worth on the battlefields of Europe. I think it opportune to mention here that the number of Cadet-trained Public School boys who have left school to don the khaki is almost one hundred. Of this number two are at present known to have made the supreme sacrifice for the Empire, and reports show the usefulness of those still in line a usefulness largely due to experience acquired as Cadets.⁵⁶

During these years, the Strathcona Competition became so large that it was separated from the Annual Concert and became, from 1913 on, a General Field Day of Sports, held at Lansdowne Park usually at the beginning of June.⁵⁷ As the first one was described,

54 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1923, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1922, (n.p., n.d.) p. 171.

55 "School Teachers Form Home Guard", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, November 27, 1914, p. 7.

56 E. Jas. Collins, "Physical and Military Training", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1916, Ottawa, February 7, 1917, p. 26-27.

57 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1913, p. 93 and 119.

Probably the feature of the entries [was ...] the Strathcona Trust competition. This competition was open to physical exercise classes. These exercises included deep breathing, head bending, arm stretching and bending, body bending, stretching and turning shoulder blade exercises and dance steps.⁵⁸

From the beginning, the Strathcona Trust had emphasized the necessity of training competent teachers. The difficulties involved in this were highlighted in a paper delivered in Ottawa before the Dominion Educational Association in 1913 by Miss Ethel Cartwright, Physical Director of the Royal Victoria Hospital, on "Physical Education and Its Place in the School; The Function of the Strathcona Trust and the Problem of the Training of Teachers".⁵⁹ In an effort to solve these difficulties, the Ontario Government offered

⁵⁸ "First Annual Field Day of Local Public Schools; 377 Entries, Great Day's Sport", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 31, 1913, p. 12; and see, "Field Sports of Public School Children Today", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, June 7, 1915, p. 1 and 4: 3,000 children participated; by 1919 the public school girls were described as excelling themselves and with fine spirits: in, "Elgin Street School Pupils Won The Public Championships", in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 4, 1919, p. 10; and, "Elgin Street Pupils Carried Off School Championship On The Tenth Annual Field Day", in Ibid., June 13, 1922, p. 13; "Hopewell and Cambridge Tie For School Championship", in Ibid., June 5, 1923, p. 14: over 1,000 contestants and 100 events.

⁵⁹ "Unsportsmanlike Methods of Play To Be Done Away With By Physical Training", in Ibid., August 22, 1913, p. 2; and see, Ethel M. Cartwright, "Physical Education and the Strathcona Trust", in The School, Vol. 4, No. 4, December, 1915, p. 307: "[...] I state emphatically and unreservedly that the military teacher, be he ever so good, is not the right person to teach physical exercises to women."

an allowance of fifteen dollars to any teacher, male or female, who followed at least thirty hours of a physical training instructional course.⁶⁰ Two women teachers, Miss H. B. Lough and Miss Florence Jamieson, as well as Sergeant Collins (as mentioned earlier), were sent to Toronto on full salary by the Ottawa Board.⁶¹ Miss Jamieson then asked permission of the Board to conduct physical training classes for teachers during July.⁶² Within a year, the results, as seen in a demonstration by their pupils on Parliament Hill, were described as "a great success [...] one of the finest exhibitions of physical work by children that has ever been witnessed in Ottawa".⁶³ The Citizen elaborated its "propaganda" intent:

60 "Training Of Teachers", in The Citizen, Ottawa, September 4, 1913, p. 1.

61 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1913, p. 49; and again Miss Jamieson and Collins attended a summer course in 1917 at the Board's expense: see, Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1917, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1916, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 131 and 105.

62 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1913, p. 137; in 1915 the women teachers requested the Board's permission to use the assembly hall of Elgin Street School one evening a week to take a physical training course conducted by Miss Crawford of the Y.W.C.A.: see, "School Board Refuses Grants to Enlisted Employees' Wives", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, December 3, 1915, p. 14.

63 "Public Schools In Drill Competition", in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 4, 1914, p. 5.

The exhibition will consist of exercises in breathing, head turning, arm stretching, body bending and other drills. The demonstration will go to show parents and others interested in the public schools just what can be accomplished within a year in the way of physical instruction to the pupils.⁶⁴

Thus, despite Putman's lack of formal reporting on the progress of the physical training programme during the war years, and Collins' preoccupation in his reports with the military aspects of the Strathcona Trust Plan, progress was taking place in the Ottawa classrooms,⁶⁵ largely through the dynamic leadership of teachers such as Miss Jamieson. One could predict the natural evolution of these Strathcona exercise drills, as carried out by Miss Jamieson's class, into her later eurhythmics' lessons from the following description in 1916:

64 "Physical Exhibition", in Ibid., May 29, 1914, p. 7; and see, description of Miss Jamieson's Breeze Hill class presenting a demonstration of Strathcona Drill, in "Public School Pupils Presented With Diplomas Won During the Past Year", in Ibid., February 20, 1914, p. 2; and again, before the Ottawa Teachers' Convention, in "Teachers' Convention", in Ibid., February 28, 1914, p. 2.

65 "Physical Training In Ottawa Schools", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, November 20, 1916, p. 2; and, "The Public School Children Conclude Their Sports With Keen Contests In All Events", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 27, 1916, p. 2.

All of the exercises of the children were neatly performed and some were very pretty indeed. Physical culture as it is done in Ottawa schools, is not altogether a matter of making a series of stiff, awkward movements at the command of a teacher. It is made as interesting as a game and as beautiful as a dance.⁶⁶

Only the men teachers of the staff, at that time supervising inter-school competitive sports as well as running the Strathcona Trust Plan, seemed to find the double standard of the physical education programme and its teacher-training demands difficult to bear. Fifty-seven male teachers taking the military course from the Militia Department in 1916 refused to take also in the afternoon the Department of Education's physical culture course; "after the first day [they] found it too much to take the two courses at the one time. They consequently dropped the physical culture course [...]".⁶⁷ By 1922, however, the difficulties between the two governing bodies appear to have been resolved, for 1,374 male and 4,303 female teachers in the province were taking physical instruction courses at Normal Schools throughout the province under the Strathcona Trust Plan.⁶⁸ By this

⁶⁶ "Public School Pupils' Annual Song Festival", in Ibid., June 3, 1916, p. 13.

⁶⁷ "Teachers Balk At Physical Culture", in Ibid., July 23, 1914, p. 5.

⁶⁸ "Strathcona Trust Physical Courses", in Ibid., December 18, 1922, p. 15.

time, as well, the importance of improving Canada's unfit population, sixty per cent of whose wartime recruits were found to have physical defects, was clear to the public.⁶⁹

Thus, the Strathcona Trust programme, as used in the Ottawa Public Schools, encouraged teachers to acquire training in physical culture, expanded the amount of exercise done by both boys and girls throughout all the grades, and provided a structured, meaningful military training for older boys during the war years.

2. Public School Athletics.

Putman's second complaint about the Ottawa Public Schools' athletic programme in 1910 was the way in which inter-school competitive sports was handled.⁷⁰ Football and hockey were the chief sports, the former played in spring and fall and the latter in the winter.⁷¹ But, the worst offender was hockey. As Putman elaborated,

69 "Physical Side Of Education Very Important", in The Ottawa Morning Journal, Ottawa, April 3, 1923, p. 1 and 2.

70 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 111.

71 Ibid., p. 112.

Hockey claimed most interest. The training period began in November with the first ice and the finals were played in March in a covered arena with parents and friends present to cheer on the contending rivals. The local press took a keen interest and bestowed unstinted praise or severe condemnation according to the sympathy and bias of the sports reporter. Boys were publicly named who made good or bad plays. The sports page was eagerly scanned every morning by thousands of school boys. The school spirit between outstanding rivals was feverish and tense. Even teachers who coached the teams and supervised games were at times dangerously near a quarrel. Good hockey players were coaxed away from one school to attend another and in at least one case it was discovered that a boy from a separate school was having his fees paid by friends in a public school solely that he might strengthen the hockey team.⁷²

To correct these evils, a majority of principals and their male assistants, with Putman's approval,⁷³ formed the Ottawa Public School Athletic Association in 1915.⁷⁴ The Association began by imposing an age limit of seventeen years and a weight limit of 135 pounds on all boys competing in the senior series that winter.⁷⁵ Officially, though, the Association denied that these were anything more than preventive measures:

72 Ibid., p. 112-113.

73 Ibid., p. 114.

74 "Public School Athletics", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, August 28, 1915, p. 14; and see, "Public School Assn. Re-Organized", in Ibid., September 28, 1915, p. 2.

75 "No More 20-Year Olds in Public School Hockey", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, November 15, 1915, p. 9.

Public school hockey officials refute the statement that ringers have appeared in their ranks in recent years. 'Ringers' in this case were boys who entered school around Christmas and left at the close of the hockey season. No such instances, however, have been recorded, declare the school hockey authorities.⁷⁶

And, in a sharp criticism of the above article, McGregor Easson, Secretary of the Ottawa Public School Athletic Association, wrote a letter to the Sporting Editor of The Ottawa Free Press, and said that his charges of "ringing" were highly exaggerated:

These statements suggest part of what the Ottawa Public School Athletic Association is trying to encourage; viz. [sic], clean amateur sport. In doing this we sometimes feel that we do not receive sufficient support from the public and the press. As an example of this, we noticed in Monday's issue of The Free Press [sic] a conspicuous article about alleged 'ringing', reasons for establishing a weight and age limit in the senior hockey series of the public schools, etc. [sic] We felt that you must have received your information from some unreliable source and that the article contained so many mis-statements and exaggerations as to demand a statement of the facts.⁷⁷

(In the Sporting Editor's footnote under this letter he claimed that he obtained his information from a teacher in the public schools and "it was deemed reliable enough to

⁷⁶ "Run the Rowdies Out of Rugby. No More Canuck League Ball", in Ibid., November 16, 1915, p. 9.

⁷⁷ McGregor Easson, letter to the Sporting Editor, in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, November 17, 1915, p. 11.

publish in this paper".⁷⁸⁾ Easson denied the charge that any boy had entered the public school at Christmas primarily to play hockey in the league games and that twenty-year olds, or any boys near that age, had played in the senior league the previous winter. He then laid down future press rules:

[...] we are opposed to the publishing of exaggerated statements and unauthorized partisan accounts of the games. We feel, however, that the press should have, if they wish, facts concerning these sports, and the executive committee in charge will be ready at all times to give these facts.⁷⁹

A week later, the Athletic Association announced that public school hockey leagues would be organized again, but with the aim of having every school represented.⁸⁰ This objective had already been reached in the soccer series that year:

A year's experiment in soccer football in the public schools of Ottawa has resulted in a large number of boys participating in the game. At first it was understood that several of the teachers were opposed to it and wanted rugby, but after the leagues were under way it was found that the sport created more interest than any other that has been tried in the schools.⁸¹

78 Sports Editor, note in Ibid.

79 McGregor Easson, letter in Ibid.

80 "School Hockey", in Ibid., November 26, 1915, p. 10; and see, "Long Schedule of Games Arranged For School Teams", in The Citizen, Ottawa, December 15, 1916, p. 10.

81 "Soccer Football Made a Hit in the Public Schools", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, November 16, 1915, p. 8; the same aim was applied to baseball: "400 Boys Will Compete in Public School Ball League", in Ibid., April 20, 1916, p. 12.

By this time, too, Putman's ambition of having girls participating in sports⁸² was being realized. The girls from the Manual Arts School defeated the Glashan team in the public school girls' basketball championships.⁸³ In time, handball, softball, and hockey teams under women teachers were organized.⁸⁴ Tennis courts were built on some school grounds.

More and more, Putman reported,

[...] the school rinks were used for skating, boys and girls together, and hockey was restricted to definite and reasonable hours. Many school principals arranged for evening supervision of rinks, even inviting parents and friends of the pupils and making the school a social centre.⁸⁵

For three years, the Public School Athletic Association reported its activities in the Supervisors' Section of the Annual Reports. In 1920, although most of the Report was taken up with league and Field Day results⁸⁶ (by this time the Strathcona Executive seemed to be composed of Association leaders), George Pushman asked some very pertinent

82 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 115.

83 "Manuel [sic] Girls Beat Glashan", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, November 16, 1915, p. 9.

84 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 115.

85 Ibid., p. 114.

86 R. Geo. Pushman, "Public School Athletic Association", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1920, Ottawa, January 19, 1921, p. 41-43.

questions regarding future directions of school sports:

[...] is it not a fact that there are even more pupils not participating in these sports than there are those who do take part? Are there not schools which take but little interest in this phase of school life? What of the 'spindle-legs' and the 'thin-chest' who might in time become robust with health by 'getting into the game' but who hold back because they are not good enough for the team? What of the awkward shy fellows who fear to have their clumsy efforts laughed at? Might not some other form of competition enlist their co-operation? Should not our association tackle this problem in conjunction with the school authorities?⁸⁷

He hoped that a day would come when an Athletic Director would be hired by the Board to devote his full time to organizing games, teaching teachers how to direct them, and generally performing the tasks which the Secretary of the Association and the public school principals attended to.⁸⁸

In the following year, Pushman commended the two city newspapers for their splendid co-operation in reporting the games' results of the various schools.⁸⁹ He also praised the "fine spirit of sportsmanship displayed and the absence of rough or ungentlemanly conduct"⁹⁰ in the school games.

87 Ibid., p. 41-42.

88 Ibid., p. 42.

89 R. Geo. Pushman, "Public School Athletic Association", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1921, Ottawa, March 1, 1922, p. 43.

90 Ibid., p. 41.

There were 1,125 participants, both boys and girls, that year which was an increase of 285 over 1920.⁹¹

In his final report in 1922, Pushman told of the Association's sponsorship of two boys to travel to Hamilton and compete in the provincial school championships of the Ontario Athletic Association. They won first and second places in the intermediate and junior hop, step and jump and the junior 220 yard run.⁹² Once again, he commented on the fact that only twenty-five per cent of the intermediate school population participated in the inter-school championship contests.⁹³

The need for assistance to encourage amateur sports and recreation was recognized at this time by the Department of Education, which authorized Mr. Walter Knox, a representative of the Ontario Athletic Commission, to travel around the province and assist and promote amateur sports in the schools.⁹⁴ He visited the eastern part of the province in

91 Ibid.

92 R. Geo. Pushman, "Public School Athletic Association", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1922, Ottawa, January 4, 1923, p. 62-63.

93 Ibid., p. 61.

94 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1922, Box 102, 6-711, Item 7, Games and Physical Training, letters and memoranda through July of 1922 between J. Fowler of Sudbury and Chief Inspector John Waugh.

September of 1922⁹⁵ and ten thousand copies of the Rules of all games played in the province were distributed by the Department free to all schools.⁹⁶

Putman himself was not averse to wholesome athletic competition. He believed, "Some measure of rivalry in games and athletic stunts creates a healthy interest in sport and does no harm if carried on in a proper spirit and kept within reasonable limits".⁹⁷ Putman belonged to the Rideau Curling Club and the Rivermead Golf Club.⁹⁸ His daughter reported that he played tennis very well (they had a tennis court in their back garden), could play a good game of golf and could curl well.⁹⁹ All his sons participated actively in sports, belonging to the Ottawa Canoe Club¹⁰⁰ and the Ottawa Ski

95 Ibid., letter of J. B. Fitzgerald to Deputy-Minister, dated Toronto, September 22, 1922.

96 Ibid., letter of Fitzgerald to Waugh, dated Toronto, October 12, 1922.

97 Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 114-115.

98 Interview with Miss Irene Putman, Ottawa, March 6, 1972.

99 Ibid., December 13, 1972.

100 "Swimming Meet At Rockcliffe Will Attract A Huge Crowd", in The Citizen, Ottawa, August 16, 1913, p. 8: C. Putman entered the 100 yard breast stroke for the annual swimming championships of Eastern Ontario and Quebec; Merritt Putman was expected to win the diving championships five years later: see, "Q. Johnston Won City Championship Swimming Races", in Ibid., August 26, 1918, p. 8.

Club.¹⁰¹ Merritt Putman won the Canadian Junior Ski Jumping Championships for 1915, setting a new Canadian record of fifty-four feet.¹⁰² He was also Canada's combined jumping and cross-country ski representative in the 1928 Olympics, Canada's first year of entry.¹⁰³

Putman spearheaded a few reforms in children's recreational sports before and during the war years, such as buying eight lots across from Hopewell Avenue School for a playground and getting the Board to expend three hundred dollars for playground apparatus.¹⁰⁴ Girls' and boys' swimming lessons by the two "Y's" were organized by the School Board in 1914.¹⁰⁵ A proposal to teach boxing and

101 "Merritt Putman Won Opening Ski Race", in Ibid., January 28, 1919, p. 8.

102 "Omtvedt Gave Great Exhibition But Failed to Create New Record in Ski Jumps at Rockcliffe Park", in Ibid., February 22, 1915, p. 9.

103 Interview with Merritt Putman, Constance Bay, January 8, 1973.

104 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1913, p. 51 and 115-116.

105 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1914, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1913, Ottawa, Dominion Printing, 1915, p. 105 and 115; and see, "Swimming Classes For School Kiddies", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 5, 1917, p. 9; during the war years, the Putman family tented in the summer near Low, Quebec, beside the Gatineau River and the girls were all taught to swim: interview with Miss Irene Putman, February 1, 1974.

wrestling to public school boys in 1919 was approved by Putman¹⁰⁶ (himself an amateur boxer of some ability he often held Saturday night boxing matches with his neighbour in his kitchen, the family looking on¹⁰⁷).

Thus, despite shortages of money, equipment and paid physical education personnel, public school athletics progressed on a modest scale during the war years. A decided check in cut-throat competition was accomplished by the Public School Athletic Association and more opportunity was provided for girls, as well as boys, to participate in organized games. After the war, changes in departmental policy, as well as more money for gymnasias, gymnastic equipment and teachers' training allowed the physical education programme to really flourish.

3. Gymnastic Exercises and Eurhythmics, 1919-1923.

The need for a more active commitment toward physical training was highlighted by Putman in an address to the Urban School Trustees' Association of Ontario, which held its annual meeting in Ottawa in January, 1920.¹⁰⁸ In his

106 "Teach P.S. Scholars The Manly Art Soon", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, June 27, 1919, p. 15.

107 Interview with Miss Irene Putman, Ottawa, March 6, 1972.

108 "The Urban School Trustees To Meet", in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 3, 1920, p. 3.

speech, "Physical Training in Urban Elementary Schools",¹⁰⁹ he made a strong plea for open-air play in the schools of Ontario:

Dr. J. H. Putman, in the course of a forcible address on the subject of 'more play in our schools', reminded his hearers that when the great war [sic] broke out, it found about one-half of the people physically unfit. He believed that this should be sufficient warning for the future. There was one way to make the rising generation both physically and intellectually fit. That was through increased outdoor play in the schools. While school work was important, continued Dr. Putman, play for children up to the age of eighteen years was more important.¹¹⁰

As a result of the strong addresses of both Putman and Dr. John Noble, Chairman of the Toronto Board of Education, a resolution was passed asking the provincial government to remove the current restrictions relating to amounts of money to be spent by boards of education on athletics.¹¹¹

A year later at the Ontario Educational Association's Training Section meeting, Slemon seconded a motion which requested of the Department of Education that physical exercises be encouraged and that

109 Ibid.

110 "'Inspection For Private Schools Is Under Debate", in Ibid., January 7, 1920, p. 5.

111 "T. Sidney Kirby Is President Of Urban Trustees", in Ibid., January 8, 1920, p. 2.

[...] the course in physical training [...] be modified to emphasize very strongly in Training Schools the knowledge and practice of games and athletics in which all be required to participate and if necessary to this end to reduce correspondingly the formal physical drill as typified by the Strathcona exercises.¹¹²

Thus, the questions asked in 1921 by Ottawa's George Pushman of the Ottawa Public School Athletic Association regarding the number of children participating actively in school sports (see previous section two) were being voiced provincially.

These concerns also had been expressed a year earlier in an article, "Physical Education",¹¹³ in Queen's Quarterly by Ruth Clark of Queen's University. As she expressed it,

Most children enjoy games and little children play alone naturally, but team play has to be taught and it should be taught to every child both for his moral and physical welfare. Organized school games are the best means of creating self-control, public spirit, and a healthy love of sport, a training which every child should receive. Games should also be organized after school hours.¹¹⁴

112 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1921, Box 78, 2-994; Item 4, letter of Wm. Prendergast, Secretary of Training Section, OEA, to Colquhoun, dated Toronto, April 13, 1921; copy of resolution dated Toronto, April 11, 1921, enclosed.

113 Ruth Clark, "Physical Education", in Queen's Quarterly, Vol. 27, No. 3, January, February, March, 1920, p. 234-239.

114 Ibid., p. 238.

Thus, the work of Ottawa's Public School Athletic Association was in the spirit of what leading educators were advocating. But in Clark's definition of physical education and the needs of children for systematic gymnastic exercises, Ottawa was not so fortunate. She defined physical education as

[...] the training of the body that it become healthy, strong, well formed, and under perfect control of the will. To acquire this the child should have systematic training in the form of Swedish gymnastics, games, and dancing, and must be taught the laws of health in such a way that in addition to knowledge he acquires good habits during the impressionable years.¹¹⁵

As Putman remarked in 1918, a major handicap was the lack of gymnasias; none of the basement rooms in which the children played in poor weather was

[...] well suited for exercise and none of them are equipped with gymnasium apparatus. In every new school erected in the future I hope we may have a properly equipped gymnasium, including shower baths for pupils.¹¹⁶

In 1919, a fully-equipped gymnasium was established at the School for Higher English which, Collins reported, "made it possible to give every class in that school at least one lesson per week in gymnastic work which is much more

115 Ibid., p. 236.

116 J. H. Putman, "Reforms In Education", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1918, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 5, 1919, p. 27.

interesting and beneficial to pupils of that age".¹¹⁷

Collins went further in 1920. Criticizing the Strathcona syllabus as very formal, he wrote,

As an alternative I would like to suggest that the gymnasiums in all the new schools when completed be equipped with the following apparatus: horizontal bar, parallel bars, horse, high and low spring boards, pair of rings, overhead ladder, Swedish wall, boxing gloves, and six landing mats per gym. This equipment with clubs, dumbbells, and wands already on hand would give us a system equal to any in this country.¹¹⁸

He congratulated the School Board, in 1921, for the "splendid gymnasiums being added to the different schools",¹¹⁹ and hoped that the policy would continue until all schools were so equipped. Five schools in particular were urgently in need of attention because their basement rooms were too small and "unsuitable for physical culture and more particularly the new course in physical training where so much

117 E. Jas. Collins, "Physical and Military Training", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1919, Ottawa, January 23, 1920, p. 44; and see, Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For The Year 1919, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1918, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 12: \$250 worth of gymnasium equipment ordered for the School for Higher English; also, 4 dozen hard baseballs, 10 dozen soft baseballs, 1 dozen footballs, and \$50 worth of other miscellaneous athletic goods ordered to be purchased, in Ibid., p. 101.

118 Lieut. E. James Collins, "Physical and Military Training", in Inspector's Report, 1920, p. 29.

119 E. Jas. Collins, "Physical and Military Training", in Inspector's Report, 1921, p. 27.

running and jumping is called for".¹²⁰

More than equipment was needed, however, to convince both the lady teachers and the girls to adopt the new physical education course, which Collins admitted in 1922, involved a great deal of "romping, running and jumping".¹²¹ He pleaded with the parents not to excuse their daughters from physical training:

This running, playing and romping, this desire for physical training is partly the secret of fine, clear, healthy complexions, gracefulness of form and quickness of movement. The body of a growing girl should be as unrestricted in its development as that of a growing boy.¹²²

Equally, Collins admonished, "To the lady teachers I would like to say that this new physical culture is the very thing you are all in need of. Walking around the classroom is not sufficient exercise".¹²³ He urged them to wear suitable gym dress and to demonstrate the exercises. Since the new gym programme was so different from the previous Strathcona exercises, which, Collins stated, had reached a high degree of perfection, he did not believe that the same standard of

120 Ibid.

121 Lieut. E. James Collins, "Physical and Military Training", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1922, Ottawa, January 4, 1923, p. 51.

122 Ibid.

123 Ibid.

efficiency could ever be attained again. But he urged that each teacher devote ten minutes a day still to the Strathcona exercises and take her class to the gymnasium once a week for a thirty-minute lesson in the new programme. He ended on a positive note:

There is so much freedom about the new calisthenics that the pupils from the lowest to the highest grade are very anxious for the lessons. Now is your opportunity.¹²⁴

Again, in 1923, Collins reported that although physical training showed an improvement over 1922, "I still find a number of teachers who are practically in the same rut as last year, afraid to tackle these lessons".¹²⁵ He suggested that instructional classes be set up for those teachers who were backward with this work.

Apparently, six years later, teachers had been largely persuaded to adopt the new programme, for Collins wrote in 1929,

It gives me great pleasure to report that physical culture in the elementary schools under your charge, during the past year was efficiently taught and excellent work was accomplished, and that the teachers, one and all, are faithful workers.¹²⁶

124 Ibid.

125 Lieut. E. Jas. Collins, "Physical and Military Training", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1923, Ottawa, February 7, 1924, p. 46.

126 Captain E. Jas. Collins, "Physical and Cadet Report", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1929, Ottawa, February 17, 1930, p. 55.

By this time, as well, the programme for the new intermediate schools was modified because the Strathcona Physical Training was considered to be too formal for these senior students.¹²⁷ The high school system of physical training was adopted "giving instruction in horse work, pyramid building, club swinging, dumbbell [sic] work, wand drill, boxing and games of all kinds as well as Strathcona training".¹²⁸ In 1932, these schools adopted the new system of Danish rhythmic gymnastics.¹²⁹ (Putman and the Board had sent Margaret Mitchell to Denmark to learn this system and introduce it to the Ottawa schools.¹³⁰)

Swimming classes, by this date, increasingly were forming part of the physical training scheme, even in the elementary schools. As Collins noted,

With the possible exception of walking, swimming is one of the best forms of exercise for the human body. Training in methods of rescue and resuscitation has considerable social value, while the free contact with cold water contributes in a large measure in the strengthening of the moral character and induces a spirit of hardihood.¹³¹

127 Ibid., p. 54.

128 Ibid., p. 55.

129 Capt. E. J. Collins, "Physical Education", in Ottawa Public School Board, Chief Inspector's Annual Report, 1933, Ottawa, February 21, 1934, p. 33.

130 Interview with Miss Lois Stephenson, Morrisburg, October 9, 1973; in 1923, Miss L. Stephenson was sent to Harvard to take a non-credit course in folk dancing and physical education: see, Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1923, p. 110.

131 Collins, Inspector's Report, 1933, p. 36.

Three years later, Collins gave a two-page report on swimming, noting that it was now a regular lesson in physical training:

Between April 20 and May 21, 2,284 pupils attended the Plant and Champagne Baths for the purpose of receiving three lessons in swimming of thirty minutes duration, and of this 1,382 learnt to swim.¹³²

Thus, after approximately sixteen years of campaigning for effective calisthenics and swimming lessons under the Board's auspices, Collins and Putman could feel at last that all children in the public schools were receiving an adequate physical training programme. In one area, that of eurhythmics and folk dancing, success was achieved almost immediately. This was due partly to the attractiveness of their dance forms, but more probably to the dynamism of the teachers, particularly Miss Florence Jamieson.

In 1919, the Board sent Miss Jamieson once again to Toronto to complete her course in physical training,¹³³ thus qualifying her as a Supervisor. That September she introduced eurhythmics into the physical education programme in the schools. She defined it as follows:

¹³² Captain E. J. Collins, 'Swimming', "Physical Training", in Ottawa Public Schools, Chief Inspector's Annual Report, 1936, Ottawa, January 30, 1937, p. 47.

¹³³ Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1919, p. 99.

By Eurhythmics we mean the art of expressing the rhythm of music through bodily motion or a form of gymnastics which seeks to follow the Greek ideal of dancing and by training the sense of rhythm to develop and balance the mind.¹³⁴

As she explained, it originated in England and the technique involved relating movements to the rhythm of the music. "Along with this we train the imagination by allowing the children through pantomimic exercises to interpret stories suggested by the music",¹³⁵ she added. In a later report,¹³⁶ she described eurhythmics more fully. Apparently, each class entered the gymnasium "to the strains of a rhythmic march, and by the happy faces of the children you will see we have the attention and interest of every Child".¹³⁷ Then, different selections of music were played while the pupils stood and listened. She continued,

The Child who recognizes the dance form first polka, Gavotte, Majurka [sic], etc. goes to the centre of the ring by himself and demonstrates the dance step which suits the music. If it is correct all the others join with him until the music stops. If he is not right he goes quietly back to his place in the circle and waits for some one else to take his place.¹³⁸

134 Florence Jamieson, "Eurhythmics and Folk Dancing", in Inspector's Report, 1920, p. 46.

135 Ibid.

136 Florence Jamieson, "Eurhythmics and Folk Dancing", in Ottawa Public Schools, Inspector's Annual Report, 1931, Ottawa, February 4, 1932, p. 42-44.

137 Ibid., p. 42.

138 Ibid.

The educational advantages of this exercise, she believed, were that the children gained naturalness, poise and confidence. Each child was encouraged to do his best and soon lost his awkwardness and shyness. As well,

He is taught to concentrate, to quickly coordinate mind and body; to listen to and appreciate the best in music; to recognize the time and rhythm and is given an opportunity to create patterns to use with these rhythms.¹³⁹

In the second part of the lesson, the children listened again to music, "not to discover the form this time, but to hear all the notes which are played. They walk the time and the rhythm, then combine the two, next follow rhythmic movements, some presented to the children, and some created by them".¹⁴⁰ Thus, their abilities were developed and their creative spirits guided. The lesson continued with interpretations of "beautiful classical selections, each child giving his own impression of it, and at other times expressing a given interpretation. As a little child once said of a beautiful painting 'It looks the way you feel inside'".¹⁴¹ In this way, rhythm was used as a means "to set up a relationship between the music they hear and that

139 Ibid.

140 Ibid.

141 Ibid.

they have within themselves".¹⁴²

As could be surmised from the above description, the underlying philosophy of eurythmics was idealism. This could be seen clearly in Miss Jamieson's opening definition of education in this 1931 Report:

Education, as we see it, aims at nothing less than the production of individuality through the integration of experience. The whole Child is to be educated. Experience is, not only an intellectual matter - it is physical, rhythmic and emotional. The basis of education is Child interest. The program [sic] of work has a personal connection with the immediate life of the Child. It is concerned with activities which interest him and through which he gains experience.¹⁴³

Thus, it was very much in tune with other New Education aspects of Putman's progressive curriculum, such as the Kindergarten, music, art and handwork programmes outlined earlier.

The second part of Miss Jamieson's class, folk dancing, in fact was very similar to the kindergarten games, which she remarked¹⁴⁴ were already widely taught and thus understood by the public.

From the beginning, this work was taught to all the kindergarten-primary classes, as well as to Grades One, Two

142 Ibid., p. 43.

143 Ibid., p. 42.

144 Jamieson, "Eurythmics and Folk Dancing", in Inspector's Report, 1920, p. 46.

and Three.¹⁴⁵ In the junior classes the period lasted twenty minutes and in the senior grades half an hour. She noted how handicapped they were in twelve schools in 1919-1920 because they lacked gymnasias. The dance classes were given to forty-five hundred children, a number of whom through physical disability could not participate in the more strenuous physical training programme. But the class which showed the greatest physical and mental improvement as a result of these lessons, Miss Jamieson believed, was the Auxiliary Class.¹⁴⁶ She wrote that

These children have not only grown to like this branch of school work but are filled with pride when they attain some proficiency. I find that the self-respect and self-reliance which comes to these children through their ability to master some simple step and the joy they find in doing it has in several cases made a remarkable change in their mental outlook. Formerly they were sullen and backward but have become bright, smiling and interested.¹⁴⁷

Music, executed on the piano by Miss Gladys Lytle, played a "very important part in this art and only the best classical music is used. Even the tiniest tots are developing an appreciation of good music. This is a point not to

145 Ibid.

146 Ibid.

147 Ibid., p. 46-47.

be overlooked when Jazz seems to reign supreme",¹⁴⁸ Miss Jamieson added. She concluded her first report by stating her goal:

We are aiming to make the children natural, spontaneous and self-reliant and to bring a sweetness and purity into their lives. The body is one instrument in this life - one we must keep pure and strong if we are to live completely - to realize life - to master it.¹⁴⁹

In January of 1920, at the Urban Trustees' Association meeting, mentioned earlier, The Citizen commented that

The feature of the entertainment was the exhibition of interpretive and character dancing, given by the younger children of the school, under the direction of Miss E. [sic] Jamieson, an accomplished exponent of the art. The splendid portrayal of the various dances was evidence of the excellent training being received by the pupils in that direction.¹⁵⁰

Again, in February, at the Ottawa Teachers' Institute, Miss Jamieson's Percy Street classes gave a "Greek Group Dance" and Miss Kathleen Bray performed "The Dresden Doll", followed by a talk by Miss Jamieson on "Dancing as a Part of Physical Education".¹⁵¹ It was reported at the annual Strathcona prize-giving ceremony at Elgin School that month

148 Ibid., p. 47.

149 Ibid.

150 "Teachers At Dinner Prepared By Pupils", in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 7, 1920, p. 13.

151 "Ottawa Teachers Hear A Discussion On Juvenile Court", in Ibid., February 20, 1920, p. 2.

that

Miss Jamieson is now engaged in the work of training teachers to instruct their own classes in this feature, which has proved very attractive and popular to the juveniles, and of interest to the teachers themselves, who have taken to the task with avidity.¹⁵²

(One would suspect that the teachers preferred this dance programme, with its controlled music, to the spontaneous running, jumping and romping, described earlier as the new physical training course.)

In 1922, Miss Jamieson was pleased to report that three teachers with special talent were chosen to teach the rhythmic work in their own schools.¹⁵³ They had been sent to Columbia University that summer at the Board's expense to learn the technique.¹⁵⁴ As a result, she intended to give more assistance to others and extend the lessons into the higher grades.

At the annual concert in Dey's Arena that summer, the parents were given a chance to see exactly what these

152 "Elgin St. School Cadets Winners of Strathcona Shield", in Ibid., February 28, 1920, p. 12.

153 Florence Jamieson, "Eurhythmics and Folk Dancing", in Inspector's Report, 1922, p. 49.

154 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1922, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1921, (n.p., n.d.) p. 147, 156 and 184.

classes were doing.¹⁵⁵ A detailed description of the six hundred grades two and three pupils demonstrating these rhythmic exercises and led by Miss Jamieson on a raised platform in the centre was given by the music critic of The Citizen. He began by stating their purpose:

The object of these rhythmic exercises is to teach gracefulness in rhythmic form. It develops the beautiful in movement, and above all, the true conception of rhythm. It was beautiful to the eye, [...].¹⁵⁶

He went on to outline the plot of "A Song of the Robin", which was interpreted by two hundred grade one girls, and then described another dance, "Daisies", performed by sixty little girls. His conclusion showed that he understood the idealism behind this dance form:

The teaching of this form of rhythmic, aesthetic, and interpretive movement is most valuable, for it is impossible to over-estimate the great influence it develops in the child's life to appreciate the beautiful.¹⁵⁷

155 Jamieson, "Eurhythmics and Folk Dancing", in Inspector's Report, 1922, p. 50.

156 T. J. Palmer, 'Annual Public School Concert', "Music", in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 10, 1922, p. 4.

157 Ibid.; and see, "Music In The Schools", editorial in Ibid., April 3, 1922, p. 16: "Related to music in their capacity to elevate and bring a greater beauty to life are eurhythmics and folk dancing, [...]. Besides tending to encourage joy in the lives of the younger members of the community, this training also imparts health and grace and an eager enthusiasm in the daily tasks of those whom it reaches." - echoing Miss Jamieson's reports.

As in his other programmes, Putman used these demonstrations and newspaper accounts to try to counter the adverse criticism of some parents and trustees. In 1923, he wrote,

Some criticize the teaching of music and others the teaching of graceful rhythmic Greek dances and physical exercises to little children. Strange to say nearly all these people favour the kindergarten, which accepts these activities as the very basis of its educational programme. [...] many seem to think that while self-expression through play and concrete material is quite proper for children of five or six, the whole method ought to change as soon as the child becomes seven and enters a primary class. Nature knows nothing of such changes. Only gradually as adolescence approaches at twelve or thirteen years does the child lose in some measure his desire to express himself through the concrete.¹⁵⁸

Thus, for Putman it was the sound psychology behind the eurhythmics and folk dancing programmes which influenced his decision to give them his active support. They, as the physical training course, captured the interests of the children and developed their physiques in a natural manner. But eurhythmics added the further dimension of self-expression to make it truly an art form which could lead the child into a higher spiritual realm. As Miss Jamieson expressed it,

¹⁵⁸ Putman, "Our School Fads and Other Things", in Inspector's Report, 1923, p. 19.

What we are trying to do is to give the children an inspiration to fill their lives with a joy which will make them laugh at defeat or failure, to love the beautiful and the good, and to never be content to give the world less than their 'best'.¹⁵⁹

After twelve years, then, Putman had expanded the range of physical education in the Ottawa Public Schools to include not only girls and primary pupils but also non-competitive, physically or mentally disabled and artistic children. The Strathcona Trust programme had launched physical training in the public school classroom. But changing attitudes after the war, as well as more money to build gymnasias and train physical training personnel, had broken through its military formalism and sought increased freedom through calisthenics (girls' gymnastics), eurhythmics and folk dancing. At the same time, boys' and girls' athletics became more participatory and the evils of semi-professional sport were cut down by the Ottawa Public School Athletic Association. The humanistic goal of New Educators, to have a sound body supporting a sound mind, could be attained now by the Ottawa Public School pupils through their physical education programme in 1923.

¹⁵⁹ Jamieson, "Eurhythmics and Folk Dancing", in Inspector's Report, 1922, p. 50.

CHAPTER XI

MORAL EDUCATION THROUGH A PROGRESSIVE CURRICULUM

The whole purpose of Putman's practical reforms in the programme of studies was to capture the interest of the non-academic child so that he could become more involved in his school experience. As with many humanitarian reformers of his age, Putman felt that a child, actively participating and experiencing success in some aspect of his school work, would be led thereby into more moral conduct. He would learn the importance of relationships, both in his school community and in the world of ideas, which would draw him out of himself and on to an appreciation of Beauty and Goodness and the beneficence of God. With this knowledge and the active guidance of his teacher, it was assumed, he would then learn good habits of behaviour and go out into society and act as a worthwhile citizen, contributing to the improvement of his world.

Many of the reformers of Putman's era believed that it was possible to bring rational order, mirroring the natural order which they assumed existed in nature, into the urban decay which followed the Industrial Revolution. Their melioristic dreams of garden suburbs (modelled on their ideal of rural living), town improvement plans, child welfare leagues and new schools with progressive, "natural"

programmes of study, were to be shaken by the Great War. A renewed effort at "reconstruction" of these ideals followed in the 'twenties, only to be severely brought short by the Depression and, later, by the Second World War.

But the progressive thrust of New Educators, such as Putman, was also based on sound new psychological theories. As has been shown, his programme of studies suited the needs of a much wider range of children than previously. It was adapted also to the demands of modern urban life. Although Putman believed that his efforts at extending idealistic examples, such as reproductions of art, classical literature and British history, would lead the child to actively harmonize his own conduct and organize the society around him, he did not push his moral intent to the point of direct instruction. Putman had more faith in the example of a teacher of good character, working in a happy environment, to unconsciously lead the child into good habits of moral conduct (see next chapter for elaboration of this). This chapter, however, will explore Putman's conception of a modern programme for a city school, his form of idealism as seen in his belief in the importance of history and literature, and, finally, his moral goal, which he hoped would permeate the school system. Throughout, links will be established between Putman's reform efforts and the general trends in early twentieth-century society. As the previous six chapters

have shown, Putman's reforms in the programme of studies of the Ottawa Public Schools were in the forefront of progressive educational thought of his time.

1. Programme of a Modern City School.

In the "Foreword" to his Annual Report of 1913, Putman for the first time since becoming Inspector of the Ottawa Public Schools began to define his conception of a progressive urban school system. As he expressed it, "A modern city school is becoming a very complex piece of machinery. This increasing complexity is owing to our ever-widening conception of the function of a school and the meaning of education".¹ The school by 1913 was expected not only to make up the deficiencies of the home but also to create experiences for the child denied him by his artificial environment in the city. Thus, Putman wrote,

We have added to the school programme, [sic] nature study, hygiene, drawing, cardboard work, wood work, basketry, clay modelling, printing, metal work, cooking, sewing, calisthenics, military drill, rifle-shooting, Kindergartens, music, stenography, typewriting, bookkeeping, and even some school gardening.²

1 J. H. Putman, "Foreword", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1913, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, December 31, 1913, p. 4.

2 Ibid.

Significantly, Putman prefaced his definition with the remark, "It often surprises me to note how willingly city people will pay taxes to support schools, and how little interest they take in the spending of the money for which they are taxed".³ To keep alight the "abiding faith"⁴ of the average man in the public schools and the authorities who manage them, Putman saw it as his mission to arouse the interest of the public in the schools under his jurisdiction and to have it supporting his reforms:

A progressive legislature or a superintendent with foresight may seem at times to make great advances, but in the end they can move no faster and no farther than public opinion allows them to move.⁵

Thus, he used his annual reports and newspaper articles to inform the Ottawa public of his own and the Department's advances.

In 1914, he summarized⁶ the newly amended and consolidated Regulations and Course of Study for Ontario Public and Separate Schools, as seen in the Department's 127-page pamphlet. As he noted, serious differences of opinion were

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 J. H. Putman, "The Public School Course of Study and Regulations", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1914, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 29, 1915, p. 35-36.

being expressed at teachers' and trustees' meetings over whether the course of study should be "a simple programme based largely upon the three R's",⁷ or whether it should be "a liberal course of study for the public schools which are the schools of all the people".⁸ In his estimation, "It is apparent that the latter have won their point".⁹ Also, the ratepayers of Ottawa should be proud of their system; for

The preparation made for teaching kindergarten work, elementary manual training, domestic science, art, music, and physical exercises - those branches once optional but now largely compulsory for city schools is certainly equal to that of any other city in Ontario.¹⁰

Basic to Putman's philosophy of education and modern programme of studies was a new psychology of child growth and development which was an amalgam of his rural, Protestant background and the new teachings of John Dewey and G. Stanley Hall. In his Reports for 1915 and 1922 he outlined this new psychology.

To Putman, the New Educator, the ideal and natural upbringing was to be found in the home and on the farm (see Chapter Two, section 1; Chapter Three, section 2; Chapter Six). He admired his pioneer forebears because from their

7 Ibid., p. 35.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., p. 36.

pragmatic life came qualities of character which he considered of prime value:

They were educated through what they did. Each day set for them not one but many problems pressing for immediate solution. Life was an everlasting struggle. This struggle, stern and severe as it was, developed courage, skill, initiative, industry, frugality, patience, determination, and resourcefulness. There was nothing artificial about life. Every task had an immediate social significance. No one really counted as an asset in the community unless he could do something or contribute something of social value. The men and women who were most valued were those who could most quickly and most effectively bridge the gap between the actual condition and the possible ideal.¹¹

But Putman was no puritanical Protestant. He rejected the doctrine of discipline and replaced it with the meliorism of the social gospel Methodists of his time (see Chapter Two). Mixed with Dewey's and Hall's new psychology (see Chapters Four, Six and Seven), this new doctrine held that learning took place best when accompanied by interest. As Putman expressed it,

¹¹ J. H. Putman, "Moral Instruction in Public Schools And The Curriculum Of Studies", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1915, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 26, 1916, p. 8.

This discipline idea is, in my opinion, only another form of that theological doctrine that a man who has a hard time in this world but performs his duty faithfully will be rewarded in the world to come. I do not object to the idea of reward in a world to come except that it implies that the good man got no reward for his goodness in this world. Nor do I deny that a hard lesson learned or duty performed without interest may leave with the agent a residuum of power or virtue which may bring him some future advantage. I only maintain that the hard lesson learned or duty performed with interest would have left an equal or greater residuum of power or virtue. It is surely reasonable to assume that if a bodily organ or mental or moral faculty gains strength only when it functions it will gain a maximum of strength when it functions most perfectly and no one would deny that this perfect functioning can take place only when accompanied by interest.¹²

Another prerequisite for the successful involvement of the child in the process of learning, according to Putman, was (again, similar to Dewey's conception of learning: see, Chapter Four, section 1) the necessity of having problems to solve. Here, the average city child was definitely handicapped:

He has no difficult tasks to perform. He has no struggle to make. How can he possibly develop physical strength, mental strength, or moral strength? If growth, whether of body, mind, or spirit, can come only through struggle, and if all incentive to struggle be removed, then surely the outlook for growth of any kind is unpromising. And so far as the average city home is concerned the incentive for the boy toward growth is unpromising.¹³

12 Ibid., p. 16.

13 Ibid., p. 9.

Thus, with the optimism of the reform Darwinist Methodists of his day,¹⁴ Putman strongly believed that,

A school ought to be an organization by society to give the young that environment and those definitely controlled experiences which will make them socially efficient. The school ought not to be something wholly different from the home, and having only a remote connection with the home. Its main function should be to supplement the home. The school properly conceived is not a place where children are prepared for some future work or some future role as members of society. The school should be a form of social life where children are building character through physical, mental and moral growth by doing the right thing in the right way and from the right motive. The school is not a preparation for living, it is living.¹⁵

Using Aristotle's image of the acorn under the right environment developing into the perfect oak,¹⁶ Putman outlined the role that the programme of studies played in developing the character of a child. First, the child's interest in the subject had to be captured by the teacher by

14 Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1971, p. 312; and see detailed accounts of the Social Service Congress which met in Ottawa March 4, 1914: in, "Practical Talks Feature Sessions of Big Congress", in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 5, 1914, p. 4; and, "Noted Author On The New Church And The New State; Rev. C. W. Gordon's Address", in Ibid.; and, "Many Resolutions Adopted By Social Service Congress [...]", in Ibid., March 6, 1914, p. 4; and, "Organize Social Service Council of Ottawa With Strong List of Officers", in Ibid., April 24, 1913, p. 2.

15 Putman, "Moral Instruction", in Inspector's Report, 1915, p. 9.

16 Ibid., p. 10.

careful presentation of the lesson.¹⁷ For maximum attainment of interest, the subject had to have a vital connection with the child's immediate needs at that stage of development.¹⁸ Putman used the kindergarten-primary programmes as successful examples of this:

Anyone who visits a kindergarten in charge of gifted teachers will go away without a doubt that the children have a real interest in every exercise given them. Let him visit a primary class in charge of a capable teacher and whether the children are learning to read, singing, making a paste-board doll's house, using coloured crayons to draw a pumpkin or telling a fairy story, he will go away quite satisfied that neither rewards nor punishments are required for the purpose of creating an artificial interest.¹⁹

Secondly, Putman believed that struggle with a problem in his environment was basic to the child's mental and moral growth. Thus, the course of study had to begin with simple concrete problems within the range of the child's own experience.²⁰ He criticized the current programme of the junior grades as being

17 Ibid., p. 17.

18 Ibid., p. 18.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., p. 14.

[...] too abstract in its nature for the child who is concrete-minded. These children require more hand work and less book work. They are of the motor-type. They can best have their natural powers developed through action. The school gives too little scope for action and places too high a premium on doing what others do [underlining sic] or doing what you are told to do.²¹

He used a sequence of map lessons as an illustration of how a child should be led from the concrete to the abstract.²²

The children should have measured and drawn their map of the classroom and then made a map of the rooms in the school to understand how map symbols worked before proceeding on to a map of the neighbourhood block, the district and then the City of Ottawa.

A third key to Putman's psychological view of learning was the importance of the school society for the development of the child's will; "any training or any environment which fails to provide for the proper exercise of this power is unnatural and defective".²³ As with the child's mental development, moral growth took place only if exercised in the proper way and if brought into contact with the material world. It hinged on the proper training of the child's will, which Putman defined as

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid., p. 15-16.

23 Ibid., p. 14.

[...] the whole man in action. It includes his emotions and his intellect, the former to drive and the latter to control. The will is the measure of the man because it shows us what he finally is or has come to be. It is self-expression.²⁴

The will, he believed, was expressed pre-eminently through a man's actions. And what a man did was largely determined by his past:

This only means that his character determines his present action and that this character is largely the result of his past acts. [...] The thing that counts most is the expression of self in some action that has social meaning and therefore moral value.²⁵

Thus, as with all pragmatists, Putman put a high priority on the instrumental purpose of will-power training; it was to be a means to make the citizen more effectively serve society. As he saw it, not only was city life "in some measure parasitical"²⁶ because it could not survive without the country, but it deprived city children of the opportunity of developing their will. Paralleling Dewey's view of moral education,²⁷ Putman reasoned,

24 Ibid., p. 18.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid., p. 19.

27 Compare John Dewey, Democracy and Education, New York, Collier-Macmillan, 1916, p. 360: "All education which develops power to share effectively in social life is moral. It forms a character which not only does the particular deed socially necessary but one which is interested in that continuous readjustment which is essential to growth. Interest in learning from all the contacts of life is the essentially moral interest."

[...] if the moral nature of the child - his goodness of will - can be developed only through some form of activity in which he engages voluntarily for the sake of an end having for him real social value and if the city home environment lacks so largely opportunity for these activities, it follows that the city school ought to be very different from the old-fashioned country school.²⁸

Instead of emphasizing book-learning to the exclusion of all else, Putman wrote "reading, writing, and number which are form studies and of value only as tools, [...] will be ranked as servants whose duty it is to wait upon others".²⁹ Harking back to his humanistic education (see Chapter Four, section 3), then, Putman placed on a higher plane "Literature, geography and history, which are content subjects, and which give us our ideals [...]".³⁰

But Putman thought that the greatest reform needed in the programme of studies, as earlier chapters outlined, was "a further extension of those hand activities which have to do either directly or indirectly with home life and industrial life".³¹ He did not think the current efforts in the direction of kindergarten, sewing, cooking, woodwork and primary construction classes were enough to develop the

²⁸ Putman, "Moral Instruction", in Inspector's Report, 1915, p. 19.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

child's own ideas;³² "for many children above twelve years of age half time for hand work is not enough".³³ As has been shown (Chapter Six), Putman believed they required a wide range of hand activities "to give them opportunity to discover along what lines their natural inclinations ought to be developed".³⁴

In 1922, Putman reiterated this criticism of the school curriculum as lacking in interest and claimed that it was "a big factor in retardation".³⁵ Again he criticized those thousands of followers of the discipline theory who, he wrote, had "not learned that the only discipline worth anything is that discipline a human being receives while struggling to realize an aim which his intelligence tells him is good".³⁶ Repeating his more modern interpretation of the psychology of children from seven to fourteen years of age, Putman asserted

32 Ibid., p. 19-20.

33 Ibid., p. 20.

34 Ibid.

35 J. H. Putman, "The Problem of Retardation", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1922, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 4, 1923, p. 17.

36 Ibid., p. 18.

[...] common characteristics of all these stages are the child's love of activity, his desire to do things and to make things, his eagerness to express himself through play, his love of dramatic situations, whether real or imaginary, his fondness for pictures and stories, his keen interest in rhythm and music and bodily movement, his never failing sympathy with the wonders of nature - plants, trees, mountains, lakes, rivers, rocks, birds, animals and insects - and the desire to understand her laws. Human beings are not educated by working against the laws of nature but by working in the closest possible harmony with these laws.³⁷

Given the radical changes in social life and customs in the first decades of the twentieth century, Putman asked who dared to question with any authority the spending of money on Kindergartens, school choirs, skating rinks, violin and manual training lessons, sewing, cooking, pottery and gardening?³⁸ He admitted that to some extent under these rapidly-changing conditions everyone was "groping in the dark",³⁹ but "wise leaders are unanimous in declaring that the old curriculum was narrow, uninteresting and unsatisfactory".⁴⁰ In the transition period from old to new, he held

37 Ibid.; and see Putman's long outline of the characteristics of different stages of childhood, child psychology and the most suitable programme of studies and school administration for each, excerpted from his School Survey Commission on the British Columbia Schools of 1925, in J. H. Putman, "Child Development and the Intermediate School", and "II: The Programme of the Intermediate School", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1930, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 21, 1930 [sic], p. 15-47.

38 Putman, "The Problem of Retardation", in Inspector's Report, 1922, p. 19.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

that these same wise leaders were adopting a moderate approach to new subjects:

[...] any new subject of study must prove not only that the subject has universal value in providing experience for young children but that it will give them more valuable experience than any other subject not already on the programme.⁴¹

Putman claimed that a highly complex programme of studies, attuned to the child's instincts, allowing him opportunities for self-expression, and given in an active, happy, healthy environment, would greatly accelerate his progress through the grades.⁴² He maintained that the Ottawa schools had

[...] ten per cent more pupils in the senior and ten per cent less in the junior classes than we had ten years ago, [...] in part at least because our daily programme of studies, occupations and exercises makes a stronger appeal to the instinctive needs of our young people.⁴³

By humanizing the content of studies and making them more interesting, teachers were given a new conception of the meaning of education. The greater varieties of studies and exercises allowed teacher and student to meet with increasingly common interests. Children became more willing allies in their own education when they were appealed to on emotional, aesthetic, physical as well as intellectual planes.

41 Ibid., p. 19-20.

42 Ibid., p. 20.

43 Ibid.

More and more appeal was made to the child's imagination and reason. He added,

[...] the school is becoming more and more a place where children live [sic] and do those things that children like to do and ought to do, and less and less a place where children undergo hours of semi-torture, sitting straight, keeping quiet and learning by heart things they do not understand.⁴⁴

To drive his point home, Putman then explained the difference between the old faculty theory of psychology, "now wholly exploded",⁴⁵ and the basic ideas of modern psychology (at that time heavily influenced by eugenics; see the auxiliary education section of Chapter Thirteen):

We know that the essential quality of a human mind is its self-activity and that the maximum possibility of this activity is determined at birth. [...] heredity is by far the most important factor in fixing the relative powers of human beings. Education [...] can neither add to nor subtract from the inherent self-activity given our minds at birth. It can only assist us to attain our possible maximum. Our minds are not like putty. They choose and select. [...] It would be more correct, having in view the overwhelming influence of heredity in shaping our powers, determining our moral natures, and giving bent to our dispositions, to compare the mind at birth to marble.⁴⁶

This distinction between having minds of putty or of marble Putman believed to be "of first importance",⁴⁷ for it

44 Ibid.

45 J. H. Putman, 'Putty or Marble?', in Ibid., p. 21.

46 Ibid., p. 21-22.

47 Ibid., p. 22.

meant that the quality of the child's mind was firmly set at birth. A corollary of this deterministic viewpoint was that, as well, "what ought to be his natural status in the organized society around him is fixed long before he ever sees a school".⁴⁸ Putman's conclusion about the primacy of mind and the necessity of educators understanding it (a viewpoint which would lead in the 1920's into the espousal of intelligence testing and the streaming of classes) resulted in a new outlook on the role of the teacher and the school:

It follows that if the mind of the child is the active principle in his own education, the school and the teacher ought in some degree to be passive factors always striving for a fuller understanding of their subject and trying to adapt their instruction to suit his needs. It follows that teachers at school and parents in the home will accomplish most for those they wish to educate [...] by patiently trying to discover his natural capacities and encouraging him to make the most of the talents given him by nature. They may not plan the child's future but they may help him over many rough places on the road that he marks out for himself.⁴⁹

Thus, modern psychology and child-centred education as seen in Putman's Ottawa Public Schools in the 1911-1923 era established the rights of the child on a firmer footing:

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid.; and see, J. H. Putman, "Our School Fads And Other Things", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1923, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 7, 1924, p. 18-23; and J. H. Putman, Fifty Years at School, An Educationist Looks at Life, Toronto, Clarke Irwin, 1938, p. 165-172 and 184-197.

It is because more and more children are being treated as rational beings with sacred rights, each child with an individuality that carries with it his potential and peculiar value to society. The school can set for itself no loftier or more noble aim than so to plan its course of study and so organize its methods of instruction as to protect, develop and give opportunity for the expression of this individual nature of the child.⁵⁰

The New Education aims of nineteenth century reformers for a more child-centred educational programme were thus established by Putman on a system-wide basis in the Ottawa Public Schools.

2. Idealism In History and Literature.

Despite Putman's espousal of modern psychology and the tenets of Dewey and Hall, he retained a core of beliefs, idealistic in nature, which were derived from his humanistic education at Queen's (see Chapter Four, section 3). These could be seen most clearly in his stated aim of education (see next section) and in the priority he placed on certain subjects, such as history and literature, to elevate the mind.

At the end of his 1915 discussion on moral education, Putman wrote a small paragraph about the absence of religious instruction in the schools:

⁵⁰ Putman, "The Problem of Retardation", in Inspector's Report, 1922, p. 21.

For obvious reasons I have said nothing about religious instruction in public schools. I assume that such instruction given by the regular teacher and during the regular school hours is at present impossible.⁵¹

But he did not deny that the moral instruction given in the public schools had a (Protestant) Christian basis:

The Bible has a place in every school in Ontario. British history is in a considerable degree a history of the development of Christianity, and English literature from Alfred the Great to Robert Browning would be nerveless, colourless, and largely without meaning if the sap of Christianity were squeezed out of it.⁵²

As was seen in Putman's text-book, Britain and the Empire (see Chapter Four, section 1), and as with his nineteenth century Herbartian-inspired forebear, George Paxton Young,⁵³ Putman believed in the pre-eminence of history and literature in developing moral ideals:

⁵¹ Putman, "Moral Instruction", in Inspector's Report, 1915, p. 20.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Robert M. Stamp, "Educational Leadership in Ontario, 1867-1967", in Ontario Historical Society, Profiles of a Province, Studies in the History of Ontario, Toronto, Bryant Press, 1967, p. 199.

Next to the living, personal touch of the teacher the big school factor in forming the children's ideals is British history the growth and progress of a race from semi-barbarism to a high plane of civilization - and English literature which idealizes the noblest achievements and highest aspirations of all races in all times. With the whole wealth of these reservoirs as a fountain head it is idle to contend that our teachers have not plenty of material [sic] for moral instruction.⁵⁴

And Putman did not leave this on the level of an abstract injunction to teachers. In 1913 he sent out a circular letter to the schools instructing the teachers that definite amounts of time each week, in junior as well as senior classes, were to be given to history.⁵⁵

Part of these history lessons for Putman were to be spent on instruction in civic and parliamentary

54 Putman, "Moral Instruction", in Inspector's Report, 1915, p. 20; and see report of Putman's speeches to Carleton Teachers' Convention just before his Ottawa appointment (Chapter Five, section 1) on 'History in the Elementary School', in "Carleton Teachers Convention Opens", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, September 29, 1910, p. 1; and, "History Not Taught Enough", in Ibid., September 30, 1910, p. 10; and Putman's speech 'Literature and Supplementary Reading', in "Teachers Held Final Session", in Ibid., October 1, 1910, p. 20.

55 Frank E. Perney, letter to the Editor, in The Citizen, Ottawa, July 9, 1913, p. 12: a defence of Putman's policies saying that now that final examinations were dropped in the Ottawa Public Schools, history had become one of the most interesting subjects for the majority of children; letter was a reply to a sermon of Rev. Morden reported in Ibid., July 7, 1913, p. 2 and answering article in Ibid., July 8, 1913, p. 7, and lead editorial in Ibid., p. 12.

government.⁵⁶ In an address to the East Carleton Teachers' Association in 1913, Putman further clarified his view of the purpose of civics. He was quoted as saying, "I want our children to know what it is to be Canadians and British subjects".⁵⁷ It would appear that to a certain extent Putman had succeeded, for in the exhibition of work held at First Avenue School in June of 1914, the reporter commented at length on essays written by "senior scholars":

One young lady has settled Ottawa's water problem quite conclusively in a well-written essay [...].

Writing before the elections, she declared that the Thirty-one Mile lake scheme was the only scheme that would settle Ottawa's water difficulties in a very conclusive sentence: 'Oh, the almighty dollar!'. She concludes with an impassioned prayer for intervention from the Legislature.⁵⁸

56 "Lesson of Civic Government Part of School Work", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, September 24, 1912, p. 9; and see editorial, "Civic Loyalty in the Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, September 28, 1912, p. 6: refers to civic loyalty movement begun by several citizens of Ottawa; and see "Teaching Then and Now", editorial in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, October 1, 1912, p. 4; and, "Teach City Advantages in Schools", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, September 27, 1912, p. 1 and 14.

57 "Inspiring Addresses On Educational Work", in The Citizen, Ottawa, October 10, 1913, p. 2.

58 "Post Impressionism at the Show of Products From the Brains and Hands of Public School Children", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, June 18, 1914, p. 3; and see account of provincial efforts in the direction of civic education: "Civics In Schools", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 3, 1914, p. 14.

As mentioned previously (Chapter Three, section 1), Putman wrote a small book, City Government Ottawa⁵⁹ in 1919, with

The object of [... giving] teachers, older children in our schools and others who may be interested a fair grasp of our municipal or city government.⁶⁰

It began with an injunction to respect the balance of powers between each of the three levels of Canadian government, federal, provincial and municipal:

Each is important in proportion to the bearing it has on our liberty of thought, our freedom of action and expression, our property rights, our education, our health, our means of transportation, our payment of taxes, and our whole round of human welfare and effort.⁶¹

Putman then outlined in his straightforward style the historical background to the government of the City of Ottawa,⁶² concluding with a list of the different elected or appointed bodies, such as the City Council, the Public, Separate Schools and Collegiate Institute Boards, the Public Library Board, the Board of Health, and the Police,

59 J. H. Putman, City Government Ottawa, Ottawa, Hope, 1919, 74 p.

60 Ibid., p. 3; this was paraphrased in "Recent Publications", in The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 1, No. 4, December, 1920, p. 42; described Putman's book as an "admirable little book [...]".

61 Putman, City Government Ottawa, p. 5.

62 Ibid., p. 7-12.

Improvement and Hydro-Electric Commissions.⁶³ In the following pages, the composition and function of each of these bodies was outlined.

With respect to garbage collection, Putman had an advanced civic consciousness, related probably to the town-planning movements⁶⁴ and civic improvement leagues of his day and which was much akin to the modern environmentalist's point of view (a more moral attitude to one's surroundings):

Paper ought to be preserved and sold as waste, or if soiled it should be burnt. The city authorities will some day own a farm near the city where hogs and poultry can be fed on the waste from city homes. In progressive European cities all such waste as apple and vegetable peelings are carefully collected, either to feed to animals or to be turned into alcohol, which is used for cooking purposes, or for developing power. Bits of waste meat are collected and used to feed chickens, even bones are carefully kept to be ground and used as fertilizer for gardens. We dump everything together, cart it to some outlying place and then sell for a mere trifle to some enterprising man the right to pick over the garbage [...].⁶⁵

63 Ibid., p. 12.

64 J. H. Putman, Inspector's Annual Report, 1919, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 23, 1920, p. 5: reference made to Canada's first "garden suburb" in Lindenlea, Ottawa, adjoining Putman's home on Rideau Terrace; and see Putman's outline of the history and function of the Ottawa Improvement Commission, in City Government Ottawa, p. 60-63.

65 Ibid., p. 40-41; and see, "Garbage Collection by Day Labor System", in The Ottawa Evening Journal, Ottawa, February 20, 1906, p. 4: garbage collection a major topic in municipal discussions while Putman was serving as Alderman of Rideau Ward (see Chapter Three, section 1).

A revealing definition of the Public School Board, also denoting Putman's essentially moral thrust, was given in his book:

The public schools are for all races and creeds. They teach no religious dogmas but through the reading of the Bible, the recitation of the Ten Commandments, and other selected parts of the Scriptures, they do something to inculcate the Christian spirit. The lessons in the school readers enforce this, many of them being Bible passages and many others being concrete illustrations of Christianity. The Golden Rule books in use in every public school in Ontario are entirely made up of interesting stories illustrating the essence of Christian conduct. Therefore while Ontario public schools do not teach the creed of any church they do surround the child with a healthy moral atmosphere.⁶⁶

In 1922 Putman issued another circular, this time on the need for teachers to imbue children with a proper sense of civic responsibility. It was quoted at length in an editorial in The Citizen. The Editor wrote that Putman had asked that direct lessons be taught:

Will you plan some brief talks on the subject making them as specific and concrete as possible? Will you endeavor first to impress upon your pupils their individual responsibility for a clean and beautiful city through assisting in making beautiful their own home surroundings, and second their collective responsibility in constituting themselves guardians for the security of all public property, especially trees, shrubs and flowers. This, of course, can best be done through specific instruction which brings home to the child the value of these things.⁶⁷

66 Putman, City Government Ottawa, p. 46.

67 "Civic Responsibility", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 11, 1922, p. 16.

As the Editor remarked, "Dr. Putman's words are most timely, but they are too valuable to be merely directed at the school children at a time when a proper civic conscience in regard to these matters is so much the need of us all".⁶⁸

This need for a broader and more effective civic education Putman spelled out in an address to the Rotary Club of Ottawa (of which he had been a founding member⁶⁹), attended by over one hundred public and separate school Ottawa teachers.⁷⁰ Because of recent electoral reforms, Putman asserted that the object of education more than ever was to teach citizenship and to prepare boys and girls to take their place in the electorate of the future. Seventy-five per cent of these children did not go on to secondary school, thus the responsibility rested with the elementary school to teach the very best ideals of citizenship.

68 Ibid.

69 "Rotary Club's Three Months", in Ibid., May 3, 1916, p. 2; and, "Rotarians at Second Dinner", in Ibid., October 13, 1916, p. 2; and, "Roster of Membership Of The Ottawa Rotary Club", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, August 5, 1916, p. 3; and, "Ottawa Rotarians From Varied Ranks", in The Citizen, Ottawa, November 21, 1919, p. 5: "Dr. J. H. Putman, inspector of public schools, is another prominent Rotarian whose knowledge and experience have been of value to his fellow members."

70 "Aim Of Schools To Teach Citizenship", in Ibid., November 17, 1923, p. 5; and see, "How Rotarians Could Give Help To City Schools", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, November 17, 1923, p. 5.

But the impetus toward increased moral and civic education in the schools was given most momentum by the experience of the First World War. The new Minister of Education, the Honourable Dr. (Archdeacon) H. J. Cody, highlighted this in an address, "How Far Has the War Created New Educational Problems?", to the City of Ottawa Teachers' Institute in 1919, which was outlined in The Citizen.⁷¹ He termed the post-war era one of "reconstruction" in which old problems were put into a new relationship with one another. As the newspaper reported it:

War has at last made us realize that we can never make too great demands upon the spirit and sacrifice of our people. There is a great tonic in great demands. Our Lord Himself never set the standard of sacrifice too low. Another lesson that has been learned is the dominance of personality over power. Ruskin says that 'Civilization is the making of civil people' and we have learned when the whole world was in the crucible that 'persons' compose the nation.

A poor system of education can produce good results by the aid of good teachers. Personality is the essential and basic principle and we measure the progress of a nation by its output of 'civil' persons. It is the person that counts in running an organization.⁷²

This resurgence of idealism was also expressed by Dr. John Waugh, Ontario's Chief Inspector of Public and

71 "Education One Of Greatest Factors In Reconstruction Declares The Hon. Dr. Cody", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 7, 1919, p. 1.

72 Ibid.; and see, "Dr. Cody Addresses School Teachers On Lessons Of The War", in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, February 7, 1919, p. 1 and p. 8: a picture of Dr. Putman with the caption, "one of the prominent figures at the convention".

Separate Schools, who in 1921 was the newly-elected President of the Ontario Educational Association. In his estimation, Ontario was in the midst of the greatest educational reconstruction since the days of Egerton Ryerson, so great in fact that those closely associated with it did not understand its magnitude nor would this be appreciated for another fifty years.⁷³ In his 1922 Report to the Minister, Waugh elaborated,

Permit me also to state that I believe there never has been a time in our educational history when it was more essential that character building and training for citizenship be given first place in the aims of our schools. For the highest success of the individual, for the welfare of the community and for the good of the nation, this ideal should prevail. If education is to enable us to do our best as a nation and as part of a great empire, it must be based on those moral principles for which our empire stands.⁷⁴

In the opinion of J. M. Bliss, this post-war idealism was a prevalent Canadian phenomenon, shared by Methodists as well as other Canadian groups:

73 "Dr. John Waugh To School Federation", in The Citizen, Ottawa, April 1, 1921, p. 17; this was echoed by Dr. A. E. Marty, Toronto Inspector, who was quoted as saying: "The school is now recognized as a miniature world in which children are developed for citizenship".

74 Jno [sic] Waugh, "Report of the Chief Inspector of Public and Separate Schools", dated Toronto, January 16, 1923, in Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1922, Toronto, James, 1923, p. 14.

As nationalists, as socialists, above all as Christian idealists, Methodists in 1918 were ready to participate in the creation of a peacetime community as unified and egalitarian as the wartime society. It is surprising how many other Canadians shared their determination.⁷⁵

As an expression of this renewed zeal for the teaching of British and Canadian history the Department announced in 1918 that it planned to reinstate it as one of the subjects for the junior high school Entrance Examination for 1919.⁷⁶ As a result, the text-book had to be revised. In an apparent lapse of memory over his previous departmental text-book experience (see Chapter Three, section 1), the Department asked Putman, along with five other people, to review the five text-books on British and Canadian history being considered.⁷⁷

75 J. M. Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I", in The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 49, No. 3, September, 1968, p. 233; and see, Ibid., p. 213: "During the war years the Methodist Church's historic concern for social redemption blossomed into a comprehensive programme for social reconstruction."

76 "Teach More History In Entrance Classes", in The Citizen, Ottawa, August 27, 1918, p. 1.

77 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1918, Box 47, Item 10, Dept. History Texts, memorandum of J. E. Wetherell, General Editor of Text-Books to the Deputy Minister re "Proposed new Histories of Great Britain and Canada", dated Toronto, September 11, 1917; and see ensuing letters to and from Putman, dated Sept. 14, 19 and Dec. 14, 1917.

In Putman's twenty-one page detailed criticism⁷⁸ he revealed his excellent grasp of both British and Canadian history. For example, with respect to the Oxford University Press History by Mowat, he wrote,

Page 67. Papineau. First sentence. This sentence is the very opposite of the truth. It is now agreed by all who have made a study of this period that the British Government by its mismanagement from 1791 to 1837 drove the French-Canadians into rebellion, nor is it true that the Assembly in Lower Canada never asked for 'Responsible Government'. If the author will read the correspondence and records between the Governor of Canada and the British Colonial Secretary which are now in the Canadian Archives, he will modify his opinion concerning the 'disgraceful flight of Papineau in 1837'.⁷⁹

Throughout Putman is critical of complex sentence structures and a loose style. For instance, in his criticism of Dent's History, he noted that on

Page 36, the heading of the paragraph is 'The Battle of Senlac or Hastings'. This paragraph is typical of the loose articulation of the author's style. Instead of gaining children's interest by a vivid description of the battle and then drawing from the event its logical results, he states the logical results before describing the battle. In the middle of his paragraph he throws in a brief explanation of the origin of the Normans. He seems unable to tell a plain tale in a plain way. He confuses his readers.⁸⁰

78 *Ibid.*, 1917, Box 34, Item 1, Putman's Report on Public School History Text-Books, stamped "received November 16, 1917".

79 *Ibid.*, J. H. Putman, 'Section on Canadian History', in "Report on Oxford University Press History By Mowat", p. 4.

80 *Ibid.*, J. H. Putman, "Report on Dent's History", p. 1.

Although the Department had specified that there were to be comments on "The Quality of Arousing Interests and Stimulating Lofty Ideals",⁸¹ Putman's critiques did not deal with the text-books topically but rather sequentially, and in a detailed page-by-page manner, concluding often in a straightforward fashion for or against the book. For example, with respect to the Oxford University Press History he ended with

I also consider this book weak in describing the social and industrial changes of the Victorian era. The question of the spread of education is not mentioned. On the whole, this history is impossible as a textbook for an elementary school.⁸²

And it was in the same pragmatic way that Putman treated the audio-visual aids to be used in the Ottawa schools to teach both history and geography. As with his many illustrations for his own history text-book (see Chapter Three, section 1), from the moment of his arrival he encouraged the Board to purchase lantern slides to

81 Ibid., Item 2, W. J. Karr's 'Section III', of "Review of Authorized Ontario P.S. English History", dated Ottawa Normal School, November 19, 1917, p. 4.

82 Ibid., Item 1, Putman, "Oxford University Press History", p. 5.

illustrate these lessons.⁸³ At the Ontario Educational Association's Conventions Putman actively campaigned to have a new geography reader with suitable atlas for Form Three replace the encyclopedic one then in use.⁸⁴ His suggestion of a graded, three-volume series with good illustrations, outlined in his 1918 Annual Report,⁸⁵ was enclosed in a letter of George A. Cornish to the Deputy Minister in 1919.⁸⁶ The Ottawa Public School Board continued this progressive thrust by purchasing moving picture equipment in 1921.⁸⁷

83 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1911, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1910, (n.p., n.d.) p. 206; and see, Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1913, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1912, (n.p., n.d.) p. 51, 23 and 211; and see, P.A.O., Government Documents Education, Ontario Department of Education, Educational Pamphlet No. 4, 1913, W. E. Macpherson, Visual Aids on the Teaching of History, Toronto, Cameron, 1913, 23 p.

84 Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Fifty-Fifth Annual Convention Held in Toronto April 24, 25, 26 and 27, 1916, Toronto, Briggs, 1916, p. 65.

85 J. H. Putman, "Reforms in Education", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1918, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 5, 1919, p. 23.

86 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1919, Box 63, U-610, Item 6, letter from George A. Cornish to the Deputy Minister, dated Toronto, March 16, 1919.

87 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For The Year 1921, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1920, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 54 and 247.

Literature and supplementary reading were treated by Putman in the same pragmatic way. He valued English literature for its spiritual idealism: "the very essence of our civilization and our Christian ethics is crystallized in countless concrete situations in English literature and its story told in English history".⁸⁸ And he organized in the first year of his inspectorate an inexpensive way to substantially increase the number of supplementary reading books, particularly in the primary classes, so that both practice in reading and intellectual inspiration could be gained early in the child's school experience.⁸⁹ At the School for Higher English, Putman expanded this concept to include magazines,⁹⁰ and encyclopedias.⁹¹ Ottawa teachers

88 J. H. Putman, "To The Teacher", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1918, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 5, 1919, p. 19.

89 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1911, p. 64-65; and see, J. H. Putman, "Supplementary Reading for Elementary Schools", in The School, Vol. 1, No. 2, October, 1912, p. 109-113; and, "Better Reading", in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 28, 1911, p. 2; and see, Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1913, p. 51, 104 and 138.

90 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For The Year 1919, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1918, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 12.

91 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1922, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1921, (n.p., n.d.) p. 155; and see extensive list of supplementary reading books purchased by this time: p. 42, 75, 105, 186, 223, and 269.

with extensive experience in children's reading in 1919 were asked by the Department to write a series of papers on how the provincial Readers could be improved.⁹²

Putman himself was strongly critical of the Department's "preparation and mutilation and annotation of English classics for school children"⁹³ as seen in these graded Readers. He judged that the average nineteen-year-old, inexperienced rural teacher could not properly teach "the wonderful and beautiful thoughts and music enshrined in her mother tongue".⁹⁴ Finally, he believed that the children had been over-protected:

We have fed them homeopathic doses of English literature when they were eager for a substantial meal. We have tried to make for them a beautiful garment out of shreds and patches. We have underestimated their powers of mental assimilation. We have planned reading courses that demanded too much intensive study for their powers of reflection and their experience of life but which were too meagre and narrow in range to satisfy their craving for action and for variety. We have aimed too directly at thoroughness and have missed those infinitely greater things in the education of the young interest, zest, and a satisfaction in natural growth.⁹⁵

92 "Sculpture On Parliament Bldg. [sic] Outrage On Good Taste, declares Public Schools Art Supervisor", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 8, 1919, p. 11.

93 J. H. Putman, "English Classics For Elementary Schools", in Inspector's Report, 1923, p. 32.

94 Ibid., p. 31.

95 Ibid., p. 32.

Putman advocated, therefore, the discarding of all school readers except primers and the introduction of fairy tales, stories of adventure and travel, poetry and classic fiction in their complete form to all children between the ages of seven and fourteen.⁹⁶ He urged parents to begin home libraries for their children. With perhaps overblown optimism, he asserted

There is no reason why the average child, during the period from eight to fourteen years of age, should not read and thoroughly enjoy, either at school or under school direction, from sixty to one hundred English classics ranging in difficulty from simple fairy tales to Shakespeare's plays.⁹⁷

Finally he condemned the widespread emphasis on oral reading:

Can you imagine a more refined and exquisite mental torture than holding back a group of fifteen or twenty bright children eager to know how Robinson Crusoe escaped from his island, while three or four dullards stumble over some easy sentence.⁹⁸

Therefore, a better policy would be to have supervised silent reading with "follow-up" questions to test the child's comprehension and appreciation. Putman concluded with an optimistic belief in the aesthetic powers of good literature:

96 Ibid., p. 33.

97 Ibid.

98 Ibid.

No single educational reform would do more to elevate our schools than some movement which would give them an abundant supply of the very best reading material and place in every school a teacher with a knowledge and appreciation of English literature broad enough and sympathetic enough to reveal its beauties to her children.⁹⁹

Thus, history¹⁰⁰ and literature¹⁰¹ served much the same function in Putman's mind as art appreciation, music and eurhythmics: they provided aesthetic ideals of beauty upon which teachers and children could pattern a more moral existence on earth. In his aim of education and hierarchy of the programme of studies, Putman elaborated on this

99 Ibid.

100 Putman in 1922 discussed the new Public School History at some length at the OEA Inspectors' meeting: 'He condemned stereotyped notes dictated by the teacher. The social, biographical and dramatic features of history appeal to children and should be used in teaching the subject. We will never see our children liking history until we begin with the children in the lower forms, and give them interesting biographical and dramatic material. The Public School History text-book should be preceded by suitable History Readers in Form II and Form III. The text-book should be more concise, and should be written in clear, easily-understood language. The Public School Library should have a wealth of material to be used for filling in. It will take a lot of money to produce such readers as we should have in Canada.', in "Minutes of the Inspectors' Section", Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Sixty-Second Annual Convention Held in Toronto, April 2, 3, 4 and 5, 1923, Toronto, James, 1923, p. 104; and see Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 195-196.

101 Ibid., p. 193: "The chief aim of literature is to stir the emotions. The highest forms of literature purify the emotions. Only great ideas in a dramatic setting can achieve this purpose. The function of the teacher is to set up a dramatic situation in such a way that details seem naturally to be subordinate to a central idea."; and see, Ibid., p. 192.

humanistic philosophy.

3. Aims of Education.

In 1924, Putman summarized his views on the aim of education and the order of importance of the subjects in an OEA address, "The Relative Value of Subjects on the Public School Course of Study".¹⁰²

At the beginning he emphasized the point that the teacher could not be separated from the content of the curriculum, for she selected

[...] from an infinite number of possible experiences those best suited for the normal growth of the child at any particular stage of his development. The experiences are selected and determined in a general way by what we as teachers call the subjects of study. In a big way the subjects of school study must be determined by what society at any particular stage in its evolution conceives to be the object or goal of education.¹⁰³

Thus, the subjects of study were relative in value and subject to two considerations, their aptness for the psychological stage of the child and their suitability according to the goals of his society.

102 J. H. Putman, "The Relative Value of Subjects on the Public School Course of Study", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Sixty-Third Annual Convention Held in Toronto, April 21, 22, 23 and 24, 1924, Toronto, James, 1924, p. 215-223.

103 Ibid., p. 215.

Putman then defined what he considered to be the goal of his own society:

If I were to attempt a definition of this goal in very brief form it would be that the aim of education is to enable the individual to discover his relation to the universe and fit himself to live in harmony with her laws. From this standpoint all education resolves itself into a study of relations and an attempt by each individual to harmonize his life with these relationships.¹⁰⁴

This basically idealistic, or aesthetic (Aristotelian) viewpoint assumed, therefore, that there was a rational, natural law which the child would eventually comprehend. Putman used several examples to illustrate that unless natural law with respect to his environment was understood by man in different societies, he would not survive.¹⁰⁵

Western civilization, Putman believed, was characterized most prominently by its emphasis on the school because the "young of all peoples of every type of civilization really become educated in proportion to their progress in grasping relations"¹⁰⁶ and this experience was controlled in Western culture through the schools.

104 Ibid.

105 Ibid., p. 215-216.

106 Ibid., p. 216; compare Dewey's Democracy and Education, p. 151: "Thinking is the accurate and deliberate instituting of connections between what is done and its consequences. [...] It makes connecting links explicit in the form of relationships."

Repeating his beliefs about moral education as expressed in his Annual Report of 1915 (see section one), Putman went further in his definition of the aim of education:

It is a common saying that the aim of all education is the formation of a good character. Let me make clear at this stage what I conceive to be the relation between character and subjects of study. Character is what we are. It has to do especially with our ideals and our wills. It is expressed by our behaviour in so far as that behaviour is an outcome of our real nature. Genetically a man's character at any particular stage of his existence is what he was at birth modified by every experience of life. It is the resultant of two forces, heredity and environment.¹⁰⁷

Unfortunately, Putman did not at this point define what he meant by "good character", nor what he meant by "goodness", but maintained that the latter was revealed in a person's activity in seeking knowledge "and the essence of knowledge as we have seen is to understand relations".¹⁰⁸ Thus, as with Socrates, the supremely good act was that which added to rational, cognitive growth.

But Putman was not essentially a rationalist, for in the next paragraph he outlined his personalistic¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Putman, "The Relative Value of Subjects", in OEA Proceedings, 1924, p. 217.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ "Personalism: A modern term applied to any philosophy which considers personality the supreme value and the key to the meaning of reality." in Dagobert D. Runes, Dictionary of Philosophy, New Jersey, Littlefield, 1960, p. 229.

approach to children's development:

My children's progress in goodness at school will depend on two factors, what they are now and what I am. What I am will be revealed little by little as I plan school experiences for my pupils and as I guide them in their reactions to those experiences.¹¹⁰

For this reason, Putman attached great importance to the role of the teacher in the educational process (see next chapter).

From this point on, Putman outlined his curricular philosophy, which contained many elements of Dewey's psychology and philosophy but at the same time did not reject (as did Dewey) Protestant idealism. As with Dewey's functional psychological viewpoint, Putman saw the programme of studies merely as a tool to be integrated with the child's experiences:

The programme of studies is a chart to guide me in choosing and directing these experiences. It is merely a chart, because the school experiences I plan for my pupils must be closely knit to their previous and present home experiences. I must re-interpret the programme of studies to suit the peculiar needs of my pupils.¹¹¹

It must also relate to the material environment of the school and the social environment of the community:

¹¹⁰ Putman, "The Relative Value of Subjects", in OEA Proceedings, 1924, p. 218.

¹¹¹ Ibid.; compare Dewey's Democracy and Education, p. 76: "[...] the ideal of growth results in the conception that education is a constant reorganizing or reconstructing of experience. It has all the time an immediate end, and so far as activity is educative, it reaches that end - the direct transformation of the quality of experience."

I must relate it to the playground, the school garden, the flowers, the rocks, the streams, the trees and the weather conditions of the neighbourhood. Further, I must relate it as far as I can to the social life of the community.¹¹²

But in Putman's acceptance of God and the final goal of education he departed from Dewey's philosophy and reverted back to the nineteenth-century dualisms which Dewey deplored.¹¹³ As Putman analyzed them, relationships were to be grasped by-the child in an ever-ascending order:

If education be a never ending progress in grasping relations, if every step forward in seeing relations reveals relations not previously recognized, if everything in creation has some relation to every other thing, if nature including God and man is a unity, then the social and business life of the community is a starting point for the social life of my school.¹¹⁴

He grouped the subjects, first according to the beginning need of the child to communicate and master oral and written speech.¹¹⁵ Related to this need were reading, writing, spelling, literature, composition and grammar,

¹¹² Putman, "The Relative Value of Subjects", in OEA Proceedings, 1924, p. 218; compare Dewey's Democracy and Education, p. 358: "The learning in school should be continuous with that out of school. There should be a free interplay between the two. This is possible only when there are numerous points of contact between the social interests of the one and the other."

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 54-68.

¹¹⁴ Putman, "The Relative Value of Subjects", in OEA Proceedings, 1924, p. 218.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 218-219.

which he suggested should be termed "English"¹¹⁶ on the programme of studies. Then he stated that pupils between six and thirteen had a strong need "to find themselves in relation to the world as a whole",¹¹⁷ thus, nature study and geography should have an important place. At this point Putman expressed his underlying nineteenth-century assumptions (which were rationalistic and positivistic):

These subjects are pre-eminently fitted to impress upon my pupils that they live in a world of law and order, that man is ever striving to adapt himself more perfectly to his environment and that they themselves are an insignificant part of the whole human race. These subjects tend to make my pupils logical and enlightened.¹¹⁸

But another need, Putman realized, was for pupils to understand their historical roots and civic government. They also needed to be able to master mechanical arithmetical operations.¹¹⁹ As well, manual arts were needed in their education to make up the deficiencies of artificial urban life.¹²⁰ As we have seen, Putman looked on this³ as the greatest educational reform needed in his own time. He pictured a resourceful teacher as being able to correlate

116 Ibid., p. 219.

117 Ibid.

118 Ibid.

119 Ibid., p. 220.

120 Ibid., p. 220-221.

this work with the previous subjects mentioned.¹²¹ Putman realized, too, that the physical well-being of the children needed to be looked after, so he included hygiene, physical exercise and playground experiences as part of the school's programme.¹²² But the highest value of all he attached to art and music:

The former links itself closely with nature study and constructive work but has a bearing upon every lesson and every act of teacher and pupils. It should receive much more attention than it now gets in our elementary schools. Music, too, is an art most closely allied in our school work to poetry and literature.¹²³

Putman concluded his address by strongly affirming that all these subjects should be included in the curriculum to satisfy the needs of the child, needs which he saw as "permanent and universal needs of [... his] growth".¹²⁴

In a later OEA address, "A Peep At Schools In England",¹²⁵ Putman categorized the above curriculum as very similar to that of Britain's:

121 Ibid., p. 221.

122 Ibid.

123 Ibid., p. 222.

124 Ibid.

125 Dr. Putman, "A Peep At Schools In England", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Seventieth Annual Convention Held in Toronto April 6, 7, 8 and 9, 1931, Toronto, Ball, 1931, p. 102-106.

[...] another visitor intent on discovering points of likeness would soon find that our schools and theirs have much in common and that these things in common are the big things that really matter - the spirit of education if you will. Both systems have as their basis instruction in mother tongue. Both attempt to give the child what he can assimilate of his race heritage - language, literature, history, art and music. Both systems place first emphasis on character training. Both systems rely on trained teachers and both supplement the daily school programme with games and handwork.¹²⁶

This "spirit of idealism born of the war",¹²⁷ Putman stated, reached a high-water mark in English educational aspirations in the 1920's and was the spirit behind the Hadow Report¹²⁸ of 1927. (But, as in Canada, these hopes were dashed by the economic crash of the 1930's.)

As mentioned in the previous section, Ontario's Minister of Education, Dr. H. J. Cody, called this post-war spirit of idealism "reconstruction" and described its scope in his Report of 1918 as follows:

126 Ibid., p. 102-103.

127 Ibid., p. 102.

128 London, Board of Education, The Education of the Adolescent, Report of the Consultative Committee, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1927 (reprinted 1964), p. xxiv-339.

The basis of reconstruction is the conservation and development of our human resources. All plans for commerce, industry, agriculture all plans for the general utilization of our material wealth, depend upon the intelligence and character of the people. Reconstruction is thus inextricably bound up with the broad subject of education.¹²⁹

Thus, the meaning of education had to be broadened. Dr. Cody elaborated,

We construe education to mean more than the impartation of knowledge and the training of the mind. Its broad scope covers bodily health and fitness, mental culture, devotion of spirit and social efficiency. The German educationalists thought of civilization in terms of intellect; the British in terms of character [...]. The proper place of efficiency is as 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.¹³⁰

A vivid illustration of Canada's post-war concern for moral education was seen in the Winnipeg Educational Conference on Character Education in Relation to Canadian Citizenship, which Putman attended in 1919.¹³¹ In his Annual Report for that year he outlined the origins and his

¹²⁹ H. J. Cody, "Minister's Report", dated Toronto, March 19, 1919, in Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For The Year 1918, Toronto, Wilgress, 1919, p. 5.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 6.

¹³¹ Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1919, p. 179-180.

own commentary on the conference.¹³²

The idea for the conference originated in 1917 with a number of Winnipeg businessmen, particularly W. J. Bulman.¹³³ Two full-time campaigners were Professor W. F. Osborne of Manitoba University and Rev. E. Leslie Pidgeon. After a year of speech-making across Canada they managed to collect about sixty thousand dollars for the conference (which actually cost about half that amount).¹³⁴ They also attracted more than fifteen hundred delegates from all walks of Canadian life¹³⁵ to the conference. Many eminent Canadians chaired the sessions and the speakers represented all the provinces as well as the United States and Britain. Putman listed the topics discussed and then summarized their general

132 Putman, "The Winnipeg Educational Conference", in Inspector's Report, 1919, p. 16-21; and see, "A Plan To Improve Primary Education", in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 24, 1919, p. 7; and, "Amazing Lack of Interest In Educational Advance of Canada, Says Prof. Osborne", in Ibid., February 3, 1919, p. 3; "Rotarians Will Aid In Moral Education", in Ibid., February 4, 1919, p. 10; "National Ideal For Education", lead editorial in Ibid., February 7, 1919, p. 12; "National Educational Conference", advertisement in Ibid., October 1, 1919, p. 7; "Need Good Teachers Again Emphasized", in Ibid., December 23, 1919, p. 11: Putman addressed the Rotary Club at the Chateau Laurier, Ottawa on December 21 regarding the Winnipeg Conference; and, "Dr. Putman Makes A Plea For Teachers", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, December 22, 1919, p. 3.

133 Putman, "Winnipeg Conference", in Inspector's Report, 1919, p. 16.

134 Ibid.

135 Ibid., p. 17.

trend:

The problems of moral education and citizenship were viewed from every angle and by scores of people of whom each projected into the discussion his own interpretation of moral and spiritual truths. There seemed to be a general agreement that the New Testament contains the bedrock principles upon which character training and education for citizenship must be built. But here agreement apparently ended.¹³⁶

In Putman's estimation, most of the speakers were in agreement, though often unconsciously, in believing that moral principles and good citizenship could not be taught but must be lived, especially by the child's teacher and it was here that he believed nine-tenths of Canada's educational problems could be solved¹³⁷ (see next chapter). He believed that

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 18; and compare: P.A.C., MG55/30, No. 14, National Conference on Education and Citizenship 1919-23: Office of the General Secretary, "The National Council of Education; Its Constitution and Its Purpose", p. 2: [...] reconstruction [...] can be ensured only through the co-operation of all Educational agencies, in common agreement that the purpose to be served is the development of character, and not the outpouring of information. The ideal to be achieved is the ideal of Christian Citizenship, which will make of life for all a Fellowship, and not the destructive, dehumanizing competition which characterizes the present day, persistence in which must result in the complete disruption of Western Civilization and in world chaos."

¹³⁷ Putman, "Winnipeg Conference", in Inspector's Report, 1919, p. 18-19.

Those who planned the National Conference at Winnipeg wisely decided that the marked failure in Canadian education is the failure of the elementary school to develop moral character and a well-informed citizenship. And our Canadian elementary schools fall short in this respect according to the extent to which they are taught by immature boys and girls whose own characters are unformed and whose ideas of citizenship are vague and inadequate. No amount of professional training in normal schools in the technique of teaching the school subjects can compensate for the lack of those elements of character which come only with growth of experience.¹³⁸

Thus, he saw the big problem of moral education as devolving upon that of securing a larger proportion of teachers who would make teaching their life work.

In 1927, Putman elaborated on his personalistic, though Christian concept of morality.¹³⁹ He reiterated his earlier-stated aim of education:

138 Ibid., p. 19.

139 J. H. Putman, "Moral Instruction", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1927, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 18, 1928, p. 13-21; p. 13: "The Christian made virtue his aim. [...] Happiness comes, if it comes at all, as a by-product of some activity planned to achieve an end more definite and specific than happiness itself. Christian philosophy crystallized this theory and thereby made a distinct advance on both hedonism and stoicism. No Christian says we must pursue the good. We may or may not find happiness. But if the pursuit of the good will not bring it, nothing else can. [...] morality, like happiness, is a by-product; [...] it can be taught only as we can direct life to achieve some worthy purpose; that no person can teach a child to be moral except by the painfully slow method of directing his daily activities along the road of right conduct and that moral precepts and abstract moral instruction are wholly ineffective with the young except as these precepts and this instruction are immediately translated into conduct."

In reality the child is at school or ought to be at school not to learn subjects but to become [sic], to grow [sic]; not to acquire and appropriate something but to be [sic] something. The subjects of study are merely a means to an end. The end is conduct, behaviour, morality.¹⁴⁰

Two essential factors were needed for moral growth, Putman believed, a degree of intelligence to distinguish right from wrong, and some "tenacity of purpose or power of will to enable us to pursue that line of conduct which our intelligence tells us is right".¹⁴¹ He then cast "goodness" in a dynamic role gained by the interaction of personalities:

Goodness is neither static nor negative, but dynamic and positive. Nothing is good except a good will in action. Children make progress in goodness by associating with good people who direct their daily lives along the paths of virtue.¹⁴²

Again paralleling Dewey (whom he quoted¹⁴³), Putman optimistically believed

[...] that each child's moral gain will follow inevitably from living as a member of the school community and taking an active part in the realization of worthy aims directed by a wise teacher. [...] If we could only plan a school life for the child that would fully meet his needs today and tomorrow we need have no fear about his future as a citizen.¹⁴⁴

140 Ibid., p. 14.

141 Ibid.

142 Ibid.

143 "As Dr. Dewey very properly says, the school is nor merely a preparation for life, it is life", in Ibid., p. 15.

144 Ibid.

Despite his earlier contention that school was not designed for the purpose of appropriating subject-matter,¹⁴⁵ Putman devoted the next six pages to a description of the school programme and how its separate elements could contribute to the child's moral welfare. The ethics he extolled were those of Protestantism:

[...] as a member of an ordered community-life the child receives lessons in order, obedience, perseverance, punctuality, industry, truthfulness, compassion, generosity, neatness, thrift, economy and all the other virtues that are the very warp and woof of moral conduct.¹⁴⁶

Thus, Putman's moral goal was growth in a particular rational direction.

Beginning with the tool subjects, which were to be learned for purposes of more effective communication, then proceeding on to the content subjects, which in the hands of a skilful teacher could be used to increase the moral problem-solving ability of the child, Putman arrived at the aesthetic subjects, such as singing and art, which he deemed of highest value because

145 Ibid., p. 14.

146 Ibid., p. 16.

The beautiful and the good [...] cannot be separated and the child, who through song strengthens his appreciation of rhythm and becomes critical of the quality of his tones is not only making himself a more agreeable member of society but has actually strengthened his moral nature as well. Further, the learning of patriotic songs stirs the best in his nature, arouses an unselfish love for something outside his narrow, personal circle and widens his view of social obligation. Similarly the school instruction in art appeals to the best and most disinterested part of the child's nature and prepares him to reverence the Creator who made the world so beautiful. English literature offers the teacher her golden opportunity to give positive instruction in moral conduct.¹⁴⁷

Hand activities were extolled because they not only balanced the lessons from books and contributed to a more fully-rounded education for the city child, but they also profoundly taught the moral value of work. Again, true to his Protestant heritage, Putman believed that

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.; p. 16-19: Putman chose numerous examples from the Readers to illustrate this last point; p. 19-20: he demonstrated that natural science and geography lessons could be used to illustrate God's laws and the rational order of the universe.

No human being can grasp the meaning of a moral life without the experience of physical labour and no life can have any moral purpose unless daily toil in some form plays a part in the realization of that life's aims. Therefore I claim that the school in teaching girls to sew and cook according to scientific principles is not only cultivating their intelligence but strengthening their moral natures. The thirteen-year-old boy who plans in September to make a library table for his mother and who works hard two hours a week during the school year to carry out his purpose has received more than an increase in manual skill. His whole effort is on the same moral plane with that of the farmer who plants seed and cares for his crop until nature gives him a harvest.¹⁴⁸

Thus, despite Putman's apparent Platonic thrust toward the idea of goodness (with its attendant difficulties of bridging the gap between the knowledge of goodness and the desire to conduct oneself in a virtuous fashion¹⁴⁹), he weighted his moral thinking more toward pragmatic realities, the psychology of the child and the skilfulness and experience of the teacher:

148 Ibid., p. 20.

149 B. Anne Wood, "Plato's Educational Philosophy", unpublished up-grading paper for the University of Ottawa, Ottawa, 1972, p. 64.

Every lesson given in school and every act of a child in school or out of school has moral colour. What I am asserting is that specific moral instruction would have less moral value than the indirect moral values now obtained from the school experiences as I have outlined them. If the teacher has a high moral purpose and some professional skill the conduct of her pupils will soon show a like moral purpose. She cannot teach that two and two make four without affecting in some degree the moral nature of her children.¹⁵⁰

Putman's aim of education, therefore, was pre-eminently a moral one. It fit in with both the idealistic age of reconstruction in which he lived and with the moral thrust of more pragmatic educational reformers, such as John Dewey. For Putman, it was based on his world view, which was rationalistic, melioristic and Protestant. According to Paul Rutherford, this moral reform trend of Putman's society "was an experiment in social engineering, an attempt to force the city dweller to conform to the public mores of the church-going middle class".¹⁵¹ He cited the social and child welfare movements begun by humanitarian reformers who

¹⁵⁰ Putman, "Moral Instruction", in Inspector's Report, 1927, p. 20-21; and see, Putman, "Does the Elementary School Teach Morality?", in Fifty Years at School, p. 204-239.

¹⁵¹ Paul Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920", in Jay Atherton, Ed., The Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers, 1971, Annual Meeting held at St. John's, Newfoundland, (n.d.) p. 206.

[...] reasoned that by saving the young, they could ultimately save the future, an idea which particularly appealed to middle-class Canadians [.] These people saw the child as tomorrow's hope for a better society and invested heavily in education as an instrument of social and moral improvement. Thus the concerns for [...] parks and recreation centres, and new schools, all to protect the innocence of the child, and to mold his character according to the rational ethic.¹⁵²

From this impetus arose the Winnipeg Conference of 1919 and all of Putman's curricular reforms, from handwork, kindergarten-primary classes, school gardens, calisthenics and eurhythmics through to expanded programmes of music, art, civics and supplementary reading. Putman's dream for education was essentially optimistic and humanistic. But it was also eminently efficient and practical. As he wrote,

[...] my whole life's work has been a protest against what you call 'academic' and I may modestly claim to have had some share in giving this city a system of elementary education the least academic and the most practical of any in Canada.¹⁵³

Thus, Putman could be called a transitional educational reformer between the New Education idealists of the nineteenth century, such as James L. Hughes, and the

¹⁵² Ibid.; and see, p. 208-209: the town planning craze and the garden suburb idea, of which Lindenlea was an early example, were part of a similar move to mould the physical environment into both a rational and (with rapid transit) rural ideal pattern; see Chapter Fourteen: Putman's 1913 American trip and interest in examples of town planning there.

¹⁵³ J. H. Putman, letter to The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, November 21, 1939, p. 6.

progressive educators of the 1930's. As this chapter has shown, he attempted to retain the best elements of his predecessors' programme but also to adopt the more modern psychological outlook¹⁵⁴ and (as will be shown in the next three chapters) more efficient administrative practices of the twentieth century.

154 For further elaboration of this see: J. H. Putman, "Little Talks On Education", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1928, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 5, 1929, p. 12-23; J. H. Putman, "Is The Rising Generation Being Over-Educated?", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1931, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 4, 1932, p. 13-22; J. H. Putman, "Hand Work In Elementary Schools", in Chief Inspector's Annual Report, 1936, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 30, 1937, p. 23-24.

JOHN HAROLD PUTMAN AND THE ROOTS
OF PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION IN THE
OTTAWA PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1911-1923

by B. Anne Wood

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PART III

AN EFFICIENT ADMINISTRATOR

Despite his New Education idealism as far as the curriculum was concerned, John Harold Putman was very much a pragmatist with respect to the administration of the Ottawa Public Schools. He demonstrated his very effective leadership in his dealings with his teachers and Board, the public and the Department of Education. In all cases he kept in mind that liberal reforms for the pupils could only be accomplished when teachers were well paid and highly qualified, when trustees and public could be assured that costs were being checked and when the Department was satisfied that its regulations regarding standards were being adhered to.

Putman was also aware that planning for future needs was imperative. He convinced his Board to send him and a number of staff members to the United States to get the latest ideas and training. With his annual reports and newspaper articles Putman educated public opinion on the direction of his progressive reforms, and, using statistical tables very effectively, explained why school costs were so high in Ottawa. Early in his inspectorate he analyzed his work-load and urged the Department and the Board to hire a second inspector, Dr. E. T. Slemon. As his new programmes

increased, Putman delegated office and clerical tasks as much as possible to secretarial staff and clerks.

The efficiency of the system with respect to pupils' individual needs was always uppermost in Putman's mind. Thus, he urged the Board to establish students' health services, auxiliary classes, a vocational Manual Arts School and a more liberal promotional system. For many years before the Ottawa Technical School was established, he campaigned to have free evening technical classes set up in Ottawa so that "concrete-minded" students would not end up in "blind-alley" occupations. Thus, Putman's conception of efficiency was tempered by his humanism. The power of his personality was able to keep his critics largely at bay and persuade the Ottawa Public School Board to institute his liberal reforms. In his day he was judged to be an eminently efficient administrator.

Thus, Part Three will discuss Putman's administrative role, particularly with respect to his dealings with teachers, pupils and Board. It will conclude with an assessment of the Ottawa Public Schools by two Canadian school administrators, trained in the new scientific measurement techniques of efficiency in 1917.

CHAPTER XII

THE TEACHING STAFF

When Putman joined the Ottawa Public School Board in 1910, he considered the staff to be of good calibre with high ideals (see Chapter Five, section 1). But he noted that the salaries were inadequate and would result in a lower quality of appointments unless soon raised. A related difficulty was the practice of hiring teachers mainly from the Ottawa area. Putman believed that liberal salaries were needed to compete successfully for the highest calibre of teachers in the province. For to him the most important part of the educational process was the teacher (see Chapters Four and Eleven). Following on his Protestant philosophy, Putman affirmed that "inspiration" was the needed quality in the teacher. Because he believed that education was really self-education, Putman put a great responsibility on the teacher to arouse the child in this direction. Thus, he favoured teachers with strong personalities, and went out of his way to attract the highest proportion of male teachers per Board on the continent.

In studying the salary policies of Putman and the Ottawa Board a picture emerges which corroborates Putman's philosophy of the teacher; salary questions tended to be treated individualistically, with a definite bias toward

staff with high abilities. The law of supply and demand was respected; male teachers were offered higher salaries, as were manual training teachers when they became scarce (see Chapter One, section 2). As a result of the paternalistic manner of salary settlements, particularly during the difficult war years, and the low state of salaries after the war both the men and women teachers across the province were forced to organize and to lobby through the newspapers for better collective salaries. But Putman and the Board were able to outflank this movement and maintain their policy of rewarding their top staff by instituting a system of pay based on merit rating. At the same time, they upheld their competitive position both in hiring and in salaries with other urban centres.

This chapter will deal with Putman's attitudes and criteria for his teaching staff, as well as his pragmatic handling of salary matters.

1. The Importance of the Teacher.

As the previous chapter outlined, for Putman the key to the educational process was the teacher. He gave his reasons for believing this and related them to his humanistic, Protestant philosophy in more depth in a significant article, "The Teacher, An Essential Qualification

For His Success",¹ written for The Citizen in 1913.

At the beginning, he stated his basically Platonic view of man: "We have a higher and lower nature. We are human in so far as our higher nature triumphs, and we are animal in so far as we allow our animal nature to pull us down."² From this followed his philosophy of education, as we have seen, basically a moral one:

The ultimate, but not necessarily the immediate, purpose of education is then to make man's higher or spiritual nature triumph. The ultimate purpose of education is to humanize man. The ultimate purpose of education is to form character. The ultimate purpose of education is a spiritual purpose and all real education is a spiritual work.³

From this moral goal followed his Protestant, charismatic⁴ view of the role of the teacher; "the primary function of the teacher is to give inspiration [...]".⁵ Putman believed that "All education is really self-education",⁶

1 J. H. Putman, "The Teacher, An Essential Qualification For His Success", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 21, 1913, p. 3.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, New York, Scribner's, 1958, p. 71, footnote 105: "Charisma is a sociological term coined by Weber himself. It refers to the quality of leadership which appeals to non-rational motives."

5 Putman, "The Teacher", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 21, 1913, p. 3.

6 Ibid.

thus, "the one all-important condition upon which its realization depends is belief on the part of the individual that he can educate himself [...] or a realization on his part that growth must depend on his own efforts".⁷ This Protestant meliorism, Putman acknowledged, came in part from Aristotle, whom he quoted and then paraphrased, "I think he meant that if we follow our ideals, these ideals always tend to realize themselves".⁸ Thus, Putman's basic humanistic education (see Chapter Four, section 3) led him to a belief in natural law. He mixed it with his Protestant view of sin to come up with a dynamic outlook on moral growth:

The path toward a moral victory is not really different. There is a sense in which we all believe in the sudden conversion of a sinner. If a bad man is to become a good man, he must make a beginning in goodness. And the moment he sincerely makes this beginning, he is in some measure the thing he desires to become a good man. If this ideal of a good man is a high and true ideal, and if it holds its place as a dominating idea in the man's consciousness day after day and year after year, he can no more help becoming a good man than a round stone can help rolling down a steep hill.⁹

The role of the teacher in this moral journey toward higher self-realization, Putman believed, was to trust and encourage the boy (significantly, Putman in this piece never

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

referred to girls) so that "his better nature is uppermost in consciousness, then little by little his better nature becomes his real nature".¹⁰ He was concerned chiefly with the problem of how to improve bad boys and prevent them from becoming bad men (he assumed, "A boy is naturally weak and indolent"¹¹):

I am only arguing that the only way to make a bad boy better is to make him feel that he can be better because there is good in him, that the only way to make an idle and ignorant boy industrious and intelligent is to inspire him with a belief in his own worth and his power to be somebody.¹²

Putman's basically personalistic view of the teaching act and the importance of the character of the teacher, thus, bore a close resemblance to the early Methodist preacher's galvanizing call for regeneration (see Chapter Two, section 2). As Max Weber expressed it, it was an emotional plea "methodically induced [...] but the emotion, once awakened, was directed into a rational struggle for perfection".¹³

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Weber, Op. Cit., p. 143; and see, p. 142: the call had a charismatic quality to it with "an emotional certainty of salvation as the immediate result of faith [...] resulting in [...] freedom from the power of sin, as the consequent proof of grace". Weber pointed out that the Methodist's aspiration to the higher life, similar to the ethics of English Puritanism, "served it as a sort of make-shift for the doctrine of predestination": p. 142-143.

Putman acknowledged the power that positive thinking had, rather than the guilt of previous times, in motivating a person toward higher self-realization:

[...] today, the most successful preachers condemn sin as forcibly and as recklessly as was done fifty years ago, but they do not try to make the sinner think himself utterly lost. They appeal rather to his higher nature. They make him feel that he has never realized his true self. They make him feel that he can do better, and that he will do better. They try to lodge in his mind the idea that he is better and stronger than he really is hoping, that a man who thinks well of himself and has an ideal of a higher self unrealized will make some progress towards virtue.¹⁴

Thus the prime characteristic of an effective teacher was self-confidence borne of years of experience and knowledge both of the subjects taught and the psychology of the child:

Only he who is confident can beget confidence and the confident teacher is the teacher who through years of study has mastered not only the knowledge which he wishes the child through his inspiration to acquire, but also knows the child who is to acquire this knowledge.¹⁵

As Putman concluded, not only was this work one of the most difficult that men and women could perform, but his view restored the office of the teacher

¹⁴ Putman, "The Teacher", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 21, 1913, p. 3.

¹⁵ Ibid.

[...] where he was placed by Socrates to the position of an intellectual midwife. He is to prepare human souls for the birth of ideas. The child mind stands on the one hand, and on the other is the whole world of nature including mankind with his achievements. These two are to be brought together in such a way that the former will identify itself in some measure with the latter.¹⁶

In his 1913 Annual Report, Putman re-affirmed the importance he attached to the quality of his teaching staff:

We can improve our schools only as we improve our teachers. It has been true since the first school was established and it will be true until the last school is closed that the big factor in a school is the teacher. Compared with the teacher every other factor pales into insignificance. Compared with teaching every other human effort is on a different plane because teaching is a spiritual work. It is a contact of life with life. It is the dynamic effect of one character upon another.¹⁷

To improve the power of this relationship and to encourage the teacher to gain both self-respect and a sense of responsibility, Putman took a provincial lead¹⁸ in abolishing outside written examinations as a method of promotion in the

16 Ibid.

17 J. H. Putman, "Examinations", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1913, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, December 31, 1913, p. 12.

18 "Promotion of Pupils", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, April 22, 1915, p. 13; and see, P.A.C., Government of Canada, Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education: Report of the Commissioners, Parts I and II, Ottawa, Parmelee, 1913, p. 194: "Section 3 The Influence Of Text-books and Examinations", included extracts from Putman's circular letter to parents and teachers on "Examinations", in Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 8-10.

Ottawa Public Schools. As he wrote,

Only the exercise of power and responsibility can make men and women powerful and responsible. If pupils are to be promoted on the results of written examinations set by an outsider who cannot possibly know them as their teachers know them, the teachers become like cogs in the wheel of a machine instead of being free agents, responsible and self-respecting.¹⁹

The individuality of the teacher had to be cultivated, Putman believed;²⁰ examinations worked against this and tended to mould him "into a rut",²¹ thus repressing the individuality of the best teachers and never giving that of the less competent ones a chance to grow.²² His ideal (practised at the School for Higher English claimed both the late Dr. Robert Westwater²³ and Miss Kathleen Wingard²⁴) was to have a principal say to his teachers

19 Ibid., p. 13.

20 Ibid., p. 15.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid., p. 16.

23 Interview with the late Dr. Robert Westwater, in Victoria, April 17, 1974.

24 Interview with Miss Kathleen Wingard, Ottawa, February 9, 1974.

'There is a general outline of the work you are expected to cover. You are supposed to give this subject three hours a week. Teach it in your own way and as thoroughly as you can. Test your pupils orally and in writing as often as you like to ascertain their progress. Keep records of their work and at the end of the school year report to me their standing.' 'I confidently expect that a far-reaching effect of placing promotions in the hands of principals and teachers will be its tendency to improve teachers by increasing their power, preserving for them greater freedom, relieving them from useless mental strain, and encouraging them to do things in their own way.²⁵

Putman warned that unless the ratepayers of Ottawa undertook to increase the teacher's power and responsibility they would not receive high quality service:

If the people of this or any other city wish to have the highest kind of teaching service, they must among themselves and in the presence of their children magnify the office and work of the teacher; they must give the teacher the maximum of power and responsibility; they must see the teacher receives a just and even liberal compensation for services; and they must accord him a social position and recognition not inferior to that enjoyed by workers in other professions. When these things are done the people may demand and will surely receive superior service.²⁶

Many of Putman's ideas about the importance and status of the teacher must have crystallized during his month-long trip to schools in fourteen American cities between March twenty-ninth and April twenty-sixth, 1913. He

²⁵ Putman, "Examinations", in Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 17.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 13.

and Building Superintendent Garvock were authorized by the Board to undertake the journey "in order to get the latest ideas with regard to School Architecture".²⁷ But, as with Putman's previous American visit (see Chapter Three, section 2), he intended to pick up a number of ideas. Fortunately, they were fully expressed in a series of articles written for The Citizen en route. A number of them related to American ideals in education, the ratio of men to women teachers, and the policy of putting women into higher administrative positions.

After visiting the Washington Irving High School for Girls in New York City, Putman commented at length on a series of papers which its teachers had written for The School Review on school efficiency, and which he thought proclaimed "a very unorthodox creed".²⁸ It was very similar to Putman's New Education, or child-centred, view of the teacher's role outlined earlier. Putman paraphrased this creed as follows:

27 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1913, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1912, (n.p., n.d.) p. 49-50.

28 J. H. Putman, 'VI. New York City', "American Schools and Other Things through Canadian Eyes", in The Citizen, Ottawa, April 5, 1913, p. 4.

They say that schools are for children and not for teachers; that a teacher should do something for every child, and if he does not he has failed; that if he sets a standard of work which only two-thirds of his class reach that he is a failure; that every child who enters a high school has a right to demand that work be given him which he can do and will enjoy doing; that the great work of a teacher is to fire his pupils with enthusiasm and make them believe themselves; that the public who support the schools have a right to demand 100 cents on the dollar measured in pupils['] progress just as much as when they buy food and clothing; that a teacher is making no fair return for the money paid him by reporting that the child is lazy, unprepared and unfit to go on; that a teacher is to be judged by his success with his pupils and not by his scholarship [...] that the teacher must attract the child [...].²⁹

Thus, as Putman inferred about these ideals, a high responsibility was placed on the teacher and his charismatic personality to guarantee the success of the child.

But the bulk of Putman's comments in his seventeen articles was on more practical matters, for instance the ratio of women to men and the salaries of top administrative personnel. On the former point, he remarked on numerous occasions about the high proportion of women in American schools, a fact he attributed to the low salaries of teachers. But they were better paid than in Ontario. In Boston, he wrote that "women teachers here are paid somewhat better than in Ontario and that men are paid on an average about

29 Ibid.

twice as much as they would receive there".³⁰ Putman noted that in Boston as well as in Chicago there were women in senior administrative positions. In Chicago, was an outstanding person, Dr. Ella Flagg Young, who had been the supervisor of instruction for John Dewey's Laboratory School.³¹ In fact, she had suggested the name of the school in 1896, and, as Cremin wrote, she had helped Dewey crystallize his ideas into practice.³² Putman, meeting Dr. Young in 1913 when she was superintendent of Chicago's school system, recognized her superior administrative talent:

Chicago, a city of two and a quarter millions [sic], has a woman superintendent, Dr. Ella Flagg Young, who receives \$10,000 a year and who is responsible for a staff of 7,500 teachers. I did not meet a single Chicago teacher, man or woman, who questioned the fitness or wisdom of her appointment. She had taught every department of elementary work. She had for some years been principal of the Chicago Normal School and she had the highest possible academic and professional standing. If she can solve the Chicago school problems she will have proved to the world that no executive position is beyond a woman's grasp.³³

30 J. H. Putman, 'II. Boston Secondary Schools.', "American Schools", in Ibid., March 31, 1913, p. 5.

31 Lawrence Cremin, The Transformation of the School, Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957, New York, Random House, 1964, p. 135.

32 Ibid., p. 135-136.

33 J. H. Putman, 'XI. Chicago, The Parental City', "American Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, April 15, 1913, p. 5.

But aside from this and a few other outstanding examples, Putman questioned the wisdom of having so many women dominating American education at this time. On the other hand, he also wondered why there were so few Canadian women in higher administrative posts:

As in all American cities the actual teaching in the elementary schools is almost wholly in the hands of women. Sometimes I am told this is because they cannot secure men; sometimes I am told by the superintendent that he prefers a competent and superior woman to an ordinary commonplace man; several business and professional men with whom I have conversed say they prefer women to men because of their better influence on the children. In Washington the principal of the Normal school and all the staff are women. In Ontario we have seven Normal schools, but not even one first-rate position is filled by a woman. Are the Americans wholly wrong and the Canadians wholly right or do the two peoples represent the extremes? One thing seems to me quite clear: the American boy of thirteen or fourteen is more easily managed in school than the Canadian.³⁴

As Putman had inferred in his Citizen article in February, he believed it very important that salary levels be kept high to attract men to the staff. In St. Paul and Minneapolis, out of seventy-five elementary schools, each with six hundred children, he found that there were no men except janitors.³⁵ Despite the excellent discipline and

³⁴ J. H. Putman, 'X. Washington, D.C.', "American Schools", in Ibid., April 12, 1913, p. 16.

³⁵ J. H. Putman, 'XIII. St. Paul and Minneapolis', "American Schools", in Ibid., April 18, 1913, p. 7.

high standard of teaching, he continued to doubt the wisdom of placing "the whole burden of educating the young upon one sex".³⁶ He believed that the masculine image was important in the education of boys. This was corroborated by a fine married woman principal whom he met in Indianapolis (he remarked also that married women were not discriminated against here):

I ventured to ask her in what way, if any, her school and school work failed to satisfy her ideals. Her immediate answer was that her pupils, both boys and girls, but especially the boys, when they reached the age of adolescence, would be much better if men and women shared the work of teaching. She said that while her staff of teachers secured a ready obedience, she felt the virile and manly side of the boys' natures was necessarily not fully developed.³⁷

In Putman's future hiring of staff for the Ottawa Board he was to continue his policy of having "a larger proportion of well-qualified male teachers than any other school board on the continent"³⁸ and he was to encourage gifted

36 Ibid.

37 J. H. Putman, 'XVI. Indianapolis', "American Schools", in Ibid., April 22, 1913, p. 5.

38 J. H. Putman, 'XVII. Cleveland, Ohio', "American Schools", in Ibid., April 26, 1913, p. 17; and see, J. H. Putman, "The Teaching Staff", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1916, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 7, 1917, p. 9: "Our staff now consists of more than 250 teachers. Of these 55 are men, a larger proportion than is employed by any school board in a large city in either Canada or the United States. We have twenty principals, of whom two are women."

women, such as Florence Dunlop,³⁹ to seek higher administrative responsibilities.

As we have seen, Putman valued the teacher's personality and held it chiefly responsible for the esprit de corps of the classroom as well as the average attendance in it.⁴⁰ But, deeper than charismatic appeal, Putman valued most the human character of the teacher.⁴¹ Following the war, in the period of reconstruction, as was pointed out in the previous chapter, this quality was considered even more important

39 The Stothers Exceptional Child Foundation, Inc., "A Tribute to the Late Florence S. Dunlop", in Gleanings from the field of Special Education, Vol. 8, No. 2, February, 1964, p. 5: "The late Dr. J. H. Putman suggested to Miss Dunlop that she should attend Columbia University's Department of Special Education [...]. He, as few administrators have since done, procured leave of absence from her duties under the Ottawa School Board for the time needed to complete her Ph.D. in psychology and special education"; and see, J. H. Putman, "The Teaching Staff", in Chief Inspector's Annual Report, 1935, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 6, 1936, p. 8: "Miss Florence Dunlop, our Supervisor of Auxiliary classes, has been awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Columbia University, New York. She is one of a very few Canadian women to earn this distinction."

40 J. H. Putman, "School Registration and Attendance", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1914, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 29, 1915, p. 9-10.

41 J. H. Putman, "Moral Instruction in Public Schools and the Curriculum of Studies", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1915, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 26, 1916, p. 13; and see, Putman, "The Teaching Staff", in Inspector's Report, 1916, p. 9: "Certificates cannot measure human character and only the character of a man or woman really counts in influencing the character of children."

for the moral growth of the pupils. Putman attributed the success of the School for Higher English primarily to the high character of its teachers, who gave "the human touch that kindles a spiritual glow and awakens an ambition to conquer a difficulty [...]".⁴² In fact, by 1922, this veneration of the spiritual act of teaching included the liturgy of "Ethics For Teachers"⁴³ and "A Teacher's Creed".⁴⁴ A series of lectures given by Edward Howard Griggs on moral leaders for the Ottawa Teachers' Association reinforced this growing spirit of idealism.⁴⁵ Another speaker in the series, Professor Earl Barnes of Philadelphia, who addressed

42 J. H. Putman, Inspector's Annual Report, 1921, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, March 1, 1922, p. 9.

43 J. H. Putman, "Ethics For Teachers", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1922, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 4, 1923, p. 4.

44 Putman, "A Teacher's Creed", in Ibid., p. 23.

45 "Lecture Course", in The Citizen, Ottawa, September 14, 1912, p. 5; "Is Noted Speaker", in Ibid., October 2, 1912, p. 4; "Edward Howard Griggs", editorial in Ibid., October 3, 1912, p. 6; "Gifted Lecturer Tells Story Life of St. Francis d'Assisi", in Ibid., October 12, 1912, p. 2; "Griggs Lecture on Savanorola", in Ibid., October 19, 1912, p. 2; "Portrays Life of Thomas Carlyle", in Ibid., October 26, 1912, p. 2; "Distinctive Type of Great Moral Leader", in Ibid., November 2, 1912, p. 2; "Tolstoi Was a Great Moral Leader", in Ibid., November 9, 1912, p. 4; "Shakespeare, The Humanist, Eloquently Described To Great Ottawa Audience By Prof. Griggs, The Eminent Lecturer", in Ibid., October 4, 1913, p. 2; "Prof. Griggs To Give Series of Lectures", in Ibid., September 19, 1914, p. 13; "Dr. Griggs Lectures On Tennyson's Works", in Ibid., February 23, 1916, p. 11.

the teachers on "A Study of Children's Ideals"⁴⁶ in 1914, warned them against America's industrial efficiency which could displace their idealism. As he noted, "In Ontario you have more of the old world influences and appreciation of relative values than we have in the States. Don't let people who want industrial output swamp the schools".⁴⁷

But Putman himself did not believe that the spirit of idealism had been thwarted by self-interest. He commended the Ottawa teachers on their self-sacrificing altruism and efforts at improvement in 1916:

[...] our teaching staff of all ranks shows a commendable spirit of progress. This is evidenced in many ways. The kindergarten teachers meet voluntarily once a week to discuss their work and improve their practice. They also voluntarily gave up a part of their summer holidays to take a course to qualify them for primary teachers. The work done by teachers of all grades in connection with the Teachers' Association lectures has broadened them and made their work more valuable in the class rooms. In every school the teachers are giving more and more attention to supervising the play of the children, especially on the school rinks. The interest taken by the teachers in organizing the Field Sports' Competitions shows an unselfish desire to do more for the children than a perfunctory discharge of duty toward them.⁴⁸

46 "Ottawa Teachers in Annual Convention", in Ibid., February 12, 1914, p. 12.

47 "Industrial Output Swamps the Schools", in Ibid., February 13, 1914, p. 7.

48 J. H. Putman, "The Teaching Staff", in Inspector's Report, 1916, p. 9.

Putman and his family contributed to this altruistic spirit of personal service. At Dr. Putman's tribute dinner given by the Ottawa teachers, his wife was singled out by Dr. Florence Dunlop, the key-note speaker, who said that Mrs. Putman "will never know what she has meant to the public school teachers. She makes members of the teaching staff feel they are members of one huge family".⁴⁹ According to their daughter, Miss Irene Putman, her father loved to entertain and the family held Saturday afternoon teas from three o'clock to seven o'clock for the Ottawa teachers.⁵⁰ One year they had an "Open House" every Sunday afternoon throughout the winter. Parties were given at the Putman home for principals and their wives, and a dinner was held every year at MacGregor Lake for the School Board members. Visiting dignitaries or newly-arrived staff were often accommodated in the Putman home.

49 "Life-Size Portrait Presented to Dr. J. H. Putman by Friends", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, November 1, 1935, p. 4.

50 Irene Putman, "Life With Father", in Irene Putman and H. R. Cummings, John Harold Putman, Ottawa Educationist, Ottawa, (n.p.) June, 1969, p. 13.

Putman also arranged to have the Ottawa teachers visit other centres, such as Toronto,⁵¹ Boston⁵² and Washington⁵³ to gain new ideas for their teaching. He encouraged Home and School Clubs⁵⁴ and suggested that there should be constant interaction and regular reporting between the child's school and his home.⁵⁵

Even the Ottawa newspapers remarked on the success of Putman's personalized (though, paternalistic⁵⁶) treatment of the Ottawa School Board staff and its effect on the pupils:

51 "Local Teachers Go To Toronto", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, October 24, 1911, p. 2; and see, R.G.2, P-3, 1923, Box 122, 8-41, Item 1, letter of Putman to Colquhoun, dated Ottawa, December 3, 1923: request to have one-half of the 600 members of the Ottawa Teachers' Institute visit Toronto at the end of February.

52 "Sculpture On Parliament Bldg. Outrage On Good Taste, Declares Public Schools Art Supervisor", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 8, 1919, p. 11.

53 Interview with Miss Frances Iveson, Ottawa, February 22, 1974.

54 J. H. Putman, "Home and School Clubs", in Fifty Years at School, An Educationist Looks at Life, Toronto, Clarke Irwin, 1938, p. 177-181.

55 Putman, "Pupils' Monthly Reports", in Ibid., p. 246-253; as he practised in his early teaching posts (see Chapter Two, section 4).

56 Both Miss Irene Putman, Op. Cit., p. 13, and Miss Frances Iveson remarked on Putman's dominating personality that one could feel. He often inspected teachers carrying a newspaper behind which he could hide to alleviate their nervousness: Interview with Miss Iveson, February 22, 1974.

The personnel of the Public schools['] teaching staff of Ottawa is of the very best. [...] what [...] impresses the onlooker at any of the Public schools['] functions, whether they be concerts, entertainments, physical drill displays, or school sports is the obvious personal interest in their scholars by the school principals and members of their teaching staff. The personal touch in teaching is recognized by educationists as vital to progress and the presence of this excellent and desirable feature is conspicuously manifest in Ottawa Public schools.⁵⁷

At a time when the teaching staff was still within manageable numbers (it had increased from 202 in 1911⁵⁸ to 298 in 1923⁵⁹), Putman, with the assistance of a majority of Board members, his co-inspector, Slemon, and his family, achieved a good working relationship between management and staff that contributed a great deal to the efficiency of the Ottawa Public School Board. He gave his teachers much more responsibility in the promotion of their pupils. He also allowed his top-flight teachers flexibility with their course of study.

57 "Comprehensive and Varied Course Given In Ottawa Public Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, August 14, 1920, p. 9.

58 J. H. Putman, "Number of Teachers Employed", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1911, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, December 18, 1911, p. 7.

59 J. H. Putman, "The Teaching Staff and Salaries", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1923, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 7, 1924, p. 7.

But, as Putman himself wrote in 1915,

[...] when we consider, whether in Canada or in other countries the small pecuniary rewards that have been given to teachers in elementary schools and the few honours or distinctions conferred upon these teachers by the state or by society the wonder is not that there are so many who are comparative failures but that there are so many who are really successful. In the end the people get pretty much what they want and what they pay for.⁶⁰

Thus, Putman recognized that liberal salaries were needed to maintain this efficiency. During a period of inflation and a world war, he was able to effect some gains in this direction.

2. Need for Liberal Salaries.

By examining the salary policy of Putman and the Ottawa Board over the 1911-1923 period, one can elicit not only their efficiency at handling pragmatic problems, but also their attitude toward salary questions in general.

As noted earlier with respect to his own career (Chapter Three, section 1), Putman definitely believed that liberal salaries were needed to attract top personnel. In his first report, he made it clear that although salaries on the Ottawa Board had shown a steady increase,

⁶⁰ J. H. Putman, "Moral Instruction", in Inspector's Report, 1915, p. 13.

On the whole, the salary increases have barely kept pace with the ever increasing cost of living. The opening up of Western Canada has created an unprecedented demand for trained teachers, and those possessing good qualifications and real skill in teaching can almost make their own terms with Trustee Boards. You can, in my opinion, afford to employ only those who have already proved themselves to be the very best, and to secure such, liberal salaries must be offered. Economies may, or may not, be possible in buildings and equipment, but only positive waste could result from any attempt, at the present time, to prevent salaries rising in proportion to the scarcity of trained teachers.⁶¹

At a time of teacher shortage, a high mill rate⁶² and relatively good average salaries,⁶³ Putman aimed at a policy of liberal salaries for highly-qualified personnel. His 1911 battle over both the hiring and salary paid A. F. Newlands, the new Art Supervisor and art teacher at the School for Higher English, has already been recounted (Chapter Five, section 3).

In his first month of negotiation, Putman established the policy of up-grading a newly-appointed, experienced teacher to the salary level of second-year teachers if there

61 J. H. Putman, Inspector's Report, 1911, p. 8.

62 "Increase in Salaries of Teachers and School Tax", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, November 15, 1910, p. 1: "Ottawa at present has the highest school rate of any city in Ontario."

63 "The Salaries For Teachers", in Ibid., November 18, 1910, p. 8: "At present Ottawa is supposed to be second to Toronto in the size of salaries paid, and yet, the schools are so much larger in Toronto [...]."

was a scarcity of this class⁶⁴ (this was to be the bane of experienced teachers for years to come). As well, annual increases were to be treated as bonuses; they depended on the successful reports on the teacher by both the principal and the inspector. Particularly was this to be true of second-class female teachers (the majority of the staff); they were not to receive a salary above eight hundred dollars (their maximum was nine hundred) unless their work was rated excellent.⁶⁵ On the other hand, the maximum for first-class male teachers was to be increased to \$1,700 and second-class male teachers were to be given double increases in salary above their 1910 salary as of January first, 1911, thus encouraging their retention.⁶⁶ Needless to say, the lady teachers (numbering 155 as against forty-seven male teachers)⁶⁷ were not satisfied with these salary increases, saying that the only ones who benefited were those at maximum salary or new teachers.⁶⁸ As Putman is reported to have replied (revealing his basic pragmatism), the tax rate was

64 "Increases For School Staffs", in The Citizen, Ottawa, December 2, 1910, p. 3.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid.

67 J. H. Putman, "Number of Teachers Employed", in Inspector's Report, 1911, p. 7.

68 "Salaries of Lady Teachers", in The Citizen, Ottawa, December 6, 1910, p. 10.

already very high, and "The men who got the double increase are nearly all married men with families and there are only seventeen in all. There are over one hundred lady teachers who would be affected by a double increase".⁶⁹

In 1912, the Board found it increasingly difficult to secure competent male teachers of the highest classes⁷⁰ and manual training teachers.⁷¹ Thus, it raised the minimum of male teachers by one hundred dollars and increased the salaries of manual training teachers by seventy-five dollars.⁷² As well, all male assistants holding second-class certificates and a degree in Arts were to be ranked in the salary schedule as first-class teachers.⁷³ To secure experienced teachers, the management committee was to be given the liberty of hiring new teachers at two annual increases above the stated initial salary. Female teachers employed as principals were to receive a two hundred dollar bonus above their salaries as assistants, and certified domestic science teachers

69 Ibid.

70 "Salary Increases For Teachers", in Ibid., February 2, 1912, p. 3.

71 P.A.O., R.G.2, F-3-H, Vol. 5, 1912-13, Albert H. Leake, 'Slater St. School', "Ottawa 1912", in Inspector's Report on Manual Training Classes, dated January 19, 1912.

72 "Salary Increases For Teachers", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 2, 1912, p. 3.

73 Ibid.

(obviously in short supply) were to be paid the same as first-class female teachers. Putman himself was to advance from his starting salary of \$2,500 in 1911⁷⁴ to three thousand dollars (his maximum) with annual increases of two hundred dollars per year until a new maximum of \$3,600 was reached.⁷⁵

This prompted a letter from a critic, "Interested", who pointed out that the supposed increase of one thousand dollars for first-class lady teachers already had been reached two years ago.⁷⁶ The brunt of her criticism, however, was directed at the fact that the second-class lady teachers got no increase, while

In the last ten years the salary of principals has increased sixty per cent; kindergarten teachers, fifty-nine per cent; male assistants, fifty-four per cent; and lady assistants only thirty-five per cent.⁷⁷

She argued that it was a well-known fact that "the lower grades require the best teachers"⁷⁸ and she finished by

74 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1910, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1909, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, 1911, p. 137.

75 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1912, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1911, (n.p., n.d.) p. 14.

76 "Interested", letter to the Editor, in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 7, 1912, p. 6.

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid.

asking "is there not too great a difference [between men's and women's salaries] in Ottawa, where the lady teachers render as good, as efficient and as faithful service as the men"?⁷⁹

In Putman's lengthy reply two days later,⁸⁰ much of which was repeated in his Annual Report for 1912,⁸¹ he stated the basic reasons for the salary policy of the Ottawa Board and revealed many of his underlying assumptions.

He began on a positive note, claiming that the Ottawa Board "has during the past ten years made more liberal and more frequent salary increases than any school board in Canada".⁸² Then, in his usual trenchant style, he rebutted every one of his critic's points.

First he reviewed the exact salary figures for all classes of teachers from 1902. He revealed that since 1907 the minimum salaries for male assistants, both second and first class, and principals had had to be raised. Notwithstanding these efforts,

79 Ibid.

80 J. H. Putman, letter to the Editor, in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 9, 1912, p. 6.

81 J. H. Putman, "Average Salaries", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1912, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, December 30, 1912, p. 12-15.

82 Putman, letter to the Editor, in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 9, 1912, p. 6.

At the end of 1910 it was found to be impossible to secure suitable male teachers for the salaries offered, and the minimum for each class was increased \$150.⁸³

The same condition occurred at the end of 1911, so that a new schedule for male teachers and principals again had to be adopted. He then summarized the minimum and maximum increases for all teachers both in real and percentage terms for the past ten years.

To the charge that women with second-class certificates were overlooked, Putman replied that

[...] the facts show that this class has received an increase in ten years in their maximum salary of 105 per cent, which is a greater increase than has been given to any class of male teachers.⁸⁴

He admitted, however, that this "does not prove that women teachers are adequately paid, but it does prove that they have not been overlooked by the Ottawa public school board during the past ten years".⁸⁵

Putman concluded his letter in a pragmatic vein:

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid.

The fixing of teachers' salaries is in the long run, like so many other things, an economic problem. There are always a few people who are willing to pay for any service rendered them what they think it ought to be worth, but the mass of people in any country purchase the teachers' services, and all other services, just as they purchase meat and clothing at the lowest market price. The Ottawa board has certainly not been governed wholly by economic conditions. They have made voluntary increases at different times, and have never been actually forced to make increases except, perhaps, to secure male assistants. Even now with a maximum of \$1,600 for male assistants, we cannot attract in sufficient numbers the class of men we require. On the other hand, the board could by advertising for women teachers at the present salaries secure hundreds of applications.⁸⁶

In Putman's 1912 Annual Report he explained what he considered to be the main reasons for the special salary difficulties in the Ottawa region (reiterating some of his earlier arguments to the Department of Education: see, Chapter Three, section 1):

(1) The cost of living in Ottawa is much above the average for the Province of Ontario, and is probably higher than any other place. This is especially true in regard to the cost of board and lodging - an item affecting all unmarried teachers.

(2) The demand in the Canadian Civil Service for clerks causes a steady drain upon the teaching staff of the Ottawa Public Schools.

(3) There is only one Normal School east of Peterborough. Of necessity, we have to secure some teachers from Western Ontario. In order to get them we must pay somewhat better salaries than are paid in Toronto, Hamilton or London.⁸⁷

86 Ibid.

87 Putman, "Average Salaries", in Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 13.

He cited also the general Canadian-wide demand for teachers, especially on the Prairies, and the competition for able women by other occupations recently opened up for them.

In the coming salary schedule of 1913, Putman noted that principals of the largest schools would have their salaries raised from \$1,500 in 1903 to \$2,200, an increase of fifty per cent over that time. Since, with one exception, these teachers were all university graduates with at least twenty years' teaching experience, he concluded "Their salaries are mere pittance when compared with the incomes of many professional or business men of similar attainments and an equal experience".⁸⁸

Putman remarked on the coming double increase for some eighty women teachers with at least three full years' service but not yet at their maximum⁸⁹ (thus rewarding them for experience). He argued that the nine hundred dollar maximum salary for second-class women teachers and the one

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 14; and see, Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1909, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1908, Ottawa, Paynter et al. (printers), 1910, p. 148: petition of principals for a re-adjustment of their salaries.

⁸⁹ Putman, "Average Salaries", in Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 14; and see, "Salary Increases In Public Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, November 8, 1912, p. 2; and, "Public School Board Oppose Tax Pooling", in Ibid., February 7, 1913, p. 5: Putman's salary to be raised to \$4,000 for 1913.

thousand dollar maximum for first-class women teachers, forty in all whose maximum salaries were fixed in 1910, were "hardly fair for 1913 or 1914".⁹⁰

Putman also urged the Board to consider lowering the eight years required of women teachers before they could reach their maximum salary:

On the average, women teachers for obvious reasons serve comparatively short terms. Their salary ought as nearly as possible to bear a direct ratio year by year to their actual worth. We employ as grade teachers only those who have two, three, or four years' previous experience. It is reasonable to assume that a teacher who comes to us with three years' experience will in three years more reach her maximum efficiency. If so, she ought then to be in receipt of the maximum salary.⁹¹

He concluded by pointing out that the existing salary schedule was fairly just for teachers who had served a long time but

[...] it is very unfair to those women (the great majority) who serve three, five, or seven years. It is unfair to the public because while our minimum is so low we cannot attract in sufficient numbers the most desirable teachers. If we were to raise our minimum salary and allow a teacher to reach the maximum much sooner, we should, even with our present maximum salary, find it easy to secure the best Normal School graduates as teachers.⁹²

⁹⁰ Putman, "Average Salaries", in Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 14.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 14-15.

⁹² Ibid., p. 15.

Thus, within two years, Putman had succeeded in substantially increasing the salaries of male teachers and principals and he had made a start in the direction of improving women's salaries.⁹³ He remained determined to achieve his goals of acquiring the best qualified personnel, especially males. The Minister of Education, R. A. Pyne, remarked in his Report of 1911 on the substantial progress in salary conditions throughout the province.⁹⁴ But he still felt compelled to have his Deputy Minister, A. H. U. Colquhoun, instruct the inspectors by means of a circular, on the necessity of continuing the salary improvement drive.⁹⁵

A comparison of the minimum and maximum salaries of the Ottawa Public School Board and the Provincial Model School Teachers' salaries at the end of 1912, in fact, showed that Putman in his two years of office had increased the salaries of his staff at least in maxima to the level of equality with the Ottawa Model School in the top three categories (see Table I, p. 555). His supervisors were well

93 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1912, p. 11-12 and 185-186: salary schedules for 1913.

94 R. A. Pyne, Minister's letter, dated February 1, 1912, in Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For The Year 1911, Toronto, Cameron, 1912, p. ix.

95 P.A.O., R.G.2, Series Q, Box 4, File 1890-1912, Circular 30 1/2, May 7, 1912, p. 1 and 2.

Table I.- 1912 Salary Schedules.^a

Staff	Ottawa Board		Provincial Model Schools	
	Minimum	Maximum	Minimum	Maximum
Women Teachers First-Class	\$ 600	\$1,000	\$ 800	\$1,000
Men Teachers First-Class	\$1,200	\$1,600	\$1,200	\$1,600
Men Principals	\$1,600	\$2,200	\$1,800	\$2,200

^a P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 83, XXIX, Item 28, Ottawa P.S. and Provincial Model School Teachers' Salaries, pencil dated February 20, 1912.

paid with salaries equivalent to Toronto's and above those of the Model and Normal staff.⁹⁶

By 1913, Putman not only presented his usual ten-year table of average salaries, but printed the complete salary schedule for 1914, adopted November sixth, 1913, with eighteen clauses and his own following explanatory paragraphs in his Annual Report.⁹⁷

The schedule began by excluding teachers at the School for Higher English, women principals, manual training teachers, supervisors of departments and principals holding second-class certificates (introduced, on Putman's suggestion,⁹⁸ despite Clause Eleven of Report Number Ten of the School Management Committee that all principals must have a permanent first-class certificate⁹⁹). Thus, Putman and the Board continued the policy of treating certain special classes of teachers and principals individually and

96 Ibid., Box 48, XLIV, Item 59, 1911 petition of Normal and Special Instructors in Art, Manual Training and Music for an increase in salary at least approaching those of Ottawa and Toronto supervisors doing similar work.

97 J. H. Putman, "Average Salaries", in Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 20-27.

98 Interview with Dr. Harry Pullen, Ottawa, May 15, 1972; Bruce Bell was the person for whom Dr. Putman made the exception.

99 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1913, p. 190.

not bound by a salary schedule;¹⁰⁰ they remained the élite and specially sought-after personnel who needed extra salaries to retain them or to reward them for good services.

After giving the exact salary figures for the schedule in eighteen clauses,¹⁰¹ Putman elaborated his policy. He pointed out that the new salary schedule made very important changes in the minimum and maximum salaries of female teachers (they gained one hundred dollars).¹⁰² And the first increase now was fixed so that after a year's probation the female teacher advanced from \$550 to seven hundred dollars.¹⁰³ He hoped they would thus be able to attract the most successful Normal School graduates from across the province.

Putman then began his rationalization for the discrepancy of four to five hundred dollars between men's and women's maximum salaries:

[...] the Ottawa Public School Board is not paying men four or five hundred dollars a year more than women to do the same [sic] work. The work being done by the women may be just as difficult and just as important; it may even be worth just as much in dollars and in cents but it is not the same work.¹⁰⁴

100 Ibid., p. 186-187 and 189-192.

101 Putman, "Average Salaries", in Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 21-22.

102 Ibid., p. 22.

103 Ibid., p. 23.

104 Ibid.

He claimed that only twelve out of 135 qualified women teachers expressed any wish to teach a grade as high as Grade Six. Reiterating his earlier boast that the Ottawa Board had a higher proportion of men teachers than any city in North America, Putman then repeated his "supply and demand" norm:

Competent women teachers can be secured at present for \$600 to \$1,100. Competent men cannot be secured for less than \$1,000 to \$1,600. If the men could be secured for \$600 to \$1,100 they would not be paid a cent more, and if competent women could not be secured for less than \$1,000 to \$1,600 their salaries would immediately advance to these figures. The whole question is an economic one and governed by the law of supply and demand.¹⁰⁵

In a long argument which covered the major popular reasons for the Ottawa ratepayer and the Board demanding a fair proportion of male teachers on the staff, Putman ended up with his own reasons based on his moral aim of the school:

I have pointed out elsewhere that our aim with pupils is the formation of character. Teachers influence the character of their pupils for good only in proportion to the virtues which have become fixed in their own characters. Only womanly women can tend to form the womanly virtues in growing girls, and only manly men can develop manhood in young boys. It follows then that the faith of the public in male teachers has no real foundation unless these teachers be men in every sense of the word.¹⁰⁶

105 Ibid.

106 Ibid., p. 24.

In the last twenty years, Putman further explained, not only were teachers able to demand twice their salary, but male teachers, in nine cases out of ten, expected to spend the rest of their careers in this profession. Thus, "If we are to secure men of the right type we must offer salaries which will maintain them and their families in some degree of comfort",¹⁰⁷ Putman reasoned. First-class male teachers with experience, as has been shown, were increasingly difficult to obtain. Putman thus had urged the Board for the past two years to hire "young men of proved ability and success who hold only second-class certificates".¹⁰⁸ He pointed out that their opportunities for advancement were limited; they could teach only in public schools. But, using his "character" norm again, Putman defended their appointment:

In my opinion, the service already given us by these men holding second class certificates has justified their appointment and I have no fear that the quality of their work will cause any lowering in the general tone of our schools. On the contrary, I believe that only by engaging really good male teachers with second class certificates can we maintain a high standard of teaching while supplying the number of male teachers required for our schools, and at the same time keep the cost of education within reasonable limits.¹⁰⁹

107 Ibid.

108 Ibid., p. 25.

109 Ibid., p. 25-26.

Continuing his earlier pleas for more practice-teaching experience (see Chapter Four, section 2), Putman stated his bias for experienced teachers of character over highly-qualified, though inexperienced, training school graduates.¹¹⁰ Putman concluded by stating his conviction that the Board's present principals' salary maximum of \$2,200 would attract the best school principals in the province outside the City of Toronto.¹¹¹

Needless to say, the Ottawa Women Teachers' Association registered its objections to the Board,¹¹² even with this more liberal salary schedule for women teachers. From this point on, following a general provincial trend,¹¹³ the organization became more militant. The women began to use newspaper articles to promote their ideas.¹¹⁴

At the beginning of 1913, the Minister of Education reported that the up-grading of teachers' certificates and

110 Ibid., p. 26; and see, "Board Deals With Teachers' Salaries", in The Citizen, Ottawa, November 6, 1913, p. 2.

111 Putman, "Average Salaries", in Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 26-27.

112 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1913, p. 163.

113 "The Teacher's Rights", editorial in The School, Vol. 1, No. 8, April, 1913, p. 516.

114 "Believes Women Teachers Could Have Solved The Water Problem Long Ago", in The Citizen, Ottawa, October 24, 1913, p. 4.

the teacher supply across the province showed distinct improvements and the position of teachers in elementary schools was approaching "normal conditions".¹¹⁵ He urged a continuation of the campaign to increase the teachers' salaries and noted that the highest salary paid any teacher in the province was \$2,200¹¹⁶ (the maximum obtained by Newlands and by 1913, Ottawa Public School principals¹¹⁷).

At the beginning of 1914, the Ottawa Public School Management Committee, advised by Putman, increased its exceptions to the salary schedule, awarding bonuses to those principals deemed underpaid and teachers bearing heavier loads, such as Entrance Class work.¹¹⁸ A petition to the Minister from the special teachers of the Ottawa Normal School, with comparative salaries of urban supervisors in

115 R. A. Pyne, "Observations of the Minister", dated Toronto, February, 1913", in Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1912, Toronto, Cameron, 1913, p. ix.

116 Ibid., p. xxvi; and see, "Education In Ontario", lead editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 22, 1913, p. 18: showed that provincial male and female teachers' average salary was "perilously close to the minimum wage".

117 Putman, "Average Salaries", in Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 21.

118 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1914, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1913, Ottawa, Dominion Printing, 1915, p. 10; and see, Ibid., p. 35, 36, 74, 116, 137 and 141 for further individual salary settlements.

Ottawa and Toronto, showed that by this time Ottawa's maxima had surpassed Toronto's (Ottawa's art supervisor received \$2,600 as against Toronto's \$2,400; Ottawa's manual training director could achieve \$2,500 and Toronto's only \$2,400; while first-class principals of large schools could reach \$2,500 and Toronto's only \$2,200; Ottawa's second-class male teachers received \$1,600 maximum, the same as Toronto's first-class assistants).¹¹⁹ In the Minister's Report for 1914, Leake reported that Ottawa's manual training and domestic science supervisors were receiving the highest salaries in the province.¹²⁰ The Ottawa average salaries for both men and women in 1913 were, in comparison with Peter Sandiford's calculations on provincial average salaries,¹²¹ well above other centres.¹²² Thus, just before the outbreak of war, Putman and the Ottawa Board had substantially liberalized

119 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1914, Box 6, 4-815, Item 4, letter to Pyne from Jas. A. Harterre et al., dated Ottawa Normal, March 17, 1914, and enclosure of comparable salary schedules.

120 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1914, Toronto, Cameron, 1915, p. 598 and 602.

121 Peter Sandiford, "Salaries of Teachers in Ontario (cont'd.)", in The School, Vol. 3, No. 4, December, 1914, p. 253: provincial averages for 1913 for men were \$1,340 (first class); \$757 (second class); and for women \$634 (first class); \$595 (second class).

122 Putman, "Average Salaries", in Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 20: average man \$1,604 (including principals); average women teachers \$754; primary teachers \$682.

the salaries of Ottawa teachers, especially for the supervisory, administrative and male staff members. As Sandiford remarked of salaries then, "In general, the salaries of teachers in Ontario, like all other salaries, conform to the economic law of supply and demand. The less the supply and the greater the demand the higher the salaries will tend to be".¹²³ Putman, therefore, pragmatically recognized this law and used it to good effect.

With the coming of World War One, salary increases went into abeyance¹²⁴ and Putman's reports for the next four years lumped salary explanations in with the general cost of education (see Chapter Fourteen). In a reply (reprinted in his 1915 Annual Report) to a series of articles criticizing the rising costs of the Ottawa Public School Board (see Chapter Fourteen), Putman defended his policy of hiring three times as many male teachers as Hamilton and frankly acknowledged that thirty thousand dollars could be saved by replacing them with women teachers; he admitted, "Male teachers are becoming luxuries, and if the people want them

¹²³ Peter Sandiford, "Salaries of Teachers in Ontario", in The School, Vol. 3, No. 3, November, 1914, p. 176.

¹²⁴ Interview with Miss Frances Iveson, Ottawa, February 22, 1974: retrenchment in salary increases took place during the war years. When Dam Kemp pleaded with Putman for increases he brusquely told him there would be no further discussion over the matter.

they must pay fancy prices".¹²⁵ The lead over Toronto that Ottawa had obtained in 1914 was no more. Putman added,

[...] teachers' salaries have been advanced in Toronto to a point where the maximum for all except principals and women teachers holding First Class certificates is \$200 higher than the maximum in Ottawa. [...] But teachers of all classes in Toronto serve a longer period to reach their maximum salaries.¹²⁶

He ended with an impassioned plea to the Board to raise the eight hundred dollar average paid to women teachers, which allowed them precious little for clothing, board, cultural pursuits and recreation.¹²⁷ Neither they nor the men teachers (whose salary averaged nearly three hundred dollars less than a Second Division Civil Service Clerk)¹²⁸ in Putman's opinion were overpaid.¹²⁹

In 1916, the press reported that bonuses of one hundred dollars were being paid to married men teachers to help them over the difficult war years.¹³⁰ Putman got the Board to pay him a bonus of five hundred dollars for the upkeep of

¹²⁵ J. H. Putman, "Cost of Education", in Inspector's Report, 1915, p. 24.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 25-26.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 26.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 27.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 26-27; and see, Ibid., p. 46-47: tables of salary schedule and average salaries.

¹³⁰ "Board Gives Bonuses To Married Teachers", in The Citizen, Ottawa, December 9, 1916, p. 13.

his car during this period.¹³¹ This was reduced to \$150 for 1917.¹³² By that date Putman reported that the average salaries of Ottawa teachers had advanced only seven and one-third per cent over 1914, hardly enough to meet the rising cost of living.¹³³ Thus, he announced there would be a general increase of twenty per cent in the maximum salaries of grade teachers beginning in 1918.¹³⁴

This progressive action prompted editorial support¹³⁵ and a letter to the Editor commending the Board's actions: "The Ottawa Public School Board puts the Ontario government to shame in the matter of salaries, and as a result, the O.P.S. board can get and keep the best teachers."¹³⁶ Putman's

131 "Public School Levy", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, February 12, 1916, p. 18.

132 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1917, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1916, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 73.

133 J. H. Putman, "The Teaching Staff", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1917, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 21, 1918, p. 12; and see, P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1917, Box 42, 8-41, Item 4, Petition of Ottawa Normal special masters and answering memo of Merchant to Colquhoun, dated March 6, 1917: reiterated earlier pleas for increase.

134 Putman, "The Teaching Staff", in Inspector's Report, 1917, p. 12; and see salary schedule in Ibid., p. 25-26.

135 "Education in Ontario", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 18, 1918, p. 10.

136 'Alive', "Education in Ontario", letter to the Editor, in Ibid., February 22, 1918, p. 8.

emphasis on male teachers, as against the provincial trend of declining numbers of male teachers, was beginning to be noticed.¹³⁷ But it was still pointed out how much lower teachers' salaries were compared to other occupations. As the Editor concluded, "Unions of teachers may be necessary yet to protect their employees, the public, against themselves, and to standardize salaries to the satisfaction of employers and employed".¹³⁸

In effect, as Doris French pointed out, 1918 proved to be a crucial year in the history of the teachers' associations.¹³⁹ The cost of living had increased by sixty per cent since 1914¹⁴⁰ and the campaign for more equitable salaries became insistent across the province.¹⁴¹ On April third, 1918, the first meeting to form the Federation of Women Teachers of Ontario was held in Toronto.¹⁴² As French noted, the overwhelming concern during 1918-1919 was that of salaries:

137 "Teachers' Salaries", editorial in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, February 22, 1918, p. 4.

138 Ibid.

139 Doris French, High Button Bootstraps, Toronto, Ryerson, 1968, p. 30.

140 Ibid., p. 29.

141 Ibid., p. 30.

142 Ibid., p. 32.

The prime argument for forming a local Association was to be able to present a united front to the Board; and it was showing results. Salaries were inching upwards. Some sections of the daily press took an interest, expressing shock at the meagre sums respectable women were expected to live on.¹⁴³

This collective campaign was very much in evidence in Ottawa. A week after the salary schedule for 1918 was announced both men and women teachers' associations petitioned the Board for increased salaries.¹⁴⁴ Following advertisements in newspapers across the province for a lifting of pay freezes since 1914,¹⁴⁵ particularly for rural teachers, the campaign in the Ottawa newspapers increased in

143 Ibid., p. 37; and see, Bertha Adkins, "Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario", in The School, Vol. 7, No. 8, April, 1919, p. 535-537; and, Miss Evelyn Johnson, "Women's Federation, President's Address", in Ontario Education Association, Proceedings of the Fifty-Eighth Annual Convention Held in Toronto, April 21, 22, 23 and 24, 1919, Toronto, Ryerson, 1919, p. 250-254.

144 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1918, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1917, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 163 and 175; and see p. 45: Dr. Putman's salary was increased from \$4,000 to \$5,000 a year (equivalent to that of Toronto inspectors: P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1918, Box 45, M-1, Item 25, copy of memo of Chief Inspector to Pyne, n.d., p. 3).

145 'A Friend Of Teachers', letter to the Editor, in The Citizen, Ottawa, July 29, 1918, p. 10.

intensity.¹⁴⁶ In answer to these criticisms, Putman reiterated his earlier arguments that the work of men and women teachers in influencing the character of children was not the same work and that any attempt of administrators to fix wages "in opposition to the natural laws of supply and demand"¹⁴⁷ would be fruitless. When asked whether he would like to see the minimum salary for women fixed at one thousand dollars, Putman replied,

146 "School Teachers' Pay", editorial in Ibid., July 31, 1918, p. 10; 'Kulture', letter to the Editor, in Ibid., August 2, 1918, p. 10; "Increased Wages Sought By Women School Teachers", in Ibid., October 4, 1918, p. 4; "Public School Responsibility", lead editorial in Ibid., October 9, 1918, p. 12: urged ending of discrimination in pay between men and women teachers in Ottawa Public Schools; "Salary Increases School Teachers in Public Schools", in Ibid., November 8, 1918, p. 3; "Teachers' Salaries Caused Discussion", in Ibid., December 6, 1918, p. 3; "School Teachers' Salaries", editorial in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, October 30, 1918, p. 4; "Pay Of School Teachers", editorial in Ibid., October 31, 1918, p. 4; "Women Teachers Are Disappointed", in Ibid., November 9, 1918, p. 7; "Separate School Salaries", editorial in Ibid., December 14, 1918, p. 4; "Toronto Teachers Get Raise In Pay", in Ibid., December 27, 1918, p. 6.

147 J. H. Putman, Inspector's Annual Report, 1918, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 5, 1919, p. 11.

Without hesitation I answer, 'Yes' if I make two conditions - first, that a maximum of not less than \$1,600 be established to correspond with this minimum, second, that this \$1,000 minimum be used to attract women to our service whose education and training would be distinctly above that of the teachers we now employ. [...] If we could recruit our teaching ranks largely from well-trained college women we should in a few years be able to establish a system of primary schools that would be much in advance of what we now have. The vital factor in education is the teacher and any plan of administration or organization that would bring our boys and girls at school under men and women of the highest culture and refinement would be worth paying for liberally.¹⁴⁸

But Putman's supposed enlightened attitude to women teachers' salaries was refuted by the Ottawa Women Teachers' Association, which claimed that an incorrect impression regarding the salary picture had been given by the press.¹⁴⁹ Stating the Association's requests for equal maximum salaries for second-class female teachers as their male counterparts, one hundred dollar annual increases, bonuses of the same amount for all first-class teachers, salaries tied to years of service and extra salaries for after-school and kindergarten work, the article concluded with a comparison of Ottawa and Toronto salaries in 1919.¹⁵⁰ Despite the

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 12; and see, "Inspector Urges Increased Wages Women Teachers", in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 11, 1919, p. 2.

¹⁴⁹ "Ottawa Teachers Refute Claim Of High Salaries", in Ibid., March 21, 1919, p. 7.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

claims of the Association, the only major difference was in the maximum levels of female teachers; both systems began the teachers on an eight hundred dollar minimum salary base, but Ottawa graded the maxima according to the grade taught, whereas Toronto's maximum salary for all female teachers was \$1,500 (only achieved by Form Three Ottawa women teachers).¹⁵¹

By the fall of 1919, the men and women teachers' associations had joined forces and petitioned the Board to give each Ottawa teacher a four hundred dollar bonus to keep up with the cost of living.¹⁵² Their requests were not granted by the Board, but the joint committee accepted the salary schedule of the School Management Committee for 1920,¹⁵³ registering its disappointment over the lack of increase of maximum salaries (it had requested a twenty per

151 Ibid.; and see ensuing articles submitted by Ottawa Women Teachers: "Statement of Facts", in Ibid., March 24, 1919, p. 2; "Inequalities in Salaries Now Paid to The Public School Staff of Women Teachers", in Ibid., March 27, 1919, p. 11; "Claims For Recognition by the Public School Board of High Professional Standing", in Ibid., March 28, 1919, p. 11; "Difference In Maximum Salaries of Women Teachers", in Ibid., March 31, 1919, p. 10; "Importance of Junior Work in the Public Schools of Ontario", in Ibid., April 1, 1919, p. 3.

152 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1919, Also Financial Statement of the Board For The Year 1918, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 187; and see, "Teachers Asking \$400 Year Bonus", in The Citizen, Ottawa, November 7, 1919, p. 7.

153 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1919, p. 209.

cent increase) and bonuses (only eighty dollars per teacher was granted).¹⁵⁴

Putman joined the general provincial campaign¹⁵⁵ for increased salaries, pointing out in his 1919 Annual Report that the two hundred dollar increase to be paid each teacher for 1920 would only increase the average of all salaries over those paid in 1914 by forty per cent.¹⁵⁶ As he wrote, "If the cost of living has doubled since 1914, the teacher is asked to make \$1.40 do the work of \$2.00".¹⁵⁷ He warned that substantial increases would be demanded in the future to make up for the war years.

154 "Public School Teachers Are Disappointed", in The Citizen, Ottawa, November 26, 1919, p. 7; and see, "Salary Increases To Public School Teachers Likely", in Ibid., December 5, 1919, p. 13; and, "Salaries of Teachers", lead editorial in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, November 24, 1919, p. 6.

155 "Teachers Unite In Big Ontario Union", in The Citizen, Ottawa, November 26, 1919, p. 11; and, 'Teachers' Salaries', "Editorial Notes", in The School, Vol. 7, No. 9, May, 1919, p. 565-566; and, Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For The Year 1919, Toronto, Wilgress, 1920, p. xi.

156 J. H. Putman, "The Teaching Staff", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1919, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 23, 1920, p. 12.

157 Ibid.

In the early months of 1920 the salary campaign became even more intense.¹⁵⁸ The Ottawa Public School Men Teachers' Club, after a year's organization,¹⁵⁹ began to use the newspapers to advertise their salary grievances.¹⁶⁰ All these efforts at last bore fruit for the Ottawa teachers. Substantial increases were announced by the Board in March of 1920.¹⁶¹ As Putman reported them,

158 "Voiced Approval Teachers' Request For 25 p.c. Increase", in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 17, 1920, p. 3; "Salaries For Educational Work", editorial in Ibid., p. 22; "Ontario Public Schools", editorial in Ibid., February 9, 1920, p. 16; "Better Pay For Teachers", editorial in Ibid., February 23, 1920, p. 14.

159 "Male Teachers of P.S. Are Organized", in Ibid., January 20, 1919, p. 3; and, "School Teachers' Union", editorial in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, February 6, 1919, p. 4.

160 "Public School Male Teachers' Club", letter to the Editor, in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 16, 1920, p. 20.

161 "Increases In Salaries To Public School Teachers", in Ibid., March 4, 1920, p. 1; and, "Public School Board Gives Teachers Just Recognition", in Ibid., March 5, 1920, p. 1; Putman was to receive \$6,000 per year and Slemon \$4,000 increasing to a maximum of \$4,600; and, "Increases of \$1,000 For Dr. Putman Goes Through Despite Opposition Teachers' Salaries All Increased", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, March 5, 1920, p. 3; Putman's salary was equivalent to that of the Speakers of the Senate and House of Commons, whose maximum salary was \$6,000: see, "Increased Indemnities And Salaries Of Ministers And Judges Are Also Advanced", in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 26, 1920, p. 1.

The salaries for 1920 show a decided increase over 1919. For all male teachers the increase is 13 per cent., for principals nearly 15 per cent., for female teachers of regular classes 24 per cent., and for kindergarten teachers 26 per cent. Compared with 1914 these increases are 40 per cent., 35 per cent., 63 per cent., and 87 1/2 per cent. respectively. Even in 1914 teachers were poorly paid but it cannot be said that their increases have kept up with the cost of living.¹⁶²

He urged the Board to grant further increases, particularly to men with families to support.¹⁶³

But the Ottawa women teachers presented a vigorous protest against this new salary schedule, particularly clause one which increased the length of time of the women teachers to reach their maximum salaries.¹⁶⁴ Their stand was supported by the Men Teachers' Club.¹⁶⁵ They both pointed out that the Board's new schedule applied mainly to newly-hired teachers and put older teachers at a severe disadvantage. In effect, they urged that

162 J. H. Putman, "The Teaching Staff And Salaries", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1920, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 19, 1921, p. 15-16.

163 Ibid., p. 16.

164 "Women Teachers In Public Schools In Salary Protest", in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 12, 1920, p. 1 and 10; and see, "Women Teachers Renew Demands", in Ibid., March 31, 1920, p. 19.

165 "Teachers Urge That Service Be Factor", in Ibid., March 15, 1920, p. 3.

[...] in future salary increases should be based not alone on merit, but also upon length of service; that salaries should be graded according to length of service so as to provide an incentive to valuable teachers to remain in the service of the schools.¹⁶⁶

The two organizations also pointed out that no teacher could receive more than three hundred dollars for women and four hundred for men teachers over the salary of the previous year, which amounted to the usual one hundred dollar yearly increase plus the two hundred dollar bonus granted the previous November.¹⁶⁷

As a result of their lack of success, the men teachers of Ottawa organized a Men Teachers' Federation,¹⁶⁸ which formed part of a provincial Federation of Public School Men Teachers, organized in April of 1920.¹⁶⁹ A Canadian Teachers' Federation was also formed in that year, with its major aim being the doubling of salary positions from those

166 Ibid.

167 "Teachers Salaries Are Not Keeping Up", in Ibid., April 2, 1920, p. 6; and, "Did Not Take Up Teachers' Salaries", in Ibid., p. 13.

168 "Men Teachers Of Ottawa Organized", in Ibid., May 17, 1920, p. 7.

169 "Public School Men In Federation", in Ibid., May 15, 1920, p. 3; and see, R. A. Hopkins, The Long March, History of the Ontario Public School Men Teachers' Federation, Toronto, Baxter, 1969, p. 36-75.

of 1914.¹⁷⁰ The teachers of Southern Ontario formed their own salary committee to campaign for both rural and urban teachers' salary increases.¹⁷¹

Difficulties had reached such a stage by the beginning of 1921 between the Board and its teachers, that Putman offered his services as an intermediary.¹⁷² Matters were settled by February third and a system of merit rating, or grading, was instituted which allowed a teacher to go beyond his maximum level.¹⁷³ The explanatory preamble to the salary schedule argued very logically the rationale for this system of grading:

170 "Teachers To Ask Double Salaries Paid During 1914", in The Citizen, Ottawa, August 9, 1920, p. 7; and see, Gerald Nason, The Canadian Teachers' Federation, A Study of its Historical Development, Interests and Activities From 1919 to 1960, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1964, p. 8-28.

171 "Ontario Education Association Salary Committee", in The School, Vol. 8, No. 9, May, 1920, p. 531-532.

172 "Public School Teachers' Salary Question Likely To Be Settled", in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 10, 1921, p. 3.

173 "New Schedule of Salaries, Public School Teachers", in Ibid., February 4, 1921, p. 2.

But this further increase in salary of \$400 to \$600 must be determined by experience plus some of the other factors which make one teacher more valuable than another. The teacher's force of character, her education, her appearance, her voice, her speech, her manner, her dress, her skill in imparting instruction, her tact in dealing with parents, her interest in pupils' games, her willingness to co-operate with other teachers and her principal, her capacity for leadership and power to organize, her industry and her physical vigour all these things are to have some bearing in determining her real worth and remuneration.¹⁷⁴

Thus Putman was able to outflank the concerted attacks of the teachers' federations and retain control of the quality of teachers manning the classrooms. Each December teachers (and school nurses) were to be rated in one of three categories, each of which was described in terms of efficiency.¹⁷⁵ Their standing was to be fixed at a joint conference of the inspectors (or school-nurse supervisor) and principals.¹⁷⁶ Teachers were to be notified of their grading by the end of December, and if any teacher deemed himself improperly graded, a written protest led to a Board of Appeal on which sat the Senior Inspector and two members of the Public School Board.¹⁷⁷

174 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1921, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1920, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 13.

175 Ibid.

176 Ibid., p. 14.

177 Ibid.

The six pages which followed this preamble outlined the salary schedule.¹⁷⁸

As could be expected, the men and women teachers strongly objected to this new system of merit pay.¹⁷⁹ They principally disliked the grading system (particularly the severe requirements for Class A), the secrecy with which the judgment was to be made, and the inclusion of the inspector and two Board members on the Board of Appeal.¹⁸⁰

In his Report for 1921, Putman defended the substantial increases and continued to urge the hiring of only above-average teachers.¹⁸¹ Apparently, in the next two years little advance was made in teachers' salaries.¹⁸²

Ten years later, in an address to the Ontario Educational Association on the "Selection of Teachers",¹⁸³ Putman

178 Ibid., p. 14-19.

179 "Men Teachers Object To Salary Schedule", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, February 21, 1921, p. 3; and, "Women Teachers In A Salary Protest", in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 3, 1921, p. 3.

180 Ibid.

181 J. H. Putman, "The Teaching Staff And Salaries", in Inspector's Report, 1921, p. 11 13.

182 J. H. Putman, "The Teaching Staff And Salaries", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1923, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 7, 1924, p. 9.

183 J. H. Putman, "Selection of Teachers", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Seventy-Second Annual Meeting, April 17, 18, 19 and 20, 1933, unpublished manuscript, (n.p., n.d.) no pagination, 5 p.

reiterated many of his own ideas not only on the hiring of teachers but on criteria for assessing good teachers.

In the first place, he thought "aggressive and fearless leadership"¹⁸⁴ was needed on the part of urban administrators to avoid the "policy of inbreeding" and local favouritism in hiring.¹⁸⁵ Only the Director of Education¹⁸⁶ who had "a technical knowledge that only professional training and long experience can supply"¹⁸⁷ should do the selecting, and then only after a personal interview.¹⁸⁸ He listed characteristics that he looked for, similar to those listed in the preamble of the 1921 salary schedule. Again, he gave top priority to the charismatic personality of the teacher; "the successful teacher must have decision of character and some genius for leadership and no one can be a leader, [...] of little children, who cannot inspire them with a feeling of strength and power".¹⁸⁹ But the "acid test",¹⁹⁰ Putman claimed, was the performance in the

184 Ibid., p. 3.

185 Ibid., p. 4.

186 Ibid.

187 Ibid.

188 Ibid., p. 5.

189 Ibid.

190 Ibid.

classroom. Thus, all appointments should be on probation for at least two years. 'Perhaps based on his own experience with the rising power of the federations, Putman concluded,

It is comparatively easy to decline a re-engagement to a probationer of one or two years' service; it is very embarrassing, sometimes extremely difficult and often practically impossible, to retire an inefficient teacher who has a permanent engagement and has served five, ten or fifteen years.¹⁹¹

Over the first twelve years of his inspectorate, then, Putman asserted his benevolent leadership over the Ottawa Public School staff. On the one hand, he succeeded in retaining top-flight teachers and supervisors at liberal salaries against the attacks of his critics. On the other, he mediated between the Board and the rising power of the teachers' federations, arriving at a salary schedule which was competitive with other urban centres. Yet he also retained considerable power so that he could individually evaluate the teaching ability of his staff and maintain the high quality of teaching in the Ottawa schools. Using the criterion for progressive reformers of his day, that of humanitarian reform within the pragmatic bounds of "the natural law of supply and demand" Putman proved to be a most efficient manager of his teaching staff.

191 Ibid.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PUPILS

Aside from Putman's progressive reforms in the programme of studies and in the hiring of good teachers, he instituted a number of administrative changes which contributed to more efficient learning on the part of the pupils.

One of his major concerns when he joined the Ottawa Board was with what he called "the problem of retardation", or "laggards in school". He noted the tendency for large numbers of pupils to remain in the lower grades and for few to reach Grade Eight. Part of the solution was to be found in the abolition of external examinations and the placing of responsibility for promotion in the hands of the teachers and principals (see Chapter Twelve). Another step Putman took was to begin the segregation of backward pupils. He established the Manual Arts School in 1913 and auxiliary classes in 1914. Tied in with these measures and also with concern for pupils' health was the beginning of medical (in 1913) and dental (in 1914) services for pupils. At the other end of the spectrum, Putman helped the bright child by adopting a shorter elementary school sojourn. Beginning in 1916, seven years instead of eight were needed for the average child to progress through the Ottawa public schools; a bright child could be accelerated through in six years.

Intermediate schools were begun in the 1920's after Putman explored American ideas and experimented at the School for Higher English (see Chapter Five). These embodied ideas evolved in his earlier experiments: identification of pupils through intelligence tests, streaming, specialist teachers and larger administrative units.

All of these measures were designed to make the administration of the school more effective in turning out socially efficient and healthy pupils.

1. New Policies for Promotion.

Putman asserted that no problem concerned him as much at the end of his first year in office as the "problem of retarded pupils".¹ He showed in tabular form that of the 5,933 pupils registered in the Ottawa Public Schools in November of 1911,

[...] 38 per cent were in Form I, more than sixty per cent in Forms I and II, and consequently less than forty per cent in Forms III and IV. More than 3,500 pupils were in the lower half of the school and less than 2,400 in the upper half. The lower grades were congested and many of the senior classes much under strength.²

Part of the reason for this was the attitude of the primary

1 J. H. Putman, "The Problem of Retardation", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1922, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 4, 1923, p. 13.

2 Ibid., p. 13-14.

teachers, who believed it necessary for a child to thoroughly master the three "R's" before proceeding on to the next grade.³ (Putman's changing of this attitude through the Kindergarten-Primary programme was outlined in Chapter Seven.) As a result, many eight- and nine-year old children were still in Grades One and Two.

Another aspect of the problem was the system of promotion

[...] based on the results of written examinations set outside the school and almost wholly independent of the grade teacher [.... It] interfered with promotions by fixing the attention of pupils, teachers, principals and parents upon the child's knowledge or lack of knowledge of certain specific facts instead of fixing it upon the child himself, his age, his ability, his needs and his genuine attainments.⁴

This examination policy was set at the top level by the Entrance Examination to high school upon which the Department required the inspector to report meticulously every year. Thus, Putman's discussion of examinations in general was begun in 1911 with his report on the Entrance Examination results.⁵ He reported that the examination had some value in setting a minimum standard of English education for the

3 Ibid., p. 14-15.

4 Ibid., p. 15.

5 J. H. Putman, "Entrance Examination", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1911, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, December 18, 1911, p. 18.

average child to reach by fourteen years of age.⁶ But only one-quarter of Ottawa public school children completed this examination. Putman believed another quarter could be persuaded to complete it. As has been shown in previous chapters, the remaining half of the school population, he believed, were not book-oriented and needed another type of school programme.

Another way of looking at the problem Putman discussed in his Annual Report for 1912. He examined the average ages of those who passed the Entrance Examination (fourteen years, four months) and compared this with the average ages of those who failed (fourteen years, nine months), and concluded,

[...] if it be generally true that those who fail on this examination are older than those who succeed, it would seem that we have every year in our classes, preparing for this examination, a great many boys and girls who are largely wasting their time in following a course for which they are not fitted.⁷

Putman noted that many high school principals deplored the high drop-out rate after two years and suggested,

6 Ibid., p. 19.

7 J. H. Putman, "Entrance Examination", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1912, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, December 30, 1912, p. 8.

Is it not quite possible that many of these are students who passed the Entrance examination when fifteen years of age, and that a different course [...] less literary, and more along the line of practical industrial work - would have given their whole future a different bent?⁸

(See Chapter Fourteen for Putman's campaign for a technical school in Ottawa.)

Within his own bailiwick of the elementary school, Putman reiterated his concern over the difference between the 725 average of children per grade and the 460 only in Grade Eight.⁹ He was forced to conclude that at least two hundred of every 725 who entered school dropped out of elementary school before completing the course. As he wrote, "If this be true, there is some radical defect either in our school system or in our administration of it".¹⁰ In an effort to find out where they went, Putman introduced in 1912 a system of cataloguing for each pupil which would not only keep in closer touch with him as he went through the system but would record his destination on leaving.¹¹ His future reports listed this in tabular form.

8 Ibid., p. 9.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

In typical analytical style, Putman broke down the average ages per grade for each school¹² in an effort to understand this problem of retardation. He could explain why certain schools which had a high foreign population had many retarded pupils who were learning English.¹³ But he could not account for the slow progress of English-speaking children in other schools. Looking at each grade and the amount of retardation of pupils in each, Putman concluded that

12 Ibid., p. 27.

13 The Ottawa Public School Board since 1907 had conducted evening classes for teaching foreign-born adults to learn English: see, Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1907, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1906, Ottawa, Paynter, 1908, p. 172; Putman continued this in 1913: "School For Newcomers", lead editorial in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, October 3, 1913, p. 4; he asked for special grants for them in 1914: see, P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1914, Box 5, 2-987, Item 3, letter of Putman to Deputy Minister, dated Ottawa, December 15, 1914; in 1919, Putman asked permission (rejected) to have a teacher use special Chinese-English Bilingual Readers and Spellers to teach twenty-one Chinese boys, aged twelve to twenty-one years, in the Ottawa Public Schools: see, Ibid., 1919, Box 59, 4-831, Item 36, letter of Putman to Colquhoun, dated Ottawa, April 3, 1919; by 1921 there were 120 adults, mostly Russian Jews, enrolled at the George Street School: see, "Higher Attendance In Public Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, November 4, 1921, p. 4.

[...] while our pupils take too long to complete the whole course, they take much too long to complete the work of the first 4 grades. They complete grade 4 at 11 1/2 years when it ought to be done at 10 years or 10 1/2 years at the latest.¹⁴

Early in May of 1913, as mentioned in the previous chapter, Putman sent out a letter to all parents advising them of "a radical change in the method of promoting pupils from grade to grade in the Ottawa Public Schools".¹⁵ He told them that the previous system which managed all promotions from the Inspector's Office tended to detract from the importance and responsibility of the principal and his staff of teachers. It also exaggerated "beyond all reason"¹⁶ the importance of examinations in the eyes of teachers, pupils and their parents. Formal written examinations upon which promotion depended also encouraged excessive cramming and memorizing and exposed the child to the whims of examiners as well as an unnecessary ordeal.¹⁷

With the approval of the Management Committee, Putman began in June of 1913 a three-year experiment to have

¹⁴ Putman, "Average Age of Pupils", in Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 29.

¹⁵ J. H. Putman, "Examinations", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1913, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, December 31, 1913, p. 8.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 8-9.

principals and their staff of teachers make all promotions.¹⁸ He gave ten guidelines that they were to consider in their decision-making. They included the results from daily written work and tests, the age of the pupil, informality in testing, special consideration for over-age children, acceleration from Grades Three to Five and from Five to Seven, seven-year-old entries being put directly into Grade One, those with poor attendance in Grade One being advanced whenever possible, full teachers' records of the pupils' work and special written statements to the principals explaining why failures were not promoted.¹⁹

A week after this letter was issued, the Ottawa Collegiate Institute agreed to admit all Ottawa Public School pupils on their principals' recommendation,²⁰ leaving only outside pupils with the necessity of writing the regular

18 Ibid., p. 9.

19 Ibid., p. 9-10.

20 Ibid., p. 10.

Entrance Examination.²¹ As Putman wrote,

It is therefore, now possible for children attending any Ottawa schools under government inspection to pass from the Kindergarten to graduation from the Collegiate Institute without submitting to any examination tests, oral or written, except those imposed by their own teachers.²²

After a six-months' trial period, Putman reported that many of their best teachers considered the plan an improvement. They felt they had gained increased freedom, a stronger hold on their pupils and were relieved (along with their students) from considerable nervous strain.²³ He hoped that with this de-centralization of control would come a uniqueness of each school to meet the needs of each neighbourhood. "It is my

21 Putman continued his responsibilities as Secretary of the Entrance Examination Board, which involved letters to the Department dealing with problem cases: see, P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1914, Box 7, 4-874, Item 2, Entrance Exams and Promotions, letters of Putman dated Ottawa, June 24, July 2, July 7, 1914; and, Ibid., Box 4, 1-203, Item 3, Putman's letters re admission of Ashbury boys to O.C.I., dated Ottawa, July 2, July 21, and September 5, 1914 and telegram to Deputy Minister, Ottawa, September 10, 1914; and Ibid., 1916, Box 21, 4-831, Folder 1, Item 20, correspondence of Putman with Seath over Robert O'Hara, dated Ottawa, September 5, 1916 and to R. W. Anglin, September 18, 1916; and Ibid., 1919, Box 59, 4-831, Item 41, letters of Putman to Deputy Minister re the Irish-French school controversy and the dismissal of Principal L. A. Kelly of St. Patrick's Boys' School dated Ottawa, May 22, June 20, 1919; and, Ibid., 1920, Box 71, 4-831, Folder 2, Item 4, letter of Putman to R. W. Anglin re difficulty of securing presiding examiners, dated Ottawa, May 17, 1920; and, Ibid., 1922, Box 98, 4-831, Folder 3, Item 25, letter of Putman to Anglin re closing dates of exams, dated Ottawa, May 22, 1922.

22 Putman, "Examinations", in Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 10-11.

23 Ibid., p. 11, and elaboration, p. 11 18.

hope that more and more every school will have some peculiar excellence which will make it different from every other school",²⁴ he wrote.

Putman's actions were widely hailed as progressive.²⁵

As The Ottawa Free Press wrote,

It is a long time since we have seen anything from a professional educationalist that appealed so strongly to the common sense of the layman than the circular which has just been issued by Inspector Putman [...].

Inspector Putman has again shown us that we have, as the practical head of the Ottawa public schools, a man who has not got into the rut that so many educationalists slide along, that he is an independent thinker in his profession, and that he has the force of character to impress his views upon others. The school trustees who have permitted the experiment to be tried are to be equally congratulated.²⁶

24 Ibid., p. 15.

25 "In The Public Eye", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, May 23, 1913, p. 6; "Pupils and Examinations", editorial in Ibid., July 21, 1913, p. 6: Hamilton was watching Ottawa's experiment with great interest; "Radical Move In Schools", in Ibid., May 10, 1913, p. 1 and 12; "Dropping The Written Test", in Ibid., May 17, 1913, p. 8; "Over 300 Pupils Need Not Write on Entrance Examination", in Ibid., June 19, 1913, p. 1; "Examination Mad", editorial in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, May 12, 1913, p. 4.

26 "Examination Curse Is Removed", editorial in Ibid., May 13, 1913, p. 4; these remarks regarding Putman's forthright personality may account for the signature "Inspector" on an article, "Retardation in Public Schools", in The School, Vol. 2, No. 8, April, 1914, p. 466-468, which included all of Putman's ideas on retardation, more flexible promotions, and examinations.

At the end of 1914, Putman evaluated his two-year experiment and concluded, "On the whole I am well satisfied with the plan".²⁷ He also announced that a pupil now had an opportunity to "skip a grade" twice (at Grades Three and Four and Grades Five and Six) during his school year so that he could complete the course in six instead of eight years. Using an age-grade table²⁸ he demonstrated that more than twenty-five per cent of Grade Three and more than nine per cent of Grade Five passed a grade.²⁹ Four more tables³⁰ recorded the total number of failures from Grade Eight in June and their subsequent destinations. Of the seventy who left school, only six of the forty-one (boys) attempting to work had jobs which would lead to any skill training.³¹ This problem of "dead-end jobs" continued to concern Putman.

But his efforts and writings regarding the problem of retardation and how to prevent it were being commented on

27 J. H. Putman, "Promotion Examinations", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1914, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 29, 1915, p. 23.

28 Ibid., p. 22.

29 Ibid., p. 23.

30 Ibid., p. 25-28.

31 Ibid., p. 24.

at the Ontario Educational Association.³² In 1916, Putman addressed the Association on the general problem of "Waste In Education"³³ and in half of his address he dealt with retardation caused by the eight-grade, lock-step promotional system.³⁴ He termed this traditional pattern "irrational, unnecessary, and wasteful".³⁵ The crux of his reasoning was that at adolescence a new psychology emerged and thus a radical change in type of school was necessary³⁶ (this belief led Putman into his campaign for junior high schools - see Chapter Five). Thus, he stated that the elementary course of study should be completed for the average child at age

32 Henry Conn, "Retardation And How To Prevent It", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Fifty-Fifth Annual Convention, Held in Toronto, April 24, 25, 26 and 27, 1916, Toronto, Briggs, 1916, p. 416-419; part of the problem involved improper organization: "In his interesting annual reports of the Ottawa Public Schools Dr. Putman shows what has been done in this regard with the Ottawa Public Schools and he gives some interesting figures in relation to the results obtained.", in Ibid., p. 417; and, "To prevent the retardation incidental to promotion examinations the first plan that presents itself is the entire abolition of promotion examinations. This plan has been adopted in the Ottawa Public Schools and after a two years' trial Dr. Putman reports that it is working reasonably well", in Ibid., p. 419.

33 J. H. Putman, "Waste In Education", in Ibid., p. 421-428.

34 Ibid., p. 424-428.

35 Ibid., p. 424.

36 Ibid., p. 424-425.

thirteen, just as he entered puberty.³⁷ He estimated that the six-year course saved the child twenty-five per cent of his time and greatly increased his chances of completing his secondary education, thus securing real benefit from it.³⁸ With this six-year course, too, would come better teaching; "teachers would have to adopt more progressive methods and [...] the most inefficient of them would be more easily pressed to the wall".³⁹

In 1918, Putman reported real progress as a result of his policies. Whereas in 1912 only thirty-seven per cent of the pupils were enrolled in Forms Three and Four, by 1918 the number had increased to forty-eight per cent.⁴⁰ In his judgment, the analysis of the number of pupils registered in the different grades was "the barometer of the school efficiency. If two-thirds of the pupils are in the lower half of the school and only one-third in the upper half there is

37 Ibid., p. 425.

38 Ibid., p. 426.

39 Ibid., p. 428; Putman's OEA speech was fully reported and commented on: see, "Would Reduce Grade School Course, Cutting Off 2 Years", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, April 28, 1916, p. 6; "Waste In Education", editorial in Ibid., April 29, 1916, p. 4: urges Department of Education action on the matter; and, E. P. Hurley, letter to the Editor, in Ibid., May 3, 1916, p. 4.

40 J. H. Putman, "Classification Of Pupils", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1918, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 5, 1919, p. 14.

something wrong".⁴¹ He repeated his arguments for a six- or seven-year system and commented on Ottawa's acceleration programme for the past few years. Nearly half the pupils had taken advantage of it. From their experience, the teachers found that Form Two work was not challenging enough, especially in reading, for the average child. Thus, Putman announced, he intended to institute a re-organization of the grades so that within the whole system there would now be seven instead of eight grades.⁴² Even at that, it was still possible to have some pupils complete it in six years. He concluded,

I have every confidence that our change in classification will in a few years reduce the average age at which our pupils complete the school course. I ought to add that the success of this plan must depend on our continuing to secure teachers distinctly above the average. No reform in education can be carried out merely by a change in school machinery.⁴³

By 1920, Putman reported that within eight years they had succeeded in moving ten per cent of the registration from the lower to the upper half of the schools.⁴⁴ He

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid., p. 15.

43 Ibid.

44 J. H. Putman, "Classification Of Pupils By Grades", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1920, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 19, 1921, p. 18.

wrote an article, "Shortening The Elementary School Course",⁴⁵ for the Queen's Quarterly that year which continued his campaign on the subject.

After reviewing the conjectured history of the origins of the eight-grade system in the elementary schools, Putman blamed it for practically all the evils of the urban school:

It has done more than any one thing connected with school administration to deaden and make mechanical the work of elementary education in the urban schools of America. It has deprived thousands of boys and girls of an opportunity to profit from a high school course; it has encouraged thousands of boys and girls of good ability to form habits of dawdling, inattention and downright laziness; it has allowed the twenty-five per cent. of pupils who have less than average ability to set the pace for the fifty per cent. who have average ability and also for the twenty per cent. who have superior talent; it has added untold millions to the cost of elementary education; and it has spoiled thousands of teachers making them parts of an ineffective, slow-moving machine daily grinding a small grist and grinding it fine.⁴⁶

Dismissing the false notion that schools were for mastering facts,⁴⁷ Putman reviewed the latest educational thinking: the best possible environment was needed for the growth and development of the child's natural powers⁴⁸ and a

45 J. H. Putman, "Shortening The Elementary School Course", in Queen's Quarterly, Vol. 27, No. 4, April, May, June, 1920, p. 398-408.

46 Ibid., p. 398.

47 Ibid., p. 399.

48 Ibid.

teacher of character and refinement who gave positive instruction and counsel was required.⁴⁹ Finally, as has been shown, Putman believed that

The city school attempts to supply the moral and social deficiencies of the home. It seeks to provide for the child an environment that will as far as possible straighten the kinks in his home training and supplement and cherish every feeble effort made there toward the development of his moral and social consciousness. This could not be done with a curriculum that may have served admirably for a pioneer country school.⁵⁰

Putman then blamed this eight-grade system with its fostering of habits of "mental loitering"⁵¹ for the limited aspirations of the average citizen toward schooling. Only the comparatively well-to-do gained any personal advantage from the secondary school. Putman doubted whether the gifted child of the North American poor had as much educational opportunity as his European or British counterpart.⁵²

Asking what was the legitimate function of the elementary school, Putman answered himself thus:

49 Ibid., p. 400.

50 Ibid., p. 400-401.

51 Ibid., p. 401.

52 Ibid., p. 402.

[...] the elementary school is mainly concerned with a mastery of the instruments of learning - reading, writing and number but that to master these instruments effectively we must use them to interpret studies with a positive content such as English, literature, geography, nature study and elementary history.⁵³

The elementary school curriculum in the past decade had become varied and rich. He claimed many of the so-called "fad" subjects had been added because "Half unconsciously [...] a feeling [arose] that the content of the course of study was wholly inadequate for eight years' work".⁵⁴

Perhaps conditioned by the post-war reconstruction era in which he wrote, Putman warned that democracy did not mean absolute equality but "only equality of opportunity and that the best democracy will be ruled by its best men".⁵⁵ Thus, it was of prime importance that "children of marked talent, whether poor or rich, should have the best training the state can afford"⁵⁶ and this talent should be detected before they reached fourteen years of age.

Appreciating the rising influence of business efficiency methods, Putman deplored the American tendency toward specialization and having the course of study govern the

53 Ibid., p. 403.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid., p. 404.

56 Ibid.

school's timetable.⁵⁷ He claimed that education was not a science but a spiritual process dealing with the human will, that the work of the teacher was more akin to that of the gardener than the manufacturer, and that current organization, modelled on factory lines, was not suitable for the development of mutual understanding and appreciation between teacher and pupil.⁵⁸ The complexity of a large urban system, subdivided often into sixteen parts, led to an undue emphasis on the course of study and detailed course outlines; it concealed mediocre teaching ability.⁵⁹ As noted previously, Putman believed in a simple outline and a large measure of freedom to "call forth the best efforts of all teachers".⁶⁰

Putman claimed that in the United States the agitation for the junior high school arose from dissatisfaction with the eight-year elementary school course. But, he wrote, the arguments for a six-year course could also be based on the future calling of a pupil. At the junior high school his studies in depth (such as in Latin or modern languages) could be started in good time.⁶¹ Those with industrial or

57 Ibid., p. 405.

58 Ibid., p. 405-406.

59 Ibid., p. 407.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid., p. 408.

commercial bents could begin their training with a good chance of completion before they graduated at sixteen years of age. He believed that ninety per cent of the school population could complete the junior high school. But, he concluded, the "root of this wholly desirable improvement lies in establishing for children of normal ability a six-year elementary school course".⁶²

Thus, at the root of Putman's six-year promotional reform was his mounting campaign to have junior high schools established (see Chapter Five). Also at its base lay his post-war concern to have rational leaders and efficiently-trained citizens turned out of the schools. In later years, intelligence tests⁶³ and streaming in intermediate schools (see Chapter Five) would make the schools even more efficient at this task.

Putman began another campaign, an extension of those just outlined, at this time. This was the abolition of the provincial Entrance Examination. In 1919, he expressed the opinion that

62 Ibid.

63 J. H. Putman, "Intelligence Tests", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1929, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 17, 1930, p. 25-26; in 1924 the Ottawa Teachers' Institute presented to the Ottawa Public Library (fly-leaf note) a book which was part of Lewis Terman's "Measurement and Adjustment Series": Lulu M. Stedman, Education of Gifted Children, New York, World Book, 1924, viii-192 p.

The Entrance Examination has dwarfed the legitimate aims of Ontario Public Schools for nearly half a century. The hand-writing is on the wall. The whole question of examinations in elementary schools is being weighed by public opinion. The outcome is no longer in doubt.⁶⁴

In 1921, he asserted that "Upon no topic connected with elementary education in Ontario has there been more absurd statements and claims made during the past forty years than about the Entrance Examination".⁶⁵ Rather than comparing one school or class with another, Putman suggested that a constant standard of measurement, such as the comparison of cities of similar social and industrial conditions and school populations, be used.⁶⁶ Using comparisons of this sort, he reported that "some progress is being made and that since 1917 a larger percentage of our total school population has left school having secured Entrance standing than in any previous five-year period".⁶⁷ He hoped that soon fifty per cent of the pupils would complete an elementary

64 J. H. Putman, "Entrance Examination", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1919, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 23, 1920, p. 13.

65 J. H. Putman, "Entrance Examination", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1921, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, March 1, 1922, p. 15.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid., p. 16; a good portion of Putman's comments were reprinted in 'The Entrance Examination', "From the Board's Point of View", in The School, Vol. 10, No. 9, May, 1922, p. 560-561.

school course.

But Putman also continued his pressure for the abolition of the Entrance Examination. At the Ottawa Teachers' Convention in 1921, the major topic was "Should the Junior High School Entrance Examination be abolished in towns and cities of Ontario?".⁶⁸ C. E. Mark reviewed the arguments for and against the question in The School in September of that year.⁶⁹ Referring to the system of recommendations then in effect in Ottawa, he reported,

The records of pupils on the recommended list in Ottawa were examined in connection with the December examinations of the Collegiate Institute, and it was ascertained that they [a]veraged ten per cent higher than those who gained admission on examination.⁷⁰

Putman's innovations in Ottawa in terms of recommendations for the high school Entrance Examination had been used since 1914 in Toronto and in 1920 resulted in a resolution from Inspectors Power and Cowley asking Chief Inspector Waugh to amend the Regulation Twelve (2) and to allow all pupils to be recommended.⁷¹

68 C. E. Mark, 'The Junior High School Entrance Examination', in Ibid., Vol. 10, No. 1, September, 1921, p. 33.

69 Ibid., p. 33-35.

70 Ibid., p. 33.

71 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1920, Box 66, 1 203, Folder 1, Item 20, letter R. W. Cowley to Waugh, dated Toronto, March 10, 1920; and, Ontario Department of Education, "Junior High School Entrance and Junior Public School Graduation Examinations, 1920", Circular 57, Toronto, Wilgress, March, 1920, p. 2: this amendment was effected.

In 1926, Putman was reported as continuing his campaign to have the Entrance Examination dropped before delegates to the Trustees' Association of OEA.⁷² (As mentioned previously, despite his campaigning he was asked to be a one-man commissioner to investigate an examination scandal in Toronto in 1922.⁷³) His reports also continued to decry the evils of written examinations as against the wise use of written tests set by the child's teacher.⁷⁴ But the Department's centralized control over efficient standards, as measured by the provincially-set examinations (see next two chapters) continued for many years, a fault Putman was not afraid to point out in his OEA President's address of 1932:

72 "Dr. Putnam [sic]'s Views Regarding Education, Would Eliminate Entrance Examination Also Drop Small School Sections", in The Canadian School Board Journal, Vol. 5, No. 5, April, 1926, p. 14-15.

73 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1922, Box 89, 1-203, Item 11: J. H. Putman, "Report of J. H. Putman, Commissioner, On Certain Irregularities Connected With The Middle School Examination Held in the City of Toronto In June, 1921", dated Ottawa, January 25, 1922, 13 p.: an excellent display of Putman's analytical ability.

74 J. H. Putman, 'V. Written Examinations', in Inspector's Annual Report, 1928, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 5, 1929, p. 17-19.

The entrance examinations, while locally conducted, are managed under provincial regulations which set forth the procedure to be followed with the minutest detail. The Provincial Department may and sometimes does override the decision of a local board as to who may or may not be admitted.⁷⁵

Thus, in his policies for promotion and in his campaign for the abolition of the Entrance Examination Putman demonstrated his aggressive leadership. Within his own jurisdiction he de-centralized the responsibility for promoting pupils and was widely hailed as a progressive reformer for his actions.

2. American Influences.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in the spring of 1913, Putman visited a number of American schools. He wrote a great deal about both industrial and auxiliary education in his articles to The Citizen and within a year had established both the Manual Arts School and an auxiliary class in the Ottawa Public Schools. In his 1913 Report and in more detail in his 1917 Annual Report, Putman outlined the merits and defects of the Gary schools (as noted in Chapter Six, their supervisor, William Wirt, visited Ottawa in 1917) and the junior high school as seen in the United

⁷⁵ J. H. Putman, "School Administration And School Finance, Can They Be Improved?", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Seventy-first Annual Convention Held in Toronto, March 28, 29, 30 and 31, 1932, Toronto, Ball, 1932, p. 16-17.

States. Thus, Putman continued to derive a number of his reform ideas from American sources. This section will review Putman's comments on America's special facilities for backward pupils and the beginnings of more specialized teachers in the Gary schools.

In 1912, Putman expressed the belief that special facilities were needed for early adolescents who were largely hand-oriented:

The boy who most needs a hand-work education is often thoroughly disgusted with school before he reaches a class where he may make a beginning with manual training. What we need and what we must have are special classes for those pupils who can be most effectively trained through handwork. These special classes will give not an hour and a half a week, but half of each day to some hand occupations.⁷⁶

Thus he announced that he would be seeking permission from the Minister of Education

⁷⁶ Putman, "Entrance Examination", in Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 10.

[...] to experiment with courses of handwork for boys between eleven and fourteen years of age, so arranged that a boy would spend one-half of each day in manual training and drawing and the other half on arithmetic and the ordinary English subjects. One class-room and one room for a workshop, each with the necessary teachers, would in this way accommodate two groups of boys. In addition to woodwork, other materials such as cardboard, raffia, or clay would furnish the mediums through which the boy could give concrete expression to his ideas. Some simple work in copper, tin, and leather might be given to older boys. A band saw and a lathe for wood-turning would add to the interest by introducing simple machinery. A printing press would, in addition to its value for hand training, furnish a practical and interesting method of teaching composition, spelling and good taste in arrangement. Such a school course might prove a highly desirable one for all boys: it could not fail to awaken many boys who now take only a half-hearted interest in their work.⁷⁷

This proved to be Putman's blueprint for the Manual Arts School (or, the Waller Street School) established in September of 1913.⁷⁸ It also denoted a major interest of Putman as he set out on his exploratory visit to American schools in the spring of 1913. A number of his reports dealt specifically with vocational training schools.

At the Girard College for orphan boys Putman very much admired the practical curriculum:

77 Ibid., p. 11 12.

78 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1913, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1912, (n.p., n.d.) p. 112.

When a boy reaches 12 years of age he must begin shop work. He spends a part of each week in woodwork, forging, foundry work, electrical construction, draughting and printing. He works at each of these in turn for two or three months.

When he reaches 14 years he must choose either office work or a definite trade. If he chooses the former he gets a high school commercial course. If he chooses the latter he gets an English high school course with drawing, and, in addition, a trade. The aim is to send away no boy who is not prepared to earn his living. Great care is taken during a boy's final year to find him suitable employment, and even after he is placed the officers of the college keep closely in touch with him for a period of five years.⁷⁹

From these observations, one can understand why Putman was so anxious to keep track of "drop-outs" from the Ottawa school system and, by establishing the Manual Arts School, hoped to prevent these "laggards" from going into "dead-end" jobs.

At the Boston Industrial School, also, he commended the vocational training:

79 J. H. Putman, 'VIII. Girard College, Philadelphia', "American Schools and Other Things Through Canadian Eyes", in The Citizen, Ottawa, April 9, 1913, p. 12.

Every boy must have made a definite choice of a trade. He may choose woodwork, iron lathe work, electricity or printing. His course is two years. He spends half time on shop work, quarter time on drawing, and quarter time on English spelling, geography and arithmetic. His school-room problems grow out of and are suggested by his shop work. The whole work is real work. Everything has a commercial value and is solid. Boys' time cards are kept as in a factory. Every problem is a real problem. Each boy draws his own plans, makes his own blue prints, and solves his own problems. The instructors are practical men taken from shops.⁸⁰

Coming from his rural background, then, Putman (as Dewey) admired the instrumental value of this practical, "factory" environment. By working on "real problems" with "practical men" it was hoped that the uninterested youth would recover his self-esteem and mature into a responsible, job-holding adult.

In the case of girls, job-training gave the added dimension of self-respect and opportunity to "become virtuous members of society".⁸¹ Putman had high praise for the Boston Trade School for Girls and its principal, Miss Leadbetter, whom he described as "one of the most enthusiastic and apparently one of the most successful educators in Boston".⁸² Because of the danger of sweatshop exploitation

80 J. H. Putman, 'III. Boston Industrial and Trade Schools', "American Schools", in Ibid., April 2, 1913, p. 5.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid.

in the clothing industry, which dominated Boston and which

Only strict government regulations and intelligent workmen can prevent [...] The object of the Boston Trade School for Girls is to increase the skilled labor, to prepare a girl who, without training, would earn \$4 a week to earn \$6, and the one who would earn \$8 to earn \$15. This is actually being done. Since January 1st 65 girls have been placed, at wages from \$6 up, in positions where there are good opportunities for promotion.⁸³

Putman described the specialized work for which each girl was fitted. Millinery, plain sewing, dressmaking, machine operation or cooking were offered. The work was sold and more than paid for their supply needs. He commended the home-making skills of cooking and dressmaking that the girls had to learn (see Chapter Five). Their taste was developed in industrial design courses (see Chapter Nine). But, above all, Putman remarked on the fact that the school had a full-time counsellor and that it guaranteed each graduate a position. The girls received "lessons on how to dress for their respective positions and how to serve customers. This work is intensely practical, and is giving hundreds of poor girls a better chance",⁸⁴ commented Putman, the liberal democrat.

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid.; probably a parallel concern motivated the Ontario Government to issue a new manual on manners in 1914: "Canada's Manners Should Be as Laid Down in Text Book to Be Used in the Ontario Schools", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, March 16, 1914, p. 5, and, "Book On Manners", editorial in Ibid., March 17, 1914, p. 6.

As an administrator interested in the public school grants which increased with higher attendance, Putman valued the solution that these courses offered the school attendance problem. He said of the high schools in St. Louis (where, in Putman's estimation the best school buildings in America existed),

Each high school is a general school fully equipped for manual training, commercial work and domestic science. The superintendent says that every extension of high schools has been met by an increased attendance. In 1904 they had 2,800 pupils; in 1913 they have more than 6,000. The increase is partly due to natural growth and partly due, I am told, to the increasing desire of boys to take manual training and of girls to take cooking, sewing, millinery and laundry work. Superintendent Blewett says that the high school in the most fashionable district cannot accommodate the girls who wish the domestic science as an extra subject. High school pupils pay no fees and buy no books. They are also given mid-day lunches at actual cost.⁸⁵

Thus, many of Putman's ideas on vocational classes and technical education at the high school level (see Chapter Fourteen) were reinforced by this American visit.

Another set of ideas, those dealing with provisions for the "feeble-minded", "defective", or severely retarded child Putman explored while in the United States.

He first visited the world-famous institution, the Massachusetts School for Feeble-Minded at Waverley,

⁸⁵ J. H. Putman, 'XV. St. Louis, Missouri', "American Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, April 21, 1913, p. 5.

thirty-five miles northwest of Cambridge.⁸⁶ He stated that Massachusetts, having an enlightened public opinion and a largely industrial state, "probably leads America in the care of unfortunates".⁸⁷ The one thousand five hundred patients at Waverley, classified as "feeble-minded" by society, included "all those who have too little intelligence or too little will-power to take a successful part in the struggle for life"⁸⁸ and were thus removed to a rural area of approximately 150 acres.

In the aims of Dr. Fernald, the head of the institution, could be seen the underlying theory of eugenics, which very much affected Ontario's programme for mental defectives under Dr. Helen MacMurchy:⁸⁹

86 J. H. Putman, 'IV. Massachusetts School For Feeble-Minded', "American Schools", in Ibid., April 3, 1913, p. 5.

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid.

89 Gerald T. Hackett, The History of Public Education for Mentally Retarded Children in the Province of Ontario, 1867-1964, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1969, p. 79-80.

The aim of Dr. Fernald is to develop as far as possible the powers of every patient, make him comfortable and happy, to protect him against exploitation from unscrupulous members of society, but above all to protect society from the mischievous and costly effects of allowing defectives to reproduce another generation of defectives. The former of these aims can in an industrial community be best realized in well-equipped institutions; the latter aim can be realized only through institutional care after the age of adolescence.⁹⁰

Putman described the sense-training devices at this school, developed originally by Seguin and imitated by Montessori. Great emphasis was placed on productive industrial and farm training with the result that a great number of the patients were self-supporting.

90 Putman, 'IV. Massachusetts School For Feeble-Minded', in The Citizen, Ottawa, April 3, 1913, p. 5; Putman noted at the end of the article that Ontario's institution at Orillia did not nearly meet the needs of the province; on March 11, 1915, an Ottawa Committee for the protection and care of the feeble-minded was formed and Putman was one of its nine founding members: see, "Care of Feebleminded", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, March 12, 1915, p. 8; in 1916, Putman carried the campaign to have farms established for the feeble-minded to the Ontario Educational Association: see, OEA Proceedings, 1916, p. 17 - Putman was on the special committee to petition the Ontario Government; in 1919 Putman was President of the Ottawa Branch of the Provincial Association of the Feeble-Minded: see, Helen MacMurchy, "Feeble-Minded in Ontario, Fourteenth Report For the Year Ending October 31, 1919", in Government of Ontario, Sessional Papers Vol. 211 - Part V, Sixth Session of the Fifteenth Legislature of the Province of Ontario, Session 1920, Toronto, James, 1922, No. 24, p. 19; and see, J. H. Putman, Fifty Years at School, An Educationist Looks at Life, Toronto, Clarke Irwin, p. 106.

In his next report Putman described the Waverley ideas transplanted to an elementary public school setting. At Newton, Massachusetts, he saw

[...] a small elementary school, wholly set apart for feeble-minded and backward children. It seemed quite evident that the less bright half of these children were not more intelligent than the best we saw at Waverley. There were 40 children and four teachers. The work was largely individual and almost wholly industrial. Wood-work, paper cutting and pasting, sewing, weaving, basket-making and rug-making were the principal activities.⁹¹

Putman's Ottawa auxiliary classes were to resemble this school.

Another institution which Putman, and later that year two Ottawa teachers,⁹² visited was the famous Vineland School in New Jersey.⁹³ Here the eugenist, Dr. Henry Goddard and his staff of scientists, not only were making a study of the problem of feeble-minded children and setting up summer

91 J. H. Putman, 'V. Newton, Massachusetts', "American Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, April 4, 1913, p. 12.

92 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1913, p. 113: Miss Rose Patton and Miss Mary Taylor were sent by the Board to the Mechanics Institute, Rochester, New York, to take an eight-weeks' summer course in handicraft occupations. During September and October they were to be sent to Vineland, New Jersey, and Waverley, Massachusetts, to study the problem of educating feeble-minded children.

93 J. H. Putman, 'IX. Vineland, New Jersey, Training School For Defective Children', "American Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, April 11, 1913, p. 14.

schools to train teachers for them, but they were investigating the family history of patients. Putman reported that the field workers

[...] have made some startling discoveries, all tending to show that feeble-mindedness is largely hereditary. They have even discovered relationship among their patients where the patients or friends of the children had no knowledge of it.⁹⁴

After visiting these various institutions which cared for backward children, Putman concluded that "It is clear that the Atlantic states are a generation ahead of Ontario in dealing with this problem".⁹⁵ He was to begin this needed reform when he got home.

Although Putman did not visit the Gary, Indiana, schools on this trip, he did see the departmental plan of teaching in Kansas City where specialist teachers taught their particular subjects to all the pupils from Grade Five

94 Ibid.; and see wide publicity given Goddard's findings, particularly relating to the Kallilak family in the Ottawa newspapers: "A Terrible Responsibility", editorial in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, December 14, 1912, p. 6; and, "Problem of Caring For Feeble-Minded A Burning One In Province of Ontario", in The Citizen, Ottawa, December 5, 1913, p. 2; and see, C. Greenland, "Services for the Mentally Retarded in Ontario, 1870-1930", in Ontario History, Vol. 54, December, 1962, p. 269-270: showed the influence of Goddard's findings on Dr. Helen MacMurchy, Ontario's Inspector for the Feeble-Minded.

95 Putman, 'IX. Vineland, New Jersey', in The Citizen, Ottawa, April 11, 1913, p. 14.

up.⁹⁶ That fall he mentioned that the administrative plan of Gary (the rotary system of the future), whereby half the child's school day was spent with the regular teacher and half with "activity" teachers saved a great deal of school space and was being "eagerly watched".⁹⁷ As mentioned before (Chapter Six, section 3), Putman was largely responsible for the presence of William Wirt, Gary's Superintendent, at the Dominion Educational Association's meeting in Ottawa in 1917.⁹⁸ That year Putman discussed the Gary School Plan at length in his Annual Report.⁹⁹

He described its historical and geographical origins¹⁰⁰ and its advantages:

96 J. H. Putman, 'XIV. Kansas City, Missouri', "American Schools", in Ibid., April 19, 1913, p. 16.

97 Putman, "School Waste", in Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 36.

98 William Wirt, "Progress in Education Through School Administration", in The Dominion Educational Association, Proceedings of the Ninth Convention of the Association held at Ottawa, Ontario, January 31, and February 1 and 2, 1917, Ottawa, Dominion Printers, (n.d.) p. 65-78.

99 Putman, 'I. The Gary School Plan.', "Modern Educational Movements", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1917, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 21, 1918, p. 12-20.

100 Ibid., p. 13-14.

Summing up, it would seem that the Gary plan would effect a saving of seventeen per cent. in teachers and thirty-three per cent. in the cost of school buildings. This saving alone, if an equally good education could be provided for the children, would tip the beam for the Gary school plan.¹⁰¹

But, following his belief in the importance of the child's teacher, Putman found that the Gary schools could not

[...] provide an education equal to that now given in the best elementary schools in Canada and the United States which are organized on the orthodox plan of one teacher and one regular classroom for each group of forty or forty-five children.¹⁰²

Visiting the Gary schools in December of 1917,¹⁰³ Putman judged the time given to senior students for academic subjects (three hours) inadequate, the number of teachers for young children unsuitable for their character development,¹⁰⁴ and the auditorium and moving picture lessons only superficial entertainment.¹⁰⁵ The tradesmen who taught the shop work were not teachers and did not teach accuracy, skill or patience, and the sewing lessons were entirely too limited to have any value.¹⁰⁶ Only the physical education instructors

101 Ibid., p. 15.

102 Ibid.

103 Ibid., p. 20.

104 Ibid., p. 16-17.

105 Ibid., p. 18-19.

106 Ibid., p. 19-20.

and the library programme merited Putman's praise.¹⁰⁷

On the other hand, as we have seen (Chapter Five), Putman was not averse to the idea of specialist teachers or to the idea of an intermediate school operating on a rotary plan to attract and train early adolescents before they dropped out of school (see section one).¹⁰⁸ Although the School for Higher English was an early experiment in this line,¹⁰⁹ the Manual Arts School, begun in September of 1913, was another. It embodied a number of the Gary ideas (such as half-time for activities and specialist teachers), as well as many of the best ideas that Putman picked up from the United States on industrial work for backward children. It was destined to become the "C stream" of the intermediate school of the future and thus marked Putman's first step at segregating children of lower academic ability from the main public school stream.

107 Ibid., p. 20.

108 Putman, 'II. The Junior High School', "Modern Educational Movements", in Inspector's Report, 1917, p. 20-24.

109 Its 1923 introduction of the rotary system was preceded in Ontario by Windsor's plan in 1922: see, J. E. Benson, "The Windsor Rotary School System", in Ontario Educational Association, Addresses of the Ontario Educational Association Held in Toronto April 17, 18, 19 and 20, 1922, Vol. II, Toronto, Ryerson, 1922, p. 204-211.

3. Manual Arts School.

As mentioned previously, the Manual Arts School opened in September of 1913, and although it only lasted until June of 1918,¹¹⁰ many of Putman's experimental ideas to solve the problem of "laggards" were tried here and proved seminal for the future development of special vocational schools (such as Ottawa's Borden High t Public School of today).¹¹¹

In January of 1913, the Board was already making preparations for the new school by purchasing a Gordon press¹¹² (although, according to Inspector Albert Leake of Toronto, "the regulations and acts make no provision for such a course [printing] under the P.S. Bd. or for the expenditure of the funds for this purpose"¹¹³). Through that

110 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1918, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1917, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 115-116.

111 H. R. Cummings and W. T. MacSkimming, The City of Ottawa Public Schools, A Brief History, Ottawa, The Ottawa Board of Education, 1971, p. 73.

112 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1913, p. 23.

113 P.A.O., R.G.2, F-3-H, Vol. 5, letter of Albert H. Leake, dated May 2, 1913, with "Summary of Individual Inspector's Report on Manual Training Classes in Ottawa".

year, a kiln for pottery,¹¹⁴ copper work equipment,¹¹⁵ and a motor-driven turning lathe¹¹⁶ were purchased.

Five manual training teachers, who had been sent by the Board to Rochester, New York, to attend manual training classes gave an exhibition of their pottery, metal work and basketry that September.¹¹⁷ Mr. Crowson, who had attended the course, was to be in charge of the manual training at the new school and two other teachers were to look after domestic science and teaching assignments.¹¹⁸ Miss A. G. Sutherland was to be the principal of the Waller Street School.¹¹⁹

During the summer extensive building alterations took place and five rooms were converted into classrooms suitable for teaching manual arts, domestic science (sewing and cooking), and drawing.¹²⁰ It was announced that

114 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1913, p. 156.

115 Ibid., p. 174.

116 Ibid., p. 210.

117 "Manual Training Work", in The Citizen, Ottawa, September 5, 1913, p. 2; and, "Public School Board Reverses A Contract", in Ibid., June 6, 1913, p. 2: at a June fifth Board meeting it was considered advisable to make the Waller Street School into an art school similar to that at Rochester.

118 "Enrolling Pupils", in Ibid., September 3, 1913, p. 5.

119 Ibid.

120 "Many Improvements To Public School", in Ibid. August 18, 1913, p. 7.

fourteen to fifteen hours a week each were to be devoted to handwork and book-work.¹²¹

In his 1913 Annual Report, Putman noted that there were 130 to 140 pupils enrolled at the Manual Arts School.¹²² He remarked that over half the pupils were over fourteen years of age and would normally have dropped out of school. Instead,

They are now contented and enthusiastic partly because they are with children of their own age with whom they have common interests. They are making marked progress, partly because they are in small classes and receive much individual instruction, partly because the subject-matter of the lessons appeals to their interests and partly because they are receiving much more instruction in hand work than is given in the ordinary school.¹²³

He described the girls' courses as ideal because they were learning how to manage a home. "Instruction in cooking, sewing and drawing occupies nearly half of each day",¹²⁴ he wrote.

Putman was not so satisfied with the boys' handwork because it was not broad enough in scope.¹²⁵ As his campaign

121 "To Teach Trades In Public Schools", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, August 28, 1913, p. 1.

122 J. H. Putman, "Classification of Pupils By Grades and Ages", in Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 19-20.

123 Ibid., p. 20.

124 Ibid.

125 Ibid., p. 20-21.

for technical education for the city showed (see Chapters Four and Fourteen), Putman would not cease his efforts until a technical school was built which could "train young men to become plumbers, bookbinders, printers, moulders, carpenters, or cabinet-makers".¹²⁶

Part of this campaign he waged at the 1913 Dominion Educational Association's conference. In his speech, "The Aim and Practice of Education in Public Schools as a Preparation for Industrial Life" (see Chapter Six, section 1), Putman described his coming experiment at the Manual Arts School; he hoped that five hundred children from all over the city would attend the course.¹²⁷ He prophesied:

My belief is that more and more our work in certain special schools in towns and cities is going to tend towards vocational work which is at the same time and in the truest sense cultural work.¹²⁸

In June of 1915 the pupils of the Manual Arts School put on an exhibition of work which was highly praised by the press. The Citizen described the school as having a home-like atmosphere and termed the experiment a remarkable success:

126 Ibid., p. 20.

127 J. H. Putman, "The Aim and Practice of Education in Public Schools as a Preparation for Industrial Life", in The Dominion Educational Association, Proceedings of the Eighth Convention of the Association, Ottawa, August 20 23, 1913, Ottawa, Dominion Printing, (n.d.) p. 79.

128 Ibid., p. 80.

It has proved that backward pupils learn very quickly when they are taken from their classes in the other schools and brought to this school.¹²⁹

Putman used this success to propose to the Board in 1915 the expenditure of three to four thousand dollars to equip it as a vocational school (this was tied up with his campaign for an Ottawa Technical School at this time - see next chapter).¹³⁰ His arguments for this expenditure were that the school at the moment could only accommodate 140 pupils, and that the boys' work was restricted too much to woodwork.¹³¹ He considered that there would be a distinct advantage in segregating the sexes and he hoped

[...] that in the near future the work we have begun here may develop into a school or schools where boys may learn the elements of one of three or four trades and girls may have practical training in everything pertaining to the management of a home and the making of their own clothing.¹³²

During 1916, then, the boys of the Manual Arts School were left at the Waller Street building under

129 "Classes Give Exhibition Of Their Output", in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 18, 1915, p. 11.

130 J. H. Putman, "School Accommodation", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1915, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 26, 1916, p. 5.

131 Ibid., p. 32.

132 Ibid.

Principal Daniel S. Kemp.¹³³ Three special classes (providing extra time in household science) for over-age girls were opened in Osgoode, Cambridge and Connaught Schools.¹³⁴ For the latter course, two teachers were sent by the Board to Toronto University to take a course in elementary manual training.¹³⁵

A special exhibition of the handwork of both boys and girls was given in June of 1917 and it was amply described in The Citizen as follows:

Pottery, including candlesticks, desk sets, fern dishes, all glazed [sic] in green and blue shades were displayed in quantities on tables surrounded by specimens from the manual training classes which included taberettes [tabourets], writing desks, chairs and tables, bird houses, baseball bats, rolling pins, etc. [sic]. The work showed ingenuity and a good appreciation of detail as well as a practical sense for durability.¹³⁶

Upstairs, the girls had a display of cakes, pastries and a great variety of needlework. As well, "In the other classrooms, the walls were lined with excellent copies of freehand

133 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1916, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1915, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 117.

134 Ibid., p. 118.

135 Ibid., and, p. 150: Miss L. Ridgway became the first woman assigned temporarily to teach manual training.

136 "Splendid Display At Manual Arts School", in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 13, 1917, p. 7.

drawing, penmanship and design".¹³⁷ The article emphasized the fact that pupils received much more individual attention here and that the stress was on the practical as well as the artistic side of the pupil.¹³⁸

As it turned out, this proved to be the swan song of the Manual Arts School, for with the opening of the Ottawa Technical School day classes in October, 1917, and the expenses of the war, the Board felt it had to close the school in 1918. By June of that year it had rented the Waller Street building to the Dominion Government.¹³⁹ Putman explained, however, that "neither its internal arrangement nor its geographical position make it a suitable centre for carrying on special classes attended by pupils from all parts of the City".¹⁴⁰

Putman had not given up his campaign, though. In another address to the Canadian (formerly, Dominion) Education Association, "The Education of Dull or Backward

137 Ibid.

138 Ibid.; and see, "School Children Stage Exhibition", in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, June 13, 1917, p. 12.

139 J. H. Putman, "School Accommodation", in Inspector's Report, 1918, p. 5.

140 Ibid.

Pupils Who Lack Literary Ability"¹⁴¹ in 1927, he classified these pupils now in terms of intelligence quotient ("76 to 90% of normal intelligence"¹⁴²) and in terms of class:

This is the class from which, with marked exceptions, is recruited our domestic servants, our low-paid factory hands and our manual labourers. Often, the more intelligent males of this class, especially if they have those moral qualities known as industry, honesty and perseverance become semi-skilled mechanics or small contractors or shop keepers.¹⁴³

He described them as "concrete minded"¹⁴⁴ and asserted that no provision for their special education had been made even by this date.¹⁴⁵ They were rejected for reasons of snobbery¹⁴⁶ even from the technical schools: "The plain truth is that no technical school in Canada wants the dull boy and the heads of technical schools are sometimes super-sensitive on this point".¹⁴⁷ He concluded by exhorting the technical

141 J. H. Putman, "The Education of Dull or Backward Pupils Who Lack Literary Ability", in Canadian Education Association, Proceedings of the Fourteenth Convention of the Association held at Winnipeg, November 1, 2, and 3, 1927, Ottawa, Dadson-Merrill, (n.d.) p. 120-128.

142 Ibid., p. 121.

143 Ibid.

144 Ibid.

145 Ibid., p. 122-123.

146 Ibid., p. 124.

147 Ibid., p. 126.

and vocational schools to make provision for these students of lower intelligence:

[...] every city and perhaps every town in Canada ought to have a pre-vocational school with vocational courses simple enough and non-technical enough to appeal to the interests and tastes and powers of all young people of both sexes who are not definitely subnormal [...].

.
[...] the dull and backward adolescent can receive a maximum profit from no other kind of school. The technical and vocational school is his birth-right. Schools are paid for by society. They are social institutions and society has the right to demand that they function democratically. They cannot so function as long as they place the slightest barrier in the way of the dull, concrete-minded boy.¹⁴⁸

In the Ottawa Public School Board, vocational classes for older boys and girls were expanded (really from the junior auxiliary classes) so that girls were trained in the Laurier Avenue School beginning in 1927 under Miss Eva Roberts and boys in 1926 with Arthur M. Lee in charge at the Rideau Street School.¹⁴⁹

148 Ibid., p. 127; Putman gave an even stronger statement to this effect in 1939, asserting that approximately 800 boys and girls in Ottawa got a "raw deal" because of a long-standing departmental regulation which gave the Principal of the Technical School power to refuse them admission unless they produced an Entrance certificate: see, J. H. Putman, "The Problem of Retarded Children", in Canadian Educational School Journal, Vol. 17, No. 6, June, 1939, p. 224.

149 Cummings and MacSkimming, Op. Cit., p. 74; and see Putman, Fifty Years at School, p. 104; the Manual Arts School had been a forerunner of these classes, thus contradicting Hackett's claim that Toronto led the province by establishing the first auxiliary vocational classes in 1923: see, Hackett, Op. Cit., p. 132.

4. Auxiliary Classes.

In his 1927 CEA address on backward pupils, Putman also defined the subnormal ("defective" or "feeble-minded")¹⁵⁰ as those who

[...] could never satisfactorily manage their own affairs, cannot be educated by the ordinary school methods and school studies, and unless under permanent guidance and control, are incapable of economic independence.¹⁵¹

By 1927, as he wrote, nearly "every large urban centre in Great Britain, Canada and the United States has made some provision for the segregation and training of [... this] class - the definitely feeble-minded and incapable".¹⁵² But in Ontario in 1910 only half-day classes for the mentally-defective had been established in Toronto.¹⁵³

150 Terms often used interchangeably in 1914, but generally "defectives" or "mentally-defective" children referred to educable retardates for whom auxiliary classes were set up, whereas "feeble-minded" referred to uneducable subnormal children for whose welfare the Association of the Feeble-Minded was established: see, Hackett, Op. Cit., p. 99.

151 Putman, "The Education of Dull or Backward Pupils", in CEA Proceedings, 1927, p. 121.

152 Ibid., p. 122.

153 Hackett, Op. Cit., p. 87; and see, P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 17, XVIII, Item 3, Toronto Board of Education, extract from Management Committee Report No. 4, re proposed "Act Respecting Special Classes", 1911.

The Department put together a hastily-contrived¹⁵⁴ "Act Respecting Special Classes for the Mentally Defective" in 1911 which permitted city boards to set up classes for backward, as well as for physically and mentally-handicapped children. The following year Trustee Brown of the Ottawa Public School Board moved that the Management Committee consider the formation of classes for children known as defectives.¹⁵⁵ But, as mentioned in the previous section, only in 1913, after Putman's American trip, did the Board take any action to have teachers take training for this work.

After Miss Rose Patton and Miss Mary Taylor had learnt handicraft skills and had studied the problem of educating feeble-minded children, Putman got Dr. Helen MacMurphy, Inspector of Feeble-Minded for Ontario, to conduct a survey

154 Hackett, Op. Cit., p. 88.

155 "Public School Board Will Shortly Start Night Classes", in The Citizen, Ottawa, October 4, 1912, p. 4; and see, Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1912, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1911, (n.p., n.d.) p. 172; this followed a trip in July of 1912 to attend the Imperial Conference on Education by Putman, representing the Inspectors' Department of OEA, at which Dr. Helen MacMurphy also was present: see, Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Fifty-First Annual Convention Held in Toronto, April 9, 10, 11, 1912, Toronto, Briggs, 1912, p. 49.

of Ottawa school children.¹⁵⁶ Both she and the Ottawa teachers, using independent tests, agreed that fifty children should be placed in special classes.

Putman outlined what had been accomplished both to the new Ottawa Public School Board of 1914¹⁵⁷ and to Superintendent John Seath¹⁵⁸ (who had himself visited the United States to explore facilities for the education of defectives in December of 1913).¹⁵⁹ In Putman's letter to Seath he expressed doubt as to the interpretation of section two of the Act of 1911: "children admitted to these classes can be admitted only on the application of their parents or guardians and with the approval of their parents and the principal of the school".¹⁶⁰ He asked for clarification of the powers of the Board "of compelling children to attend these classes or

156 J. H. Putman, "Sub-Normal Children", in Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 49; and see, P.A.O., R.G.8, Provincial Secretary Correspondence, McPherson, W. D., 1916-1919, I, 1-A, Box 68 - MacMurchy, Dr. Helen, No. 2: letter of Putman to W. J. Hanna, dated Ottawa, December 16, 1913, thanking Hanna for MacMurchy's assistance.

157 "For Education of Backward Children", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 7, 1914, p. 14.

158 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 17, XVIII, Item 2, letter of Putman to Seath, dated Ottawa, March 10, 1914: re establishment of special classes.

159 Ibid., Item 1, John Seath, 'Education of Defectives', "Report of Visit to New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore by the Deputy Minister and Dr. J. Seath", dated December 22, 1913.

160 Ibid., Item 2, letter of Putman to Seath.

whether they have any such power. In my opinion, the whole movement will fail unless ample powers are given",¹⁶¹ Putman concluded.

His opinion must have carried weight, for in the Act ("An Act Respecting Auxiliary Classes"), passed May first, 1914, Section Seven, it was stated:

[...] pupils shall be admitted to auxiliary classes upon the report of a board consisting of the principal of the school, the school medical inspector and another school inspector or the chief or senior school inspector as the case may be, of which board the principal shall be the chairman approved by the Inspector of Auxiliary Classes.¹⁶²

But in a further letter in May, in which he outlined in some detail what provisions had been made and what the Board proposed to do, Putman requested still further clarification about his Board's powers before proceeding:

¹⁶¹ Ibid.; an article was reprinted in the Ottawa press that month from the Mail and Empire in which a mother violently objected to the branding and wholesale segregation and condemnation of "defectives" into separate classes: see, Mrs. Donald Shaw, "Defective or Exceptional", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, March 21, 1914, p. 12.

¹⁶² Government of Ontario, Acts of the Department of Education Province of Ontario, Revised Statutes of Ontario 1914, Toronto, Cameron, 1914, p. 304.

I note that section 12 of An Act respecting Auxiliary Classes gives the Minister power to make regulations governing these classes. I am of the opinion that the Ottawa Public School Board will not take any further steps toward opening these classes unless the Minister can assure them that his Regulations when issued will give them ample powers to require pupils to attend.¹⁶³

On Seath's advice,¹⁶⁴ the Deputy Minister informed Putman that his proposals were consistent with the Act and that no further regulations would interfere with the powers of the Board to require pupils to attend these classes "when such powers are reasonably exercised".¹⁶⁵

That December the Secretary of the Ottawa Board, Crawford Ross, wrote to Deputy Minister Colquhoun announcing that the Ottawa Board had begun classes in September of 1914, employing two teachers at salaries of \$850 and nine hundred dollars.¹⁶⁶ He asked what grant was the Board entitled to for that year. Unfortunately, the Deputy Minister replied, "as there is no provision made in the estimates for special

163 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1915, Box 11, 4-874, Item 15, Ottawa Classes for "Feeble-Minded", letter of Putman to the Deputy Minister, dated Ottawa, May 14, 1914, p. 2.

164 Ibid., memorandum of Seath to Deputy Minister, dated Toronto, May 21, 1914: after consultation with Mr. Dymond re legal powers of the Ottawa Board.

165 Ibid., copy of letter of Deputy Minister to Putman, dated Toronto, May 21, 1914.

166 Ibid., letter of Crawford Ross to Colquhoun, dated Ottawa, December 10, 1914.

grants in respect of the establishment of classes for feeble-minded children, no legislative grant is at present under this heading".¹⁶⁷

The special classes which Ottawa established were in Cambridge Street School under Principal Denny.¹⁶⁸ Facilities were available for domestic science and manual training when required. A midday luncheon, for those who could not conveniently go home, was to be served. Expenses of the meals and transportation were to be borne by the Board. A medical doctor was to be available to examine and report on cases when necessary. Putman promised,

The School Board will equip the classes for feeble-minded children with every appliance necessary for carrying on those handicrafts suitable for the mental development of the children, and will add from time to time such equipment as may be recommended by the Provincial Inspector of Feeble-Minded classes.¹⁶⁹

By 1915, the Education Department had appointed Dr. Helen MacMurchy Inspector of Auxiliary Classes,¹⁷⁰ and had

167 Ibid., copy of letter of Deputy Minister to Ross, dated Toronto, January 6, 1915; in 1917 the Board received its first grant for these classes (see Chapter Fifteen, section 1).

168 Ibid., Putman's letter to the Deputy Minister, dated Ottawa, May 14, 1914.

169 Ibid.

170 Hackett, Op. Cit., p. 95.

organized a summer course for teachers,¹⁷¹ which Miss Patton and Miss Taylor attended at the partial expense of the Ottawa Board.¹⁷² Dr. MacMurchy not only visited the three auxiliary classes for mental defectives established by this time in Ontario,¹⁷³ but travelled across the province urging that medical inspection and a school census be conducted so as to detect defective children, segregate them (the "causes which produce them must cease"¹⁷⁴) and educate them in special classes. She elaborated her ideas in a departmental pamphlet,¹⁷⁵ which was distributed to the Ottawa, Toronto and Hamilton School Boards.¹⁷⁶

171 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1915, Box 10, 4-831, Item 37, letter of MacMurchy to Deputy Minister dated Toronto, January 6, 1915; and Ibid., Box 9, 1-237, Item 5, Ontario Department of Education, Summer Courses and Examinations in 1915 for Teachers' Certificates, Toronto, 1915, Cameron, 105 p.

172 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1915, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1914, (n.p., n.d.) p. 110 and 190.

173 Hackett, Op. Cit., p. 96: Hamilton had one class for mental defectives; Toronto's 1910 classes were discontinued in 1913.

174 "Practical Talks Feature Sessions of Big Congress", in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 5, 1914, p. 4.

175 Helen MacMurchy, Organization and Management of Auxiliary Classes, Toronto, Cameron, 1915, ix-212 p.

176 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1915, Box 9, 1-285, Item 4, copy of letter of Deputy Minister to Secretary, Board of Education, Ottawa, dated February 15, 1915: enclosed 15 copies of Education Pamphlet No. 7 for all Board members.

In 1916, Dr. MacMurchy visited the Ottawa classes and was quoted as saying

The best example of training class work in Ontario is in the Cambridge Street school, Ottawa, where two teachers, both of whom hold, in addition to the required teachers' certificates, Ontario certificates as teachers of auxiliary classes, have charge of about thirty children, who are divided into two classes.¹⁷⁷

She termed the Ottawa classes a "splendid success".¹⁷⁸

Two years later work from these classes was exhibited at the Central Canada Exhibition and the reporter especially commented on the interesting weaving the children were doing.¹⁷⁹

In the meantime, the Board had opened another auxiliary class in September of 1917 at Osgoode Street School and placed Miss Patton in charge.¹⁸⁰ Evidence that the weaving was continuing was shown in the fact that reeds, hammock cord and weaving warp were purchased by the Board in 1919 and

¹⁷⁷ "Dr. McMurchy [sic] Reports On Auxiliary Classes", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, October 4, 1916, p. 8.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ "School Exhibit Is Most Creditable", in The Citizen, Ottawa, September 7, 1918, p. 5.

¹⁸⁰ Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School For the Year 1917, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1916, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 152 and 154.

1920.¹⁸¹ Miss Taylor was sent by the Board to Boston and to Waverley, Massachusetts, in 1920 to inspect the auxiliary class work being carried on there.¹⁸²

Thus, Putman's auxiliary class efforts, although small in size were lauded as being of high quality,¹⁸³ both by Ottawa Public School Board Chairman Hamilton,¹⁸⁴ who had travelled across the United States and Canada inspecting schools in January of 1920, and by the Hodgins' Commission which issued its Report on the Mentally-Defective and Feeble-Minded in Ontario in 1919.¹⁸⁵ At a time when the

181 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For The Year 1919, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1918, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 178; and, Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1920, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1919, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 192.

182 Ibid., p. 74 and 95.

183 "High Standard Of Efficiency Evident In Every Branch Of The Public Schools Of Ottawa", in The Citizen, Ottawa, August 16, 1919, p. 2.

184 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1919, p. 246: "Our Auxiliary work is in a class of its own as compared with any we have seen, and we saw quite a number."

185 P.A.O., R.G.18, Commissions and Committees, B-18-10-1919: Hon. F. E. Hodgins, Report on the Care and Control of the Mentally-Defective and Feeble-Minded in Ontario, Toronto, 1919, Ryerson, p. 97: "The classes in Ottawa are going on well"; and, p. 98: lists occupations of fifteen boys who had attended Cambridge Street School's auxiliary class.

rest of the province made little progress in this regard, Ottawa's programme proved to be a successful leader. After Dr. MacMurchy was replaced by Putman's old Normal School confrère, Dr. S. B. Sinclair in 1920,¹⁸⁶ the rest of the province began to catch up. Dr. Sinclair reported that seventeen auxiliary classes were operating in July of 1920¹⁸⁷ and by 1923 there were nineteen.¹⁸⁸ A grant of four hundred dollars was given to the Ottawa Board in 1922 for its two classes.¹⁸⁹ Sinclair wrote in 1921 praising their work but suggesting there should be more of these auxiliary classes

186 Ibid., R.G.2, P-3, 1922, Box 98, 4-831, II, Item 7, copy of Order-in-Council dated September 17, 1920: and see Hackett, Op. Cit., p. 129-130.

187 S. B. Sinclair, "Report of the Inspector of Auxiliary Classes", in Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1920, Toronto, James, 1921, p. 106; in 1925, he described Ottawa's training class as "well organized at the beginning and [...] still doing excellent work", in S. B. Sinclair, "The Progress of Auxiliary Classes", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Sixty-Fourth Annual Convention Held in Toronto, April 14, 15, 16, 17, 1925, Toronto, James, 1925, p. 216.

188 S. B. Sinclair, "Report of the Inspector of Auxiliary Classes", in Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1923, Toronto, James, 1924, p. 69.

189 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1922, Box 95, 2-993, Item 9, memorandum with accompanying estimates of S. B. Sinclair to Colquhoun, dated Toronto, October 20, 1922; p. 2 of estimates lists Miss Taylor of Cambridge School to receive \$250 and Miss Lewis of Osgoode to receive \$170; copy of letter of Deputy Minister to Secretary, Ottawa Board of Education, dated Toronto, November 19, 1920, enclosed only \$400 as the auxiliary class grant cheque.

in Ottawa.¹⁹⁰ But the Ottawa classes remained at two, although receiving increased grants for their work,¹⁹¹ and moving the Osgoode Street class to the newly-built York Street School in 1922.¹⁹²

5. Students' Health Services.

Three events related to the movement for auxiliary classes took place within Putman's first twelve years of office. As a result of the underlying eugenics theory behind the policy on the mentally-retarded, the Department unofficially sanctioned the speaking engagement of Arthur W. Beall across the province. The public health movement, resulting in medical and dental inspection and care, also arose during these years. Again, one of the influences motivating it was the effort to identify physical sources

190 Ibid., Report of S. B. Sinclair to the Ottawa Public School Board, dated Toronto, October 25, 1921; and see, similar plea from Putman in "Classes For Sub-Normal Children", in Inspector's Report, 1918, p. 12-13: Putman pointed out that these classes cost \$100 per child as against \$60 for "those who must be our future leaders" and asked whether further expansion and cost was justified.

191 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1923, Box 113, 2-987, II, Item 22, Estimates of Grants to Auxiliary Classes, September 1922 to July 1923, p. 3: two Ottawa classes to receive \$495.

192 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1922, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1921, (n.p., n.d.) p. 183 and 186.

of retardation.¹⁹³

Putman dealt with Beall's efforts to introduce sex-hygiene lectures into the Ottawa Public Schools in his usual forthright manner and confronted the Department's covert motives:

Personally, I have never been convinced that public lectures on this subject to young boys will do more good than harm. [...]

As I understand the matter Mr. Beall is regularly authorized by the Minister to do this work. This would seem to imply that Dr. Pyne believes in a movement for sex-hygiene education.¹⁹⁴

Naturally, the Department denied any involvement. As Colquhoun wrote,

Beyond approving of the work thus carried on, I am not aware that Dr. Pyne, to quote your words, believes in a movement of sex-hygiene education. The Department has not in contemplation the authorization of any such system of instruction.¹⁹⁵

Beall himself felt hurt by the rebuffs of Principal White of the Normal School¹⁹⁶ and Putman and predicted the downfall

193 Hackett, Op. Cit., p. 79.

194 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1915, Box 11, 6-711, Item 2, letter of Putman to Colquhoun, dated Ottawa, January 20, 1914 [1915?]; and see, Ibid., Item 1, Putman's letter to Arthur W. Beall, dated Ottawa, December 30, 1914; and resultant complaint of Beall to Colquhoun; letter dated Whitby, January 16, 1915.

195 Ibid., Item 2, copy of letter of Deputy Minister to Putman, dated January 23, 1915.

196 Ibid., letter of White to Beall, dated Ottawa, February 2, 1914.

of the Ottawa Public Schools.¹⁹⁷

Despite permissive legislation for medical and dental inspection passed by the Ontario Government in 1907¹⁹⁸ and the provincial leadership of Toronto (in 1910)¹⁹⁹ and Hamilton,²⁰⁰ Ottawa did not pass a resolution for the general medical inspection of public school children until January fourth of 1912.²⁰¹ But part of the delay was caused by the Board awaiting the re-organization of the City's Health Department. While he waited, Putman spelled out the parameters of the system he wanted: "We want a simple system that will work without red tape."²⁰²

In September of 1913 two nurses were appointed and that fall they examined the throats, teeth, hair and hands

197 Ibid., letter of Beall to the Minister, dated Whitby, February 7, 1914; and see, Michael Bliss, "How We Used to Learn About Sex", in Maclean's, Vol. 87, No. 3, March, 1974, p. 38-39 and 61-66.

198 J. M. McCutcheon, Public Education in Ontario, Toronto, Best, 1941, p. 128.

199 Ibid., p. 127.

200 "For Medical Inspection", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, November 28, 1911, p. 1.

201 J. H. Putman, "Medical Inspection", in Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 33.

202 Ibid., p. 32.

of nearly eight thousand children.²⁰³ As Putman assessed this first year's effort,

Many cases of contagious diseases were detected. Scores of children received attention from the family dentist on the nurses' recommendations and a considerable number of children were supplied with suitable eye-glasses. [...] the major forces of the nurses were directed toward getting rid of ringworm, scabies, and unsanitary conditions of children's hair.²⁰⁴

In January of 1914 two additional nurses were hired.²⁰⁵ A half-day dental clinic was established that September.²⁰⁶ The latter was the result of an urgent need for dental care, which Putman outlined in a public letter²⁰⁷ of explanation

203 J. H. Putman, "Our School Health Service", in Chief Inspector's Annual Report, 1932, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 21, 1933, p. 16; and see, J. H. Putman, "School Sanitation and School Hygiene", in Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 27-30.

204 Putman, "Our School Health Service", in Chief Inspector's Report, 1932, p. 16.

205 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1914, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1913, Ottawa, Dominion Printing, 1915, p. 68.

206 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1914, Box 7, 6-711, Item 2, letter from Dr. V. H. Lyon to Pyne, dated Ottawa, June 16, 1914, requesting permission to open this clinic: granted copy of reply from Deputy Minister, dated June 17, 1914; this was progressive for Canada as Toronto's school dental clinic of 1913 was termed the fourth in Canada: see, "Notes and News", in The School, Vol. 1, No. 9, May, 1913, p. 637.

207 J. H. Putman, letter to Alderman Harold Fisher, in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, October 30, 1914, p. 4; Putman also addressed the Eastern Ontario Dental Association in 1915 on 'The Value of a School Dental Clinic', see "Dentists and Free Clinics", in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 10, 1915, p. 9.

to Alderman Harold Fisher who objected to the \$1,500 cost involved.²⁰⁸

By 1916, Ottawa's medical inspection facilities were judged as leading in Canada.²⁰⁹ As Putman described them to Colquhoun (in a letter explaining Ottawa's unique system of health services and asking not to have a provincially-imposed system which would negate Ottawa's efforts): "We have established in good faith an inexpensive, but highly efficient system, and to upset it will seriously interfere with the work our schools are doing".²¹⁰ To Chief Inspector Waugh he explained in 1918,

Our Board has no Medical Officer. We co-operate closely with the City Board of Health. Whenever our Nurses discover pupils in the schools with rash or sore throat they communicate with the Medical Health Officer, who sends a doctor to make an examination. We have four nurses at present. The City is divided into district[s], each nurse having on an average of five schools. This enables her to give an average of a day a week to each school. She spends a part of her time in examining children in the schools and a part of her time in visiting homes of children who are absent because of illness [...].²¹¹

208 Harold Fisher, letter to the Editor, in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, October 30, 1914, p. 4.

209 Jennie E. Smillie, "Medical Inspection of Schools", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, February 29, 1916, p. 7.

210 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1917, Box 37, 4-831, Folder 4, Item 173, letter of Putman to Deputy Minister, dated Ottawa, March 28, 1917.

211 Ibid., 1919, Box 60, 4-874, Item 24, letter of Putman to Waugh dated Ottawa, December 5, 1918; and see, Ibid., P-2, Box 29, VII, Item 39, Ottawa, "Instruction to Parents, re care of teeth and mouth" (Form 38); report card 191_ (n.d.).

Details of the nurses' salaries, expenses of laundry and transportation and Ottawa's "Regulations re Duties of School Nurses" followed.

In 1919, the Ottawa Board's dental clinic was judged by Putman to be "admirably fulfilling the purpose for which it was established. [...] Now every case requiring attention is attended to in a reasonable time after the school nurse discovers it".²¹² Judging from the reports of parents, principals and teachers, Putman also wrote that "the school nurses are giving the community in which they work a valuable and much appreciated service".²¹³ He reported that visitors had told him that Ottawa's "hygiene department is the simplest and most inexpensive and not the least efficient in any of the larger Canadian cities".²¹⁴

Thus, on a number of fronts Putman had expanded services for the pupils of the Ottawa Public School Board. In his first twelve years he had established auxiliary and vocational classes, abolished examinations, streamlined promotions and provided medical and dental services. He was continuing to demonstrate his progressive, efficient leadership.

²¹² J. H. Putman, "The Dental Clinic", in Inspector's Report, 1919, p. 15.

²¹³ Putman, "The School Nurses", in Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid., p. 16; and repeated in "Comprehensive and Varied Course Given In Ottawa Public Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, August 14, 1920, p. 9.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ADMINISTRATION

Putman's pragmatic nature was well displayed in his handling of the administrative side of his position. As inspector, he judged that the highest priority should be given to his inspection duties. Thus, he freed himself as much as he could from office work, hiring a secretary in 1911 and later, clerical staff. On the other hand, he believed that the quality of materials used in his handwork programmes was important and that costs could be cut substantially by buying in bulk. So he established a central supply depot and allocated part of his new secretary's duties to its maintenance. Following departmental directives based on Putman's advice, in May of 1914, the Ottawa Public School Board appointed an assistant inspector, Dr. E. T. Slemon.

Numerous instances have been cited to demonstrate Putman's pragmatic concern for communicating with the Ottawa ratepayer, as well as with the public in general, about his latest educational policies. He was always intensely aware that in a democracy, public opinion had to support reform measures or they would collapse. Thus his annual reports were written to stimulate and inform his readers. That they achieved this goal was fully endorsed in the editorial praise

which they drew increasingly during Putman's first twelve years of office.

Mention has also been made of Putman's use of newspaper letters to rebut his critics. In the area of school expenditure, he gained excellent advantage here. He summarized the major reasons for school costs in good debating style in a 1912 letter, asking in his conclusion whether or not the ratepayers wanted to have the most progressive school system on the continent. With later, more blatantly biased newspaper attacks against school expenditure, he wisely let his annual reports and the Board stand as his defence.

In the same manner, in dealing with soaring building costs, a mounting debenture debt and bitter ward politics, Putman let the good judgment of the ratepayer prevail, and only pointed out in his annual reports that reforms in the future should include standardization of buildings, freezing of building expenditure (and exploration of alternative cost-sharing arrangements with the Collegiate Board), and the formation of one School Board more efficiently to manage administrative matters.

Thus, on the administrative level Putman was able to defend his child-centred reform measures against the attacks of his critics and he made some progress in keeping other school costs down. He analyzed the work-load of his position

and delegated the tasks to other officials as much as the Department and the Board permitted at this time. In his administrative capacity, therefore, Putman also proved to be an efficient leader.

1. Inspection and Administrative Staff.

Ever since Ryerson's time the Ontario school system had had a centralized inspectoral system imposed on it chiefly for the purpose of improving the efficiency of the schools. As the Act stated, the inspector

[...] shall, by personal examination or otherwise as he may be directed by the Minister of Education, ascertain the character of the teaching in the schools which he is authorized to visit; and shall make enquiry and examination, in such manner as he may think proper, into the efficiency of the staff, the accommodation and equipment of the school, and all matters affecting the health and comfort of the pupils.¹

He was specifically instructed by the Minister to report not only violations of the School Act or the Regulations of the Department of Education but also to supply statistics on such matters as school attendance, salary levels of teachers and special class data.

As noted earlier (Chapter Five) the urban boards hired their own inspectors and were left some latitude in

¹ Government of Ontario, Acts Relating to the Education Department Public and High Schools and Truancy, Toronto, Briggs, 1901, p. 117-118.

the regulation of their duties. But the Department still felt compelled in 1911 to spell out the number of hours of inspection per teacher that each urban inspector should undertake.²

Before this departmental directive was issued, however, Putman had made his own inspection policy clear to the Board. In a letter to the School Management Committee in April of 1911, Putman urged the appointment of Mr. James Thorne as Secretary to the Inspector at an initial salary of \$1,200 a year.³ His major argument for this innovation was that it would free him for his inspection duties:

2 "Duties of Public School Inspectors in City Inspectorates", Instructions No. 160, dated June, 1911, in Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1911, Toronto, Cameron, 1912, p. 239; and see further detailed instructions, p. 240-241.

3 J. H. Putman, letter to the School Management Committee, in "Report No. 7 of the School Management Committee", dated Ottawa, April 27, 1911, in Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1911, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1910, (n.p., n.d.) p. 86.

We now have a staff of more than two hundred teachers. I feel that to exercise a proper supervision over such a large staff and make intelligent and careful reports to you upon the work of each is no light task. To me the work of school room inspection is the most important work I have to perform and regret every hour given to office work while the schools are in session.⁴

Putman was able to persuade the Board to change Thorne from his position as Principal of Glashan School to that of Secretary to the Inspector.⁵ (Conveniently, he lived two doors away from Putman on Rideau Terrace.)⁶ By 1913 his salary had been increased to \$1,650 per year.⁷ In the next year it was raised again to eighteen hundred dollars a year with one hundred dollar increases to a maximum of two thousand dollars.⁸

4 Ibid., p. 85; Putman enacted this delegation of administrative tasks in contrast to his more Ryersonian predecessor, Dr. J. C. Glashan: see, "Inspector Is Criticized", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, December 28, 1908, p. 8; and, for similar criticism of Toronto schools under James L. Hughes, see: P.A.O., R.G.2, P-2, Box 32, XXXIXa, Item 23, R. H. Cowley, Report on the Public Schools of Toronto, pencil dated 1912, p. 17.

5 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1911, p. 78.

6 Interview with Miss Irene Putman, Ottawa, December 13, 1972.

7 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1912, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1911, (n.p., n.d.) p. 187.

8 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1914, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1913, Ottawa, Dominion Printing, 1915, p. 116; this was the level of principals receiving bonus salaries: see, Ibid., p. 10.

But Putman, with this increased office assistance, still found his duties too onerous for one inspector. In a long three-way exchange between the Department, himself and the Board, Putman managed to have the Department relieve him of his duties as Secretary-Treasurer of the Ottawa Teachers' Pension Fund and persuaded the Board to appoint a co-inspector, Dr. E. T. Slemon.⁹

The Board was first informed of the necessity of new administrative arrangements in a letter from the Deputy Minister in which he pointed out that Putman only had time to give one-fourth, instead of the required one-third of a day for the inspection of each teacher.¹⁰ Putman explained his work-load to the Deputy Minister as follows:

During the year 1913 I have been unable to cover the work as I think it ought to be done. Some regular grade classes were not visited during the first half year, but all were visited during the autumn term, although in many cases I was unable to spend more than a quarter-day with each class. This, in my opinion, is not sufficient. Not all the kindergarten, manual training, and domestic science teachers have been visited during the past year.¹¹

9 Ibid., p. 101.

10 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1914, Box 6, 4-831, Folder 1, Item 22, copy of letter of Deputy Minister to Secretary-Treasurer, Ottawa Public School Board, dated Toronto, January 13, 1914.

11 Ibid., letter Putman to Deputy Minister, dated Ottawa, January 31 [3?], 1914; a memorandum from Seath to the Minister regarding Putman's letter was dated January 8, 1914, suggesting Putman's letter was written before January 31; the Deputy Minister wrote to Putman on January 12, 1914, saying that Chief Inspector Waugh would investigate conditions.

He found it increasingly difficult to find time to help new teachers, convene grade meetings and attend to "the office work which is constantly increasing owing to our many new school activities".¹² He then outlined all the new programmes and classes which had been put into effect by 1914, all requiring his direction, time and energy. As if this were not enough, Putman wrote, "the Board has recently made the Inspector secretary-treasurer of the Pension Fund. This means the keeping of individual accounts of a double entry system with some 200 contributors".¹³ He concluded,

[...] you can readily see that one man cannot continue to do the work satisfactorily. I have been able to manage it during the past three years only by having better office assistance than city inspectors usually secure.¹⁴

His final request that the Department rather than he himself initiate the movement for a second inspector obviously was understood and acted upon by Colquhoun (see Deputy Minister's letter to the Board of January 13, alluded to earlier).

12 Ibid., letter Putman to Deputy Minister, dated January 31, 1914.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

But the Board continued to make arrangements for Putman to undertake the duties of the Pension Fund,¹⁵ necessitating a letter from the Deputy Minister pointing out that this action contravened Section Ninety-Eight of the Public Schools' Act.¹⁶ At this point, Putman argued on behalf of the Board for an exception to be made to the Act so that he could administer Ottawa's Pension Fund:

The Board considers that this work is a natural part of the Inspector's duty and that his intimate knowledge of the teachers' terms of service and other details places him in the best possible position to perform the work properly. The Ottawa Board has inaugurated the most liberal system of teachers' pensions yet established in Canada and the members of the Board will naturally feel that the Department of Education should make it as easy as possible for them to administer this system.¹⁷

15 *Ibid.*, Form from The Employers' Liability Assurance Corporation, Limited, dated Toronto, February 12, 1914: Putman's application for bond of \$5,000 while administering the Pension Fund; and see, Booklet, "By-Law No. 1 of The City of Ottawa Public School Board: Pensions of Employees", effective September 1, 1910, p. 2: Section 7, "Inspector" written over "Secretary-Treasurer" (crossed out).

16 *Ibid.*, letter of Deputy Minister to Putman, dated Toronto, February 17, 1914.

17 *Ibid.*, letter of Putman to Colquhoun, dated Ottawa, March 10, 1914, p. 1; Putman mentioned that he explained the contents of this letter to Trustee Kirby, Chairman of the Finance Committee, who was going to ask permission of the Minister for the Ottawa Public School Board to present its case to him; Trustee Gowling, one of Putman's staunchest supporters in his progressive reforms, was another trustee who was anxious to have Putman assume these duties - see footnote 19.

Despite these arguments, the Deputy Minister replied that the Secretary-Treasurer of the School Board would be in as good a position as the Inspector to do this job and, to counter Putman's arguments that he could undertake these pension duties in the evenings, Colquhoun advised,

The Minister does not hold the view that the duties of the Public School Inspector can be wholly performed during school hours and in the present overloaded condition of your Inspectorate is unwilling that any additional burdens be imposed upon you.¹⁸

A week later Putman advised Colquhoun that he had resigned as Secretary-Treasurer of the Ottawa Teachers' Pension Fund.¹⁹

In May, the Ottawa Public School Board informed the Deputy Minister that, in response to his letter of January thirteenth, the Board had appointed an additional inspector, Dr. E. T. Slemon, whose duties would commence on September first.²⁰ To clarify his status, Putman wrote the Department

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, copy of letter of Deputy Minister to Putman, dated March 20, 1914.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, letter of Putman to Deputy Minister, dated Ottawa, March 28, 1914; the Minister approved of his actions: see, *Ibid.*, copy of letter of Deputy Minister to Putman, dated March 30, 1914; further petitions by the Board for Putman's services were made: see, *Ibid.*, letter of W. E. Gowling to Colquhoun, dated Ottawa, June 5, 1914; these were rejected in letter of Deputy Minister to Gowling, dated Toronto, July 13, 1914.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, letter of Crawford Ross to Colquhoun, dated Ottawa, May 11, 1914; and following letters and memoranda allowing Slemon to resign from the employ of the Provincial Government.

in April asking whether it was possible for him to be made Chief Inspector, as the trustees were planning, because as he read the Regulations, only Boards of Education could do this.²¹ As Seath pointed out in his reply, the Board of Education Act provided for the appointment of a Chief Inspector (whose duties were drawn up by a Board of Education), whereas the Public Schools' Act provided for the appointment of a Senior Inspector whose duties were regulated by the Minister.²² Obviously, Ottawa's position was mid-way between the two. As Seath wrote,

A situation like the one in Ottawa does not appear to have been contemplated. As the Act stands, the best way, it appears to me, will be for your Board to make a draft of the powers and duties which your Senior Inspector is to perform and submit them to the Minister for his approval. His duties will, of course, define his relations to the second Inspector.²³

By June, the Management Committee had drawn up the rules governing the duties of their school inspectors and submitted them to the Minister for his approval.²⁴ Under

²¹ Ibid., letter of Putman to Seath, dated Ottawa, April 20, 1914.

²² Ibid., copy of letter of Seath to Putman, dated Toronto, April 21, 1914.

²³ Ibid.; a copy of a similar letter to Putman from the Deputy Minister was dated April 21, 1914.

²⁴ Ibid., letter of Putman to the Deputy Minister, dated Ottawa, June 18, 1914, with printed copy of the inspectors' duties.

them, the senior inspector would be responsible for all administrative work and would control the work of all clerical assistants assigned to him. He would also be responsible for the administration of the supply department. Although he would make all recommendations to the Management Committee, he would consult the junior inspector on matters affecting the teaching staff. The latter was to attend Management Committee meetings when requested to do so. Inspection duties, although under the over-all supervision of the senior inspector, were divided up so that the senior inspector looked after schools east and south of the canal and the junior inspector was responsible for all other regular schools. The special schools and classes were to be their joint responsibility. Finally, all meetings or conferences were to be summoned through the senior inspector. The junior inspector, in his absence, however, would assume full administrative charge of the schools.²⁵ Thus, after three years in

25 Ibid., copy of letter from the Deputy Minister to Putman, dated Toronto, July 4, 1914: informed him that the Minister fully approved of the Board's Rules governing the power and duties of Inspectors; Slemon contributed several interesting professional reports to the annual reports after 1916, such as, "Class Room Proficiency", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1916, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 7, 1917, p. 13-16; "School Room Work", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1918, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 5, 1919, p. 28-34 (included information that a whole reference room at the Carnegie Library had been set aside by the Teachers' Institute for teachers, and it contained the "best books on practical pedagogy", in Ibid., p. 34); "The Teacher's Problem", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1919, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 23, 1920, p. 25-36; "Some Changes In Teaching, Actual and Desirable", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1922, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 4, 1923, p. 25-42.

office Putman effected the change in inspector's work-load found necessary in 1911 (see Chapter Five, section 1). Wisely, he also had the Management Committee clearly define the spheres of responsibility of each inspector in good time for Slemon's arrival in September.

Another innovation that Putman instituted was the establishment of a central supply depot. In the same letter which requested the appointment of Thorne, Putman asked the School Management Committee for permission to set up "a different system for the purchasing and distribution of text books, stationery and general supplies".²⁶ He estimated that by purchasing by open tender and in large quantities he could save ten per cent and, added to savings on freight charges (they could use the Board's horse, wagon and driver), deduct one thousand dollars from the six thousand dollar cost of supplies for 1911.²⁷ With the increased handwork of the future these costs (and savings) would go up. Putman, therefore, recommended

[...] that we should make store rooms in the basement under the Board Office by cutting off six feet from each play room. We can also secure a large dark room for storage near the centre of the school basement.²⁸

26 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1911, p. 84.

27 Ibid., p. 85.

28 Ibid.

As well as Thorne's duties as Secretary to the Inspector, Putman proposed that he should manage the supply depot under the supervision of the Inspector.²⁹ Putman enclosed the estimates of Building Superintendent W. B. Garvock for the cost involved to set up walls or partitions and shelving for the store room in the basement of Elgin Street School.³⁰ In 1914, a junior clerk was engaged to assist Thorne and the Inspector in the office and the supply room (he was to be a graduate of the School for Higher English).³¹

After four months of operation, Putman reported that

We are buying everything in bulk, much of it from manufacturers, publishers, and wholesale dealers, and all at the closest possible prices. We are distributing it at very little expense. We are keeping accurate records of what is used by each school, and shall thus be ready promptly to check any waste. In my opinion we are in a position to guarantee a successful management.³²

In 1912 he presented a table of supplies' statistics for the past ten years and pointed out that 1911 closed with a large stock of supplies on hand so that the real average cost per pupil in 1912 of \$1.34 was slightly greater than the actual

29 Ibid., p. 86.

30 Ibid.

31 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1914, p. 115.

32 J. H. Putman, "The Supply Depot", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1911, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, December 18, 1911, p. 16.

cost.³³ Putman thought that teachers and principals would "bear testimony that the children are supplied with many things in 1912 that were not given them in 1903",³⁴ and the quality as well as the quantity had improved over the ten-year period. He found the new supply room

[...] a great convenience. It is dry, roomy, and well lighted. The outside entrance makes the work of moving heavy packages comparatively easy. I think we now have ample storage accommodation for the next ten or fifteen years.³⁵

Putman gave more details about his purchasing policy in his speech to the Dominion Educational Association in 1913. In recommending the advantages of county boards for rural areas, he noted that they would be able

[...] to get the right kind of supplies at first cost. We find in this city that we can get all the Manual Training supplies, paper, pencils, pens, colour boxes, brushes, sewing material, books and everything that a child needs to work with, for a little more than a dollar per pupil per year, because we buy everything at the factory in Europe when we cannot buy in Canada, and thus save a middleman's profits.³⁶

33 J. H. Putman, "Supplies", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1912, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, December 30, 1912, p. 31.

34 Ibid., p. 32.

35 Ibid.

36 J. H. Putman, "The Aim and Practice of Education in Public Schools as a Preparation for Industrial Life", in The Dominion Educational Association, Proceedings of the Eighth Convention of the Association, Ottawa, August 20-23, 1913, Ottawa, Dominion Printing, (n.d.) p. 81.

To his public school supporters that year,³⁷ Putman reported that real progress had been made in eliminating waste of school supplies:

We now have the purchasing of supplies on a business basis. We know exactly where we can get what we want. We are learning gradually what quantities to order and how often so that pupils may not have to wait for supplies. We have a good store-room and a good system of delivery. We keep records of what is given to each school, and even now by comparing the supplies used in the various schools for the past three years we know that certain schools are very economical, others fairly economical, and a few apparently extravagant.³⁸

Thus, although Putman may have had the policy of decentralization as far as promotions were concerned, he kept a close check on the cost of supplies, particularly (as we shall see in the next chapter) in this "waste-conscious" era.

In 1916, the Board approved the appointment of Thorne as clerk of supplies and George Rice (his assistant in 1912³⁹) as assistant secretary.⁴⁰ A one-ton motor truck was purchased that year and the two horses and equipment

37 J. H. Putman, "School Waste", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1913, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, December 31, 1913, p. 37.

38 Ibid.

39 "Public School Board Increases", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 2, 1912, p. 5.

40 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1916, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1915, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 45.

sold.⁴¹

Ten years after the founding of the supply depot, Putman reported that the average cost of supplies per pupil was \$1.16 and he believed the parents would be surprised at "the extent and variety of material we are able to supply for this amount of money".⁴² He estimated that the expense of management did not exceed fifteen per cent of the whole-sale cost of supplies. There was the added advantage of being able "to secure supplies of a uniform quality and place them in the hands of pupils just when they are needed".⁴³

A year later, despite the inflationary cost of paper, he could still report the average costs held to \$1.35 per pupil.⁴⁴ An increase in paper prices accounted for a nineteen per cent increase in per pupil supply costs for 1921.⁴⁵ By 1922, Putman explained that because of "war-time prices for almost everything we buy especially for supplementary

41 Ibid., p. 31.

42 J. H. Putman, "The Supply Department", in Inspector's Report, 1919, p. 14.

43 Ibid.

44 J. H. Putman, "The Supply Department", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1920, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 19, 1921, p. 19.

45 J. H. Putman, "The Supply Department", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1921, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, March 1, 1922, p. 20.

reading, art material and many lines of stationery"⁴⁶ and the need to buy new text-books in geography, British history and Canadian history, the average cost of supplies per pupil was \$1.81, the highest recorded since the supply depot was established.

Finally, in his 1923 Annual Report, Putman's table of supply costs showed a levelling off of the inflationary trend since the end of the war. The average cost per pupil that year had decreased to \$1.49.⁴⁷ Notes under the table revealed that spending in supplementary reading and reference books was lowered during the war years and that, at the end of the war, fear of a paper famine made them stock up heavily in certain lines of paper. Thus, the central supply depot, over which Putman kept a close paternalistic eye,⁴⁸ allowed him an opportunity to control costs and make sure that his special programmes in art, manual training, domestic science and supplementary reading did not lack good quality

46 Putman, "The Supply Department", in Inspector's Report, 1922, p. 25.

47 J. H. Putman, "Table M.-Supplies", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1923, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 7, 1924, p. 56.

48 Putman did all the buying (often in bulk) for his own household, as well: interview with Miss Irene Putman, Ottawa, December 13, 1972.

materials.⁴⁹

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, one of the major duties of an Ontario inspector was to report to the Department of Education on the efficiency of his schools. He was not required to make this report public. Putman's predecessor, Dr. Glashan, did not do so. But, as noted in previous chapters, Putman felt that it was very important to keep the ratepayer informed about how his taxes were spent.⁵⁰ He also felt that educational reforms were fruitless if not supported by public opinion. Thus, in 1911 he ended the year with the first of his annual reports. It was described as containing a "wealth of information"⁵¹ and paraphrased fully in the newspaper.

Putman's 1912 Report was not only summarized⁵² but highly praised by the Editor of The Citizen as follows:

49 Putman frequently made special orders himself: for instance, in 1917 he was given permission by the Board to spend \$125 for flowering bulbs, \$85 for special Christmas materials and \$40 for confectionery for the kindergarten and primary classes: see, Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1917, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1916, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, p. 186 and 207.

50 Putman, "Foreword", in Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 4.

51 "Annual Report Public Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 5, 1912, p. 2.

52 "Public School Report", in Ibid., January 30, 1913, p. 3.

The annual report of the Ottawa public schools is a document as interesting as it is instructive. Dr. J. H. Putman, the inspector of public schools, has summed up the work in [sic] a concise and comprehensive booklet that deserves a wide reading.⁵³

Using the pre-war efficiency criteria and terminology that were becoming increasingly popular at that time, the Editor continued,

This report is too important to be merely summarized. It should be read in full. It will show, as no words of comment can, the real work and influence of the public schools in the city. It reveals the fact that an army of 7,454 boys and girls are [sic] daily being developed into intelligent and efficient citizens. Their efficiency is being considered quite as much as their intelligence, for which wise reform the modern educator may rightly be thanked.⁵⁴

By 1913, Putman's reports were beginning to attract province-wide attention. The School commented that although a number of urban inspectors in Ontario made annual reports to their school boards,

Two reports of inspectors have reached us which are of such general excellence and so sane in outlook that we wish they could be put into the hands of all persons in the Dominion who are interested in education. The first and more extensive of these is Dr. J. H. Putman's annual report for 1913 on the Public Schools of Ottawa [...].⁵⁵

⁵³ "Ottawa Public Schools", editorial in Ibid., February 1, 1913, p. 16.

⁵⁴ Ibid.; he cited the manual training classes as an example of practical citizenship training.

⁵⁵ 'Reports of Inspectors', "Editorial Notes", in The School, Vol. 2, No. 10, June, 1914, p. 599.

The Editor then summarized Putman's topics and elaborated on his key reform, abolition of the Entrance Examination. As he concluded, "The scheme is working well and justifies the vigorous defence Dr. Putman makes on its behalf".⁵⁶

Again in 1914, Putman's Annual Report was highlighted by the Editor of The School, who commented on Putman's skillful handling of statistics⁵⁷ (revealing the growing efficiency and measurement trends at that time):

Very full and interesting statistical tables, which enable a student of education immediately to grasp the essential facts of the situation, are given. From them we learn that the average attendance in Ottawa is 86.3 per cent. of the registration, that one-quarter of the pupils attended school less than 150 days, that the average cost of education per pupil has increased from \$27.92 in 1904, to \$52.07 in 1914, that teachers' salaries have increased 60 per cent. during the same period, and that 302 pupils skipped a grade in 1914. This accelerated promotion of the brighter pupils is to be commended.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Ibid.; and see, "Inspector Putman's Report on Public Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 22, 1914, p. 12; and, "Mr. Putnam [sic]'s Report", lead editorial in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, January 24, 1914, p. 6: "The report only confirms the high reputation which Inspector Putman holds as an exceptionally able official."

⁵⁷ 'The Public Schools of Ottawa', "Editorial Notes", in The School, Vol. 3, No. 8, April, 1915, p. 518.

⁵⁸ Ibid.; and see, "Public School Report", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, February 27, 1915, p. 20; "Dr. Putman Presents His Report", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 27, 1915, p. 7; and, "Leaving School At Fourteen", editorial in Ibid., March 22, 1915, p. 12: "Compulsory education with vocational training until the pupil reached the age of 16 at least might do something towards relieving the unemployed situation in Ottawa, and Canada generally."

The Editor then asked a number of questions arising from Putman's statistics on the retardation of pupils and suggested that Putman investigate this problem further.

In comparing Putman's 1915 Annual Report with those of other Boards of Education, one can see why his merited such high praise. For instance, the three-page letter of Hamilton's inspector was clearly superficial in comparison with Putman's sixty-six page report.⁵⁹ As against Putman's concise, analytical style and clear expression of ideas, W. Tytler of Guelph wrote to the Department (revealing the novelty of this form of report): "I have been at a loss in making out this report as I did not know very clearly just what was desired".⁶⁰ As the Editor of The Citizen aptly judged, "Ottawa has a valuable public servant in Dr. J. H. Putman, inspector of public schools; and Dr. Putman's annual report is evidence of the year's broad-minded and conscientious work".⁶¹

59 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1916, Box 22, 4-831, III, Item 52, Hamilton Board's three-page letter versus Item 41, Putman's, Inspector's Report, 1915.

60 Ibid., Item 53, W. Tytler, Report on Guelph Schools, dated Guelph, March 31, 1916, p. 1 of an eight-page report.

61 "The Influence Of The School", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 1, 1916, p. 10; and see, "Schools Doing Their Best By The Children", in Ibid., February 26, 1916, p. 2; and, "Religion In The Schools", in Ibid.; and, "No New Public School Building Will Be Needed For Three Years", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, February 26, 1916, p. 6.

But this work and the acknowledged progress of the Ottawa Board, by 1916, correctly was judged by the Editor of The School as similar to that of a business, judged again with its efficiency criteria:

One finishes the reading of the last Annual Report of the inspectors of the Ottawa Public Schools with the conviction that the schools of Ottawa are progressive and with the further conviction that the Inspectors' Annual Reports are an explanation of the progress. The Report for 1916 like the reports for previous years is a storehouse of information and advice for the ratepayers, who demand a fair dividend on their investment. [...] the statistics in the Ottawa report are alive with a message. The discussion of the statistics of registration and attendance will convince the most skeptical that the school boards of Ontario must do something at once for the boys and girls who leave school at 14 years of age and enter the unskilled trades - the blind alleys of the industrial world. And as to educational theories there are none in this Report. What is said, for instance, under classroom proficiency, is the highest educational practice put into words.⁶²

Thus Putman's reports communicated to the public not only the latest needs and problems of education, but expressed these in concise, pragmatic terms, mirroring the language and terminology most respected at that time. By 1923, the Editor of The Citizen thought government departments should use his reports as models:

⁶² 'Inspectors' Reports', "Editorial Notes", in The School, Vol. 5, No. 9, May, 1917, p. 528.

Few more interesting or thought-provoking documents are issued by any department of civic government than the annual report of the senior inspector of public schools of Ottawa which is published by the school board.⁶³

But, in a later editorial, he also acknowledged that Putman's gift in reporting went beyond statistical analysis. The 1923 Report "shows the broad human tendencies of modern education, sounds an unmistakable note of progress and improvement, and also gives the reader an insight into the most important art of teaching".⁶⁴ It also convinced the ratepayer that his money was not being wasted on extra programmes of Kindergarten, school choirs, violin classes, skating rinks and manual training classes,⁶⁵ thus serving a useful

63 "Dr. Putman's Report", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 15, 1923, p. 16; and see, "Advises Against Erection Of More School Buildings, Plenty Of Accommodation Until 1925", in Ibid., February 14, 1923, p. 4.

64 "Ottawa's Public Schools", editorial in Ibid., March 19, 1923, p. 18.

65 Ibid.; and see further commentary on Putman's reports: 'Dr. Putman's Annual Report', "Editorial Notes", in The School, Vol. 8, No. 9, May, 1920, p. 494; 'Some Inspectors' Reports', in Ibid., Vol. 9, No. 8, April, 1921, p. 533; "Says Education System Setting False Standard", in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 15, 1920, p. 16; E. O. Way, "Concerning Primary Education", letter to the Editor, in Ibid., March 19, 1920, p. 20; "Ottawa Public Schools' Report", lead editorial in Ibid., March 23, 1920, p. 16; "Plenty Of Public School Seats But Not In Right Area", in Ibid., February 16, 1921, p. 3; "Accommodation Will Be Ample In New Schools", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, February 16, 1921, p. 7; "Dr. Putman Reviews Advances In Public Schools Of The Capital", in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 30, 1922, p. 8.

propaganda purpose. Finally, Putman's well-publicized school reports must have convinced the ratepayer that in Putman they had an able, efficient Inspector. As the Editor said of Putman's 1922 Report, "The clear insight and understanding of the problem of education revealed here is manifested throughout the report".⁶⁶

2. School Expenditure.

According to Paul Rutherford,⁶⁷ this stance of an aggressive, self-assured leader, skilled in his professional expertise, was important for the success of liberal reform measures at this time. Putman had to wage constant battles against the critics of school costs. He used not only his annual reports, but, as with other issues, the Ottawa newspapers to explain the rising costs of education, particularly during and after the war years.

In 1911, Putman presented a table showing the average cost of education per pupil per year from 1902 to 1911.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ "Dr. Putman's Report", editorial in Ibid., March 31, 1922, p. 22.

⁶⁷ Paul Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920", in Jay Atherton, et al., Ed., The Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers, 1971, Annual Meeting held at St. John's, Newfoundland, (n.p., n.d.) p. 216-217.

⁶⁸ Putman, "Average Cost of Education per Pupil per Year 1902-1911", in Inspector's Report, 1911, p. 9.

In his discussion which followed, he explained that the eighty-three per cent increase, from \$24.19 in 1902 to \$44.42 in 1911, could be accounted for in the following way: the value of sites and buildings had increased faster in ten years than had school attendance (on which provincial grants were based); free text-books had added several thousand dollars a year to the total expenditure; the area of the city had almost doubled in ten years (1907 annexation involved heavy sums for upgrading the annexed schools); modern ventilation and janitorial services, teachers' salaries and the pension fund had added substantially to costs; finally, increased costs for manual training and domestic science supplies, music books, and commercial and art supplies were added in the past ten years.⁶⁹

But this explanation did not satisfy The Ottawa Journal, whose Editor for the next twelve years carried on a campaign against the rising costs of the Ottawa Public School Board. He began his attack with three editorials in February of 1912. Using the criterion of attendance as against expenditure increases, he asked for the justification of the School Board's proposed higher revenue demands:

⁶⁹ Putman, "Cost of Education In Regular Classes", in Ibid., p. 9-10; and see, "School Rate To Be Reduced", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 10, 1912, p. 9: summarizes expenditures for 1911.

[...] in 1905, the revenue of the School Board was \$141,000. Last year it was \$280,000 - practically double. As compared with this increase of 100 per cent. by what percentage has the public school population increased? By less than 40 per cent. Yet the school board [sic] seems to desire \$50,000 more for this year.⁷⁰

Then he compared the rate of Ottawa's increased educational expenditure with that of nine other Ontario cities between 1905 and 1911, summarized their increases and concluded that "the cost of education in Ottawa in seven or eight years has increased almost one hundred per cent. greater than the cost of similar education in nine other Ontario cities".⁷¹ In Putman's masterly reply, he revealed the reasons why Ottawa schools cost more than the other cities to maintain an efficient and progressive Board.

Putman opened by disclaiming any responsibility for the cost of education in Ottawa, but did acknowledge that he was "more than any other one person responsible for the efficiency of the work now being done, and [I] court the most searching investigation into the management".⁷² The fact that the schools would cost some \$330,000 for maintenance in 1912 "surely justifies you in demanding that their general

⁷⁰ "What Of The School Rate", lead editorial in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, February 6, 1912, p. 6.

⁷¹ "Cost of Education Here Increasing Twice As Fast As Average of Ontario", in Ibid., February 14, 1912, p. 1.

⁷² J. H. Putman, "Big Cost of The Schools", letter to the Editor, in Ibid., February 17, 1912, p. 18.

maintenance should be carefully investigated".⁷³

He then adroitly refuted The Journal's statistical data, showing that it rested on the assumption that January's registration would remain stationary. Instead, Putman predicted that the average registration would be considerably higher and, using the economy of scale argument, that the average cost per pupil would be correspondingly reduced. But he admitted Ottawa's costs would still exceed Ontario's two highest average cost cities, Peterborough and Toronto.

To answer the ratepayer's legitimate question of "why?", Putman reiterated his 1911 arguments and the arguments he used to defend Ottawa teachers' salaries and hiring policies (see Chapter Twelve, section 2). He added a number of other arguments. Ottawa's climate made heating, insulation and building costs higher (other than Toronto, it "costs the Ottawa Board some \$50,000 to build an eight-room school. In Hamilton or London the same school would not cost more than \$40,000").⁷⁴ Local fire and health hazards necessitated building schools with the most up-to-date fireproofing and ventilation systems ("Dr. Merchant [...] has stated that in this respect our schools are the best in Ontario, not

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid.

excepting Toronto"⁷⁵). Because of Ottawa's heterogeneous population, small schools scattered throughout the city were needed; six schools were situated east of the canal for only 1,300 children. In comparison, "Hamilton and Brantford have single schools which will accommodate nearly that number".⁷⁶ Ottawa's Pension Fund, requiring thousands of dollars contributed to it by the Board, had no equivalent in any other city mentioned. Because of the high fees charged by the Ottawa Collegiate Institute ("the highest fees, with the possible exception of Kingston, charged by any similar board in Ontario"⁷⁷) the law required the Ottawa Public and Separate School Boards to spend approximately fourteen thousand dollars a year providing free Fifth Book classes (Grades Nine and Ten); in several other cities mentioned the collegiate instruction was free and no senior classes were needed. Finally, Putman explained,

Ottawa has better equipment and gives better instruction in manual training and in domestic science than any other place in your list outside of Toronto. This equipment is costly, and the teachers for such work are not easily secured.⁷⁸

75 Ibid.

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid.

Putman concluded by suggesting that all these progressive measures could be discontinued:

In short, we can become the least progressive city educationally on the American continent, instead of being, as we are today, one of the most progressive.

But you know, and I know, that the motto of our city is 'Advance', and that her citizens will not tolerate a retrograde movement. We are all agreed that no investment pays such large dividends as good schools, and that good schools cost money. [...] The real question is whether the Ottawa board is receiving good value for the money now being spent, and any investigation or criticism that will increase public interest along this line should be welcomed by every friend of education.⁷⁹

As the Editor of The Journal admitted, "We think Inspector Putman proves his case when he argues that Ottawa is getting considerable value for expenditure much beyond the average of other cities".⁸⁰

In 1914, Putman gave a very complete table of the Ottawa Board's receipts and expenditures on all items from 1895 to 1914.⁸¹ Whereas in the previous three years he had given tables showing a partial break-down of the supplies

⁷⁹ Ibid.; Putman repeated many of these arguments in his Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 13-15.

⁸⁰ "Cost of the Schools", editorial in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, February 17, 1912, p. 6.

⁸¹ "Table P-Ottawa Public School Board", in J. H. Putman, Inspector's Annual Report, 1914, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 29, 1915, p. 32 (insert).

for each school in that year,⁸² never before had he given such a complete balance sheet for the public to scrutinize. He preceded it with two other tables, one on the average cost of education per pupil since 1904 (it had risen since 1913 from \$47.88 to \$52.07 for regular grades and from \$39.25 to \$41.53 for Kindergartens)⁸³ and the other on average salaries since 1904.⁸⁴ The increase over 1913 of \$4.17 per pupil average cost, he explained, "is caused almost wholly by increases in teachers' salaries granted by the schedule which became effective January 1, 1914".⁸⁵ The large capital expenditure on kindergarten pianos accounted for the kindergarten increases.

As Putman pointed out, the increased cost of education since 1904 was due not only to the general increase in salaries and running expenses, but the reason for it also

82 Putman, Inspector's Report, 1911, p. 34-35; Putman, Inspector's Report, 1912, p. 46-47; Putman, Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 63.

83 J. H. Putman, "Table D.- Average Cost of Education per Pupil per Year", in Inspector's Report, 1914, p. 16.

84 J. H. Putman, "Table L. Average Salaries", in Inspector's Report, 1914, p. 16.

85 Putman, "The Cost of Education and Number of Pupils in Classes", in Ibid., p. 13.

[...] is to be found in the increased teaching force now being given by means of supervisors and other special teachers. We have really reduced the average number of pupils per teacher counting our total effective teaching force from 36 or 37 to 31. This in itself would mean an increase in the cost of education of quite 15%. But as supervisors and other special teachers receive salaries above the average it actually accounts for an increase in the cost of education per child of not less than 20%.⁸⁶

Putman assessed the facilities under his management as being generally in very good condition and predicted that "during the next 5 years there ought to be little if any increase in the cost of education per child in the Ottawa Public Schools".⁸⁷ He concluded by exhorting the ratepayer, rather than dwelling on the high mill rate, to ask "whether the education costs more than it is worth and whether it is the best education that can be provided".⁸⁸

But The Journal was more concerned with the high mill rate. In a series of inflammatory articles, making liberal use of dark print, tables, and multiple headlines, the newspaper compared the costs of education in Ottawa and Hamilton. For instance, to capture the reader's attention

86 Ibid., p. 14.

87 Ibid., p. 15.

88 Ibid.

four headlines and one table⁸⁹ in black type were used to open the discussion. The article used the efficiency criteria of average attendance, number of passes on the Entrance Examination and cost per child to come up with the fact that "the CHILDREN OF HAMILTON [were] EDUCATED AT 35 PER CENT. LESS COST THAN OTTAWA [capitalization sic]".⁹⁰ Using Putman's statistics of the cost per head per pupil in regular classes

89 "Per Capita Cost of Ottawa Public Schools Has Increased From \$27 to \$52 or 87% in Ten Years", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, November 8, 1915, p. 7; further headlines under this were: 'In the Same Period the Entrance Examination, or Efficiency Test Has Shown a Decrease From 88 P.C. to 76 P.C. - Remarkable Statistics For Public School Supporters'; 'Hamilton's Cost Per Child Is Only \$34, Yet Its Efficiency Test Makes Interesting Comparison'; 'Facts and Figures Which Will Call for Careful Analysis - Is Ottawa Paying More Than it Needs to Educate its Children? - Is it Getting Full Value for Expenditures?'; and boxed table prominently displayed at the top of the page:

FIGURES WHICH GRIP ATTENTION!

Per capita cost of education in Ottawa	
increases in 10 years	87 P.C.
Cost in Ottawa to educate a child	\$52
Cost in Hamilton to educate a child	\$34
Efficiency test in Ottawa	5.361 P.C.
Efficiency test in Hamilton	5.301 P.C.
Efficiency test in Ottawa in 1904	88 P.C.
Efficiency test in Ottawa in 1914	72 P.C.
(Compare Putman's 1914 Report, p. 16 and 29: above figures correct)	

90 Ibid.; Ottawa's efficiency was obtained by dividing its 328 Entrance graduates into the average attendance of its regular classes, 6,109 to arrive at the official efficiency percentage of 5.361; Hamilton's efficiency was judged to be on a par with Ottawa's.

for the years 1904 to 1914,⁹¹ and Putman's concluding statement that the quality of education, rather than the mill rate was what counted, the reporter then concluded,

It would naturally be presumed that if the cost of education per pupil had gone up 87 per cent. here in 10 years, the VISIBLE RESULTS WOULD BE PROPORTIONATELY GREAT. In other words one would look to see far more children passing the entrance examination in 1914 than in 1904.

BUT THE FACTS ARE STARTLINGLY OTHERWISE. [...] THE PUPILS HAVE MEASURED UP LESS WELL TO THE OFFICIAL STANDARD.⁹²

The article ended by listing all Hamilton's modern services, including manual training, domestic science, doctors' clinics for mothers, nurses, drill and shooting, a cadet corps, music, social centres, and a school savings bank.

The next day The Journal got down to a detailed comparison of Putman's 1914 balance sheet⁹³ with that of Hamilton's itemizing individual receipts and expenditures in each case.⁹⁴ It concluded again

91 Compare: Putman, "Table D", in Inspector's Report, 1914, p. 16.

92 "Per Capita Cost", in The Journal, November 8, 1915, p. 7.

93 "Table P", in Inspector's Report, 1914, p. 33: miscellaneous receipts of \$5,751.95 were incorrectly listed as \$5,571 in the Journal article.

94 "Expenditures of Two Cities Compared", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, November 9, 1915, p. 7.

[...] that Hamilton is spending \$362,000 to educate a daily average for the year of 10,718 pupils, while Ottawa is spending \$413,000 to educate a daily average for the year of 6,776.⁹⁵

Or, in blacker type it announced that "while the Ottawa public schools are educating 3,942 fewer pupils than the Hamilton public schools, it is costing them actually \$51,000 more to educate the greatly smaller number".⁹⁶ Then it pinpointed the main cause: "The main increase seems to lie in the salaries",⁹⁷ particularly those of male teachers who had increased from twenty-six in 1904 (with salaries from six hundred dollars to \$1,500) to fifty in 1914 (with salaries from one thousand dollars to \$2,300). In comparison, as Putman mentioned also in his 1912 article, Hamilton had only fifteen male teachers (with salaries from \$1,200 to \$1,800). The reporter then spelled out:

The increase in male teachers in Ottawa has been due to a WELL DEFINED POLICY of the board, which has prevailed for some years. The board's theory is that after a boy comes to 12 years of age - when he is in the period when his character is being moulded - BETTER FORMATIVE RESULTS are got from him by a man than a woman.⁹⁸

In contrast, Hamilton pointed to their Entrance Examination results and general good discipline in the schools as their

95 Ibid.

96 Ibid.

97 Ibid.

98 Ibid.

answer to this problem.

In a final salary comparison, The Journal broke down the two cities' salary schedules, revealing that Ottawa's total average salary of \$923 was higher than Hamilton's \$765, and that this was probably due to Ottawa's supervisory staff and to the fact that Ottawa's fifty male teachers drew \$83,609, while its two hundred lady teachers drew only \$146,393.

In its third article,⁹⁹ The Journal explained why neither the sinking fund and interest, nor over-rapid growth of school attendance was responsible for the per capita increase of Ottawa's public school expenditures. Quoting liberally from Putman's 1914 explanations¹⁰⁰ regarding salary and supply increases, the article went on to cite free books (as against Hamilton's wholesale book-selling procedure), high coal costs and caretakers' salaries as costing more in Ottawa.

Future articles dealt with comparative costs of office staff (Hamilton's \$3,600 versus Ottawa's \$5,200), dental clinics, nurses, superannuation expenses, domestic science, supplementary reading, School for Higher English,

99 "Public School Expenses Again Analyzed", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, November 11, 1915, p. 11.

100 Putman, Inspector's Report, 1914, p. 14 and 33.

and supervisory teachers.¹⁰¹ The series concluded by asking

Have we been DOING MORE FOR OUR SCHOOLS, THAN THE
REQUIREMENTS OF A PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION CALL
FOR? HAVE WE BEEN DOING MORE THAN WE CAN AFFORD?¹⁰²

By way of reply, Putman in his 1915 Report, reprinted a good portion of his 1912 letter to The Journal explaining why Ottawa costs were so high.¹⁰³ He then summarized the issue:

The whole problem of cost of education in public schools may be resolved into three factors, viz. [sic], size of classes, kind and equipment of buildings, and teachers' salaries. These factors determine 95% of the total cost of the schools.¹⁰⁴

He asked, did the ratepayers want to increase the class size from forty-five (average attendance thirty-six) pupils per teacher to the fifty, sixty or seventy pupils of several years ago? Did they want less fire-proofed buildings (saving thus twenty to twenty-five per cent of costs)? Did they want teachers' salaries lowered so that they were not competitive with other cities and other jobs?¹⁰⁵

101 "Final Article Analyzing School Expenses", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, November 13, 1915, p. 23.

102 "End of the Story Re Cost Of Public Schools", in Ibid., November 15, 1915, p. 10; it was pointed out that Hamilton had no School for Higher English nor supervisors.

103 J. H. Putman, "Cost of Education", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1915, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 26, 1916, p. 22-25.

104 Ibid., p. 26.

105 Ibid., p. 26-27.

During the war years Putman was able to report only minimal increases in costs¹⁰⁶ (the teachers' salaries were kept "almost stationary"¹⁰⁷ but Putman warned of coming post-war large increases). He demonstrated by 1918 that costs had increased 66 2/3 per cent in the past ten years, "exactly the average increase in the cost of living during that period".¹⁰⁸ Again he warned the ratepayer that he should be prepared to provide considerable increases during the next year.

But the ratepayer was saved for 1919, because "an unexpected increase in the number of pupils filled the existing classes in many cases to their limits",¹⁰⁹ necessitating higher teacher-pupil ratios which offset the substantial increase in teachers' salaries. As a result, "The cost of educating a pupil in the regular classes including those in the School for Higher English has increased only

106 Ibid., p. 22: only 77¢ per pupil in 1915; Inspector's Report, 1916, p. 5: 79¢ per pupil; J. H. Putman, "Cost of Education", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1917, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 21, 1918, p. 6: four and one-half per cent increase over 1916.

107 Ibid., p. 7.

108 Putman, "Cost of Education", in Inspector's Report, 1918, p. 8.

109 Putman, "Cost of Education", in Inspector's Report, 1919, p. 14.

8 1/2 per cent. over 1918 and 23 per cent. over 1914".¹¹⁰

Putman considered this only a moderate increase since pre-war years and challenged his critics: "Can any other civic service show a record equally good?"¹¹¹

By 1920, in the midst of inflation, Putman succinctly gave the facts (sixteen per cent increase over 1919 and forty-three per cent over 1914 for regular classes) and stated:

I see no possibility of reducing this cost in the immediate future. Already our registration for each teacher is quite as high if not higher than it ought to be. Increased salaries have to be provided for teachers for the year 1921. New buildings are costing nearly three times pre-war prices. There seems to be no hope of any material reduction in the cost of elementary education.¹¹²

In the same vein, Putman noted that the fifty per cent increase of per pupil cost for 1921 over 1914¹¹³ could not be reduced in the immediate future:

110 Ibid.

111 Ibid., p. 15.

112 Putman, "Cost of Education", in Inspector's Report, 1920, p. 19.

113 Putman, "Cost of Education", in Inspector's Report, 1921, p. 19.

Salaries will continue to advance for at least two years and we must naturally expect additions to our interest and sinking fund account [\$991,000 had been spent on new buildings and sites between 1919 and 1921]. I believe, however, with the increase in the public school assessment, that the tax rate for 1922 can remain the same as for 1921 and I am hopeful that at no time in the immediate future will it be necessary to increase this rate. It ought to be possible to so control our expenditure on public schools as to allow the annual increase in assessment to provide for the actual increase in school expenditure.¹¹⁴

Putman's brief Report for 1922 on costs (with information that the increases of four and three per cent in regular and kindergarten classes corresponded almost exactly with the percentage increases in teachers' salaries)¹¹⁵ did not go unchallenged by The Ottawa Journal. In another editorial on "The Cost Of Education",¹¹⁶ the Editor expressed his real criticism of the policies of Putman and the Ottawa Board. Seemingly forgetting previous articles and editorials, he began by stating, "This paper has taken the ground that the supreme importance of education should militate strongly against objections to its cost at the present time".¹¹⁷ There were three chief causes of costs with which he could

114 Ibid.

115 Putman, "Cost of Education", in Inspector's Report, 1922, p. 23.

116 "The Cost Of Education", editorial in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, March 3, 1923, p. 6.

117 Ibid.

not argue. They were increase in school population, the need for better buildings and facilities and "the merited advance of teachers' salaries".¹¹⁸ Then he spelled out the crux of his difference with the Board:

But there is a fourth cause which opens the door quite widely to debate. We must all have detected a growing tendency, during recent years in particular, to widen the curriculum so as to take in a variety of subjects which take on the general character of specialties. The expediency and wisdom of this course may be questioned, on the ground that an effort to do too many things almost inevitably leads to nothing being well done.¹¹⁹

The Editor cited a recently-published Report of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching which similarly deplored the progressive trend of the curriculum and identified it as the main source of increasing costs in North American schools. It urged a return to mastery of basic subjects rather than continuing the present trend toward a superficial smattering of world knowledge, which tended "to give [the child] the impression that he can solve the problems of his own life and of his country by the same superficial processes that he has learned in school".¹²⁰ The Editor closed by quoting the maxim of the President of the Foundation, Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, that it was better

118 Ibid.

119 Ibid.

120 Ibid.

to master the English language well and acquire a taste for good books. He concluded, "This seems so sane that with it most of us shall be disposed to agree; and every question as to the cost of education should have regard [as] to whether or not the system in vogue measures up to that sound standard".¹²¹

This time the Board, rather than Putman, took up the cudgel. In a series of charges and counter-charges later that year, the members of the Finance Committee answered the charges of extravagant spending in an open letter to The Citizen, in which they asserted:

We believe that we can show that during the past ten years we have materially increased the efficiency of our elementary schools and have, during that time, increased their cost only in proportion to the normal increases in every department of civic expenditures.¹²²

They affirmed their belief that their expenditures had "been made to provide for the better education and a more perfect physical development of the young".¹²³ Using the prevailing

121 Ibid.; a letter written the same day to the Editor of The Citizen also criticized the expenses of Ottawa's progressive curriculum, particularly violin, pottery, dancing, gardening: see, Agnes Rupert, "Public School Tax Increases", letter to the Editor, in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 8, 1923, p. 14.

122 "Answers Charges Of Extravagance By School Board", in The Citizen, Ottawa, December 18, 1923, p. 5.

123 Ibid.

business efficiency criteria, they maintained that in "every case these expenditures represent an investment on capital account which is to pay future dividends in a healthier, stronger and more efficient citizenship".¹²⁴ The Board itemized its expenditures and defended its policies. In fact, the trustees were bold enough to assert that as a result of their efficient management, "we and our predecessors have given the Ottawa Public School ratepayers a system of schools much above the average and not surpassed by any in Canada".¹²⁵

Thus, by 1923, the Ottawa Public School Board, using Putman's rhetoric and his method of handling statistics, was joining forces with him to defend its expenditures over the past twelve years. No doubt, his succinct explanations of the psychological theories behind his policies and his clear presentation of statistical data in his annual reports helped

124 Ibid.

125 Ibid.; and see further articles: "Does Ottawa Want Drabbest, Dullest Schools in Land?", in Ibid., December 19, 1923, p. 2; "School Trustees On Defensive", editorial in Ibid., December 20, 1923, p. 20; "Could Cut Cost Public Schools Quarter Million", in The Ottawa Morning Journal, Ottawa, December 19, 1923, p. 1; "The Cost Of Ottawa Schools", lead editorial in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, December 26, 1923, p. 4; "Public School Expenditure", editorial in Ibid., February 9, 1923, p. 6; "The Public School Rate", editorial in Ibid., February 26, 1923, p. 6; 'No. 1 - As to the Cost of Schools', "Ottawa Taxes How They've Grown", in Ibid., December 26, 1923, p. 6; 'No. 2 - As to the Cost of Schools', in Ibid., December 27, 1923, p. 4; 'No. 3 - As to the Cost of Schools', in Ibid., December 28, 1923, p. 6; 'No. 4 - As to the Cost of Schools', in Ibid., December 29, 1923, p. 6; "Much Criticism Of School Board Lavish Outlays", in Ibid., December 29, 1923, p. 8.

the Board in this campaign on behalf of more progressive education.

3. School Accommodation.

Another area in which Putman and the Board were subjected to criticism was that of school accommodation. Their general system-wide policies proved to be in direct conflict with the few "ward politicians" on the Board, whose attacks resulted in a massive expenditure after the war in the construction of York Street Public School.

From his American tour, Putman was able to enunciate his policy regarding school accommodation in 1913. After visiting schools in Cleveland, Ohio, he judged that

The Ottawa public school board has, in my opinion, during the past ten years, moved forward as rapidly as was possible without running the risk of making mistakes. Their policy has been conservative but truly progressive. They have erected buildings which, from the standpoint of sanitation and convenience, will compare favorably with any in America.¹²⁶

He also decided that the American policy of accommodating two thousand or more pupils in one large school was unsound for the child; "a school so large that the teachers, and especially the principal, cannot know every child and cannot

¹²⁶ J. H. Putman, 'XVIII. Cleveland, Ohio', "American Schools and Other Things through Canadian Eyes", in The Citizen, Ottawa, April 26, 1913, p. 17.

come somewhat closely into touch with his life and aims is too large to make really efficient work possible".¹²⁷ Instead, Putman recommended that

[...] a school of 16 to 20 rooms, with additional ground-floor space for the manual arts, accommodating from 700 to 900 pupils is not, according to modern standards, a large school. We shall, I think, come to look upon a school of this type as a fair standard for our City. It will be found to combine in a large degree the advantages of both small and very large schools. It will prove large enough to secure economy of administration and small enough to secure efficient management. To reach a maximum of efficiency a city school must have a good principal, good teachers, a good janitor, a library, manual training and domestic science rooms, an assembly hall, and a Kindergarten, besides play-rooms and play-grounds with suitable equipment. It is obviously impossible without waste of money to provide for all these requirements in schools having only two, three, or four hundred pupils.¹²⁸

Just as the Board entered the stringent war years, Putman was able to congratulate it on its past progressive policies regarding accommodation and reassure it that for the next few years, while interest rates were high, there would not have to be any building operations to worry about: "In my opinion, you have not a single school that might not do fairly well during the next three years without a dollar's

¹²⁷ Putman, "School Accommodation", in Inspector's Report, 1913, p. 8.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 7-8.

repairs except heating and plumbing".¹²⁹ He outlined the five major building operations undertaken in 1913 (for which he and Building Superintendent W. B. Garvock were preparing while conducting their American tour) and soon to be completed.¹³⁰ These five well-constructed, fire-proof schools were cited by Chief Inspector John Waugh as examples of the new enthusiasm for school building and renovation sweeping the province in 1914.¹³¹

But Putman warned the Board in 1914 that it had no cause for complacency. Already the trustees should be preparing for future needs, especially in the expropriation of properties suitable in size for intended future schools.¹³² He suggested one large central school should be contemplated to replace Rideau Street, George Street and Robinson Primary schools.¹³³ "It would be well to watch the growth of the

¹²⁹ Putman, "School Accommodation", in Inspector's Report, 1914, p. 5.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 5-6.

¹³¹ Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1915, Toronto, Wilgress, p. 17: quoted Putman and then listed the schools and their cost: Hopewell Avenue School (20 rooms), \$141,583; Connaught School (16 rooms), \$115,862; Breeze Avenue School (8 rooms), \$51,321; Borden School (12-room addition), \$79,273; Mutchmor Street School (8-room addition), \$63,470.

¹³² Putman, "School Accommodation", in Inspector's Report, 1914, p. 6.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 7.

extreme East End of the City and secure a school site before it is actually required",¹³⁴ he advised.

This warning of impending trouble was not entirely unexpected. In 1913 there had been a spirited discussion¹³⁵ at a Board meeting and an open letter to the Editor written by Trustee Robert Hamilton following the meeting complained that there was a serious problem of overcrowding in his district, By Ward.¹³⁶ A year later, a resident of By Ward wrote another letter to the Editor, claiming deliberate concealment of the condition by the Ottawa Public School Board:

134 Ibid.

135 "Trustee Criticizes Inspector Putman", in The Citizen, Ottawa, December 4, 1913, p. 4: Trustee Kirby hinted that Trustee Hamilton had an ulterior motive in laying the charges and had "always been after Dr. Putman"; and see, "Inspector Criticized", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, December 4, 1913, p. 7.

136 R. W. Hamilton, letter to the Editor, in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, December 8, 1914, p. 4: "There have been days in almost every month since September, 1913, more children present than there were seats for [sic]. In justice to Dr. Putman, I must state that he has, at several times, endeavored to change the condition."; he provided statistics for the registered and average attendance at the three schools and the number of seats available in each.

I was amazed at some statements in [the School Board Report of November thirteenth], and utterly astonished at facts omitted. For instance, the inspector called attention to the over-crowding of two rooms in First Avenue school, but entirely ignored the over-crowding of several rooms in the Rideau Street school, and the 'herding together' of the little children in the Robinson Primary on Chapel street, which building was condemned ten years ago [...].¹³⁷

He charged the Board with discriminatory practices in its school expenditure:

Why is it a fact that expensive additions can be made to some of the large schools, in some favored part of the city, playgrounds can be enlarged, thousands of dollars spent, and all the equipment necessary for doing efficient work provided, while in other localities, notably the eastern part of the city, where our native and foreign population is rapidly filling up the schools, nothing can be accomplished in the direction of development along those lines, and no attempt has yet been made to provide suitable and sanitary rooms for the increasing number of children?¹³⁸

Two years later Trustees Hamilton and Fairbarn moved that the School Management Committee be requested "to report as to the advisability of securing accommodation in Lower

¹³⁷ 'A Resident and Ratepayer of By Ward', "Attention, School Board", letter to the Editor, in The Citizen, Ottawa, November 17, 1914, p. 6.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

Town north of Rideau Street".¹³⁹ A year later,¹⁴⁰ in January of 1917, the School Management Committee instructed the Building Committee to recommend a site for a new school in Lower Town and also to report on the condition of Creighton Street School.¹⁴¹ The Building Committee reported on February twenty-sixth that five lots had been examined and it submitted descriptions and estimates of building costs.¹⁴² But no further action from the Board occurred for several months.

In April of 1917, then Trustees Hamilton and Harold Shipman, the two representing By Ward, presented a stiff

139 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1916, p. 23.

140 Building Superintendent Garvock became seriously ill in the last three months of 1916: "Re Slater Street School", editorial note in The Citizen, Ottawa, December 29, 1916, p. 12; in 1918 he again became ill and subsequently died in December of that year, which partly may account for the lack of action in building York and Creighton Schools: see, "William B. Garvock Has Passed Away", in Ibid., December 4, 1918, p. 10.

141 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1917, p. 10; and see, Ibid., p. 52: "Report No. 3 of the Building Committee", dated February 22, 1917: recommended demolition of Creighton Street School and erection of new school.

142 Ibid., p. 55-56; the lowest estimate (Block A) was \$26,800, the highest (Block E) was \$80,000; the latter site became the eventual one.

resolution to the Board, demanding action.¹⁴³ Unfortunately, the motion was lost by three votes.¹⁴⁴ They therefore decided to go above Putman's head and to petition the Department of Education to provide better educational facilities in By Ward.¹⁴⁵ They wrote an open letter to the newspaper asking for an exposé of conditions there.¹⁴⁶ Although abnormal financial conditions were supposed to account for the lack of action in this regard, they claimed, "this is only a subterfuge as everybody knows that Ottawa sold her bonds in 1916 at a better price than was ever received before".¹⁴⁷ The Citizen sent a reporter to visit the schools that day and an editorial followed which stated that although old,

143 Ibid., p. 91-92: "Be it resolved that this Board do instruct the Finance Committee to provide by debenture the moneys requisite for the expropriation of the necessary land for a new school site in Lower Town as soon as possible, and that this Board do expropriate said necessary lands, and that the available lands of such properties be prepared for garden purposes at once to be used in conjunction with the scheme providing school gardens [as] in the wealthier portion of the city, and thereby give similar opportunity to the pupils in Lower Town, who are, as a result of the crowded conditions of most of their homes, most in need of such education."

144 Ibid., p. 92.

145 "Will Force Erection Of New Schools", in The Evening Citizen, Ottawa, May 12, 1917, p. 1.

146 R. W. Hamilton and Harold C. Shipman, "Public School Accommodation", letter to the Editor, in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 16, 1917, p. 12.

147 Ibid.

all three were clean, well lit and ventilated.¹⁴⁸ The Ottawa Journal-Press, on the other hand, agreed that one school was a good idea, but thought (as had Putman in 1914) that

The present time is, of course, no time to build. But it is a good time to buy land. We imagine that real estate can be had cheaper in Ottawa now than will be the case ever in the future.¹⁴⁹

These editorials provoked another joint letter from Trustees Hamilton and Shipman, who reviewed the situation to that date and claimed that only by strenuous objections was Hamilton able to stop Inspector Putman from opening up an old day nursery on Besserer Street as a temporary kindergarten class.¹⁵⁰

At the end of May, Chief Inspector John Waugh visited the four Ottawa schools and issued his confidential report to the Department.¹⁵¹ He found the Bolton Street School a "comparatively modern structure and in an excellent state of

148 "Lower Town Public Schools", editorial in Ibid., May 17, 1917, p. 12.

149 "Public Schools Of Lower Town", editorial in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, May 15, 1917, p. 4.

150 Hamilton and Shipmen, "Lower Town School Costs", letter to the Editor, in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 21, 1917, p. 14.

151 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1917, Box 37, 4-831, Folder 2, Item 108, copy of Report on Accommodation at Bolton, George and Rideau Street Schools, Ottawa Public Schools, dated Toronto, June 5, 1917: blue pencil handwritten note: "This report is to be kept and no copy forwarded to Ottawa."

repair. The closets and ventilation, heating and water supply are satisfactory. [...] No room in this building can properly be stated to be overcrowded".¹⁵² On the other hand, George Street School, an older building, he found to have very defective lighting and bad staircases¹⁵³ but, "none of the rooms could be described as overcrowded".¹⁵⁴ He had the same opinion about Rideau Street School, where the main fault he noticed was that in the evening "some disagreeable odours not noticed in the day were perceived, although the plumbing and ventilation appeared to be in all respects satisfactory".¹⁵⁵ In the Robinson Primary, he noted a similar "serious defect in the ventilation of this school".¹⁵⁶ In the letter of the Deputy Minister to Putman two weeks later, he began by reassuring Putman on his past accommodation reports: "He finds that your reports with regard to the Bolton St., [...] the George St., [...] the Rideau St., school[s] and the Robinson Primary have been carefully and accurately prepared."¹⁵⁷ Then he outlined Waugh's main

152 "Bolton Street School", in Ibid.

153 "George Street School", in Ibid.

154 Ibid.

155 "Rideau St. School", in Ibid.

156 "Robinson Primary", in Ibid.

157 Ibid., copy of letter of Deputy Minister to Putman, dated Toronto, June 12, 1917.

criticisms with respect to the four schools. As to the charges of discrimination by Hamilton and Shipman, the Deputy Minister passed the matter back to the School Board:

The further question as to whether the different parts of the city have been treated fairly in the matter of school accommodation, is, of course, a question which the school board must take the responsibility of determining.¹⁵⁸

Putman's only comment on the situation was one paragraph in his Annual Report for 1917:

The need of additional accommodation for the future growth of the City is a question quite apart from the need of better accommodation than is now afforded in one or two old schools. This latter question is one that must be decided on its merits, subject to the City's financial obligations and to the available supply of labour and building material. The Board is already on record in favour of building a Lower Town School. The need of improvements at Creighton Street ought also to receive early consideration.¹⁵⁹

The whole incident, along with other subsequent difficulties

158 Ibid.

159 Putman, "School Accommodation", in Inspector's Report, 1917, p. 5.

connected with Trustee Shipman,¹⁶⁰ confirmed Putman's belief that

[...] the Public School Trustee Board is too large. We have a greater number of school trustees in Ottawa than in any other city in North America. [...] the smaller board elected by the city at large would get rid of any tendency on the part of its members to look upon a school as belonging to a particular ward.¹⁶¹

As soon as the war was over, the Board began its preparations for the building of new schools on York Street¹⁶² and Creighton Street and completing several additions to

160 In 1919 Shipman, using a series of Journal articles, tried to discredit the Board's policy regarding typewriters and the method of teaching typing at the School for Higher English: see, "Typewriters Used In Public School Cause Of Trouble", in The Citizen, Ottawa, April 4, 1919, p. 7; "Two Types Machines In Public School", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, April 23, 1919, p. 5; "Typewriter Issue Again Before Board", in Ibid., May 2, 1919, p. 2; "Typewriters Are Again Before The Public S. Board", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 2, 1919, p. 13; "Typewriters Again Before The Board", in Ibid., June 6, 1919, p. 3; Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1919, Also Financial Statement of the Board for the Year 1918, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing (n.d.) p. 82, 121, 123, 166 and 167.

161 Putman, "Reforms In Education", in Inspector's Report, 1918, p. 22; and see next section and Chapter Fifteen for further elaboration of Putman's campaign for one School Board.

162 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1919, p. 39, 40, 53, and 194.

existing schools.¹⁶³ Through the year 1920, however, the population did not increase nearly as fast as anticipated¹⁶⁴ and the large extra debenture of two hundred thousand dollars requested was at first turned down by Board of Control.¹⁶⁵ Trustee Hamilton and Putman were in direct conflict throughout the year on the "enormous cost"¹⁶⁶ of the new York Street School.¹⁶⁷ In retaliation, Trustees Hamilton and Shipman strongly criticized the "worthless fads" offered at the

163 Ibid., p. 89-91 and p. 194; p. 198: in November of 1919 a motion by Trustees Birtch and Esdale proposed that Chairman R. W. Hamilton and the new Superintendent of Buildings, W. C. Beattie, should be sent to Minneapolis, St. Paul and other cities to inspect schools, "so that they may be in a position to improve, if possible, the plans to be prepared for schools to be built next year"; and see Hamilton's Report, previously cited (Chapter Thirteen, section 4), of the thirteen cities visited in Ibid., p. 244-247; Beattie was quoted as saying that many of the American schools could learn much in the way of heating and plumbing from the Ottawa Public Schools: in, "P.S. Board Closes Year With Surplus", in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 3, 1920, p. 5.

164 Putman, "School Accommodation", in Inspector's Report, 1920, p. 5.

165 "Public School Board Anxious For Buildings", in The Citizen, Ottawa, July 22, 1920, p. 2; and, "School Board To Get The Sum It Asked For", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, July 24, 1920, p. 5.

166 Putman, "School Accommodation", in Inspector's Report, 1920, p. 5.

167 "School Inspector Is Under Attack", in The Citizen, Ottawa, June 30, 1920, p. 7.

School for Higher English.¹⁶⁸ But the York Street School was eventually completed in 1922. Putman summarized the expenditure involved:

In 1921 the Board is finishing the York Street School which will seat 865 pupils and will cost, for building and site, approximately \$600,000. This means that a seat for a child will cost \$694. The money for the construction of this school was borrowed on a 6% basis which means that the rate-payer must submit to an annual tax of \$41.64 to provide seat space for one child in this school. [...] When the York Street School is finished and fully occupied it will cost the rate-payers something more than \$100 per pupil per year for running expenses, interest on investment and teachers' services.¹⁶⁹

Aside from the ward politicking he had experienced in connection with York Street School, Putman also

168 "Dr. Putman Is Under Fire At Board Meeting", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, September 3, 1920, p. 8; Hamilton and Putman had violently disagreed about attendance increases in the York Street district at Board meetings, June 28 and September 2; in retaliation a special attendance investigation was made of the School for Higher English in 1920: see, Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1920, p. 188-190; and of its commercial courses: see, Ibid., p. 214; this would account for Putman's difficulty at getting renovations begun at Kent Street School until 1921 (Hamilton resigned at the end of 1920: see, Ibid., p. 241).

169 Putman, "Standardization Of School Buildings", in Inspector's Report, 1921, p. 17; compare the \$600,000 expenditure with the \$80,000 estimate of 1917 (previously cited); and see, "Ottawa's Largest Public School Is Nearly Completed", in The Citizen, Ottawa, August 14, 1922, p. 15; and, "Mr. Meighen Has High Praise Of Public Schools", in Ibid., October 20, 1922, p. 14; "Deny Extravagance At York St. School", in Ibid., November 9, 1922, p. 3; "Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen Lauds Teaching In Public Schools Here And Training Children Receive", in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, October 20, 1922, p. 18.

experienced a change of attitude regarding building policies of the Board. With the increases in teachers' salaries, he predicted that standardized buildings, as used already in the United States, must soon be adopted in Ottawa.¹⁷⁰ He thought it better to have excellent teachers and thus less elaborate buildings.¹⁷¹

During the years 1919 to 1921, the Board had spent \$991,000 on new buildings and sites. As Putman wrote, with an estimated registration "roughly at 10,000 children, this gives a capital expenditure of \$100 per pupil and at six per cent interest, this item alone would add \$6.00 per child to the cost of education since 1918".¹⁷² The net debenture debt of the Board stood at \$2,229,389 at the end of December, 1922.¹⁷³ Its interest and sinking fund required for this for 1923, Putman estimated, would be \$161,829, an eighteen per cent segment of the public schools' tax levy for that year.

As mentioned in the previous section, this news prompted a series of editorials once again from The Ottawa

170 Putman, "Standardization Of School Buildings", in Inspector's Report, 1921, p. 17-18.

171 Ibid., p. 18-19.

172 Putman, "Cost Of Education", in Ibid., p. 19.

173 Putman, "Cost Of Education", in Inspector's Report, 1922, p. 23.

Journal attacking the Board's policies of small schools,¹⁷⁴ much increased debenture debt (142.3 per cent increase since 1918 over the previous five-year period),¹⁷⁵ and bending to ward sectionalism in the erection of an individual school.¹⁷⁶ Not only were these charges answered by the Board (see previous section) but Putman presented an itemized account¹⁷⁷ with an explanation of why the debt was so high. Chiefly, the costs of construction (which had trebled since 1917) and the increase in debenture rate (from four and one-half to six per cent after 1913) were the main culprits.¹⁷⁸ Thus, Putman concluded, as a result of needed building expansion (and salary increases) after the war years, the Ottawa Public School Board's annual income would be heavily mortgaged by the charge for interest and sinking fund for many years to come. All that could "be hoped for is that no further additions will be made to debenture debt until we have tried out every possible way of utilizing existing school

174 "The Cost Of Schools", editorial in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, March 26, 1923, p. 6.

175 "The Cost Of Schools" "In Ottawa", lead editorial in Ibid., April 4, 1923, p. 6.

176 "The Cost Of Ottawa Schools, No. 3", editorial in Ibid., April 10, 1923, p. 6.

177 Putman, "Public School Board's Debenture Debt", in Inspector's Report, 1923, p. 17.

178 Ibid., p. 16.

accommodation".¹⁷⁹

4. Campaign for Technical Education in Ottawa.

The question of mounting educational costs entered very much also into Putman's campaign for technical secondary education in Ottawa and the exploration of joint accommodation arrangements and institutions (such as the junior high school) with the Collegiate Board. Putman's Gladstonian Liberal outlook, allied to his New Education beliefs in the value of handwork had led him to campaign for technical secondary education even before he joined the Ottawa Board (see Chapter Four, section 2). As soon as the facilities for the School for Higher English were launched, the Board, acting on Leake's earlier suggestion,¹⁸⁰ passed a resolution to establish evening industrial classes in the School.¹⁸¹ It was told by the Department, however, that the authority for controlling them had been allotted to Collegiate

179 Ibid.

180 P.A.O., R.G.2, F-3-H, Vol. 4, 1909-11, Leake's Report on Ottawa P.S.: "The attention of the Board is directed to the necessity of providing evening classes in various industrial subjects. A city of the size and importance of Ottawa ought not to be without facilities for the technical instruction of those who are to enter the industries [...]."

181 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1911, p. 191.

Institute Boards.¹⁸² By the end of 1912, though, no action was forthcoming from Ottawa's Collegiate Board, so another resolution was passed to ask permission of the Minister of Education to have Ottawa's Public School Board look after this urgent need.¹⁸³ Deputy Minister Colquhoun wrote a letter to the Collegiate Board asking it to set up night classes,¹⁸⁴ and the Minister promised a substantial grant.¹⁸⁵

Finally, on January twenty-seventh, the first Technical School Committee of the Collegiate Board recommended the appointment of an Advisory Committee on Technical and Industrial Night Classes¹⁸⁶ and this was approved by the Collegiate Institute Board.¹⁸⁷ Space and equipment were rented from the Public School Board at Kent and Waller

182 Ibid., p. 204.

183 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1912, p. 202; and see, Ibid., p. 172.

184 Ibid., p. 209.

185 "Continuation Classes in Public Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 3, 1913, p. 5.

186 Government of Ontario, Industrial Schools, Recommendations and Regulations for Evening Industrial Schools, Recommendations for the Establishment and Organization of General, Special, and Co-Operative Industrial Schools, Toronto, Cameron, September, 1911, p. 4: an Advisory Industrial Committee had to be established before classes could be organized.

187 Ottawa Board of Education, "Extract from the School Management Committee of the Ottawa Collegiate Institute", in Minute Book, Ottawa Collegiate Institute, Advisory Vocational Committee 1957-58, (n.p.).

Street Schools,¹⁸⁸ already equipped by Putman and the Board with manual training, industrial arts and domestic science rooms.

After three days of registration, commencing October first, 1913, the Collegiate Board realized that Putman and his Board were correct in their prognostications; 385 people had enrolled¹⁸⁹ for evening technical classes. They ranged in age from fourteen to forty-five years and the largest classes they attended were in architectural drawing, mechanical drawing and drafting.¹⁹⁰ Nearly five hundred women and girls were attending by the end of October.¹⁹¹ The success of the industrial classes, as well as the commercial classes of both the Collegiate Institute and the School for Higher English, led to a movement by a number of people to have one commercial school under the Collegiate Institute

188 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1913, p. 157, 174 and 194.

189 "Must Now Secure Ten More Teachers For Night School", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, October 3, 1913, p. 13.

190 "Fathers And Sons Learn Together In The Evening Technical Classes", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, December 6, 1913, p. 7.

191 "Industrial Classes", in The Citizen, Ottawa, October 27, 1913, p. 2.

Board¹⁹² (but this did not take place until 1929).

A Report on Ottawa's evening industrial classes was made by F. W. Merchant (in 1915 appointed Ontario's Director of Technical Education) to Colquhoun in March of 1914.¹⁹³ He declared, "I saw enough of the work to convince me that the classes are meeting a special need in the community, and that on the whole the methods of instruction have been very satisfactory".¹⁹⁴ He commended the plan of releasing the principal from part of his daytime duties to plan the evening classes, and he remarked that, as a result, "Principal Nicol [W. W. Nichol] has been very successful in making provision for the various subjects of instruction and in securing and maintaining such a large attendance".¹⁹⁵ He advised that a day industrial school should be established.¹⁹⁶

192 "Central Commercial School For Ottawa", in Ibid., November 22, 1913, p. 15: Trustee Birtch recommended it at the Public School Board; and, "Need Another High School In Ottawa", in Ibid., March 6, 1914: Col. W. Anderson, public school representative on the Collegiate Board, continued his campaign to have the School for Higher English purchased by the Collegiate Board.

193 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1914, Box 5, 2-993, memorandum from Merchant to Colquhoun: "Report on Evening Industrial and Technical Classes at Ottawa", dated Ottawa, March 25, 1914, 2 p. and 12-page enclosure of staff, qualifications.

194 Ibid., p. 1.

195 Ibid.

196 Ibid., p. 2.

A dinner was held by the evening domestic science class at the end of March at Kent Street School. Both Dr. J. W. Robertson and Dr. Putman addressed the gathering, remarking on the success of this first year's work and asserting that Ottawa's greatest educational need was a day technical school offering vocational training.¹⁹⁷

The evening classes continued to expand,¹⁹⁸ renting more and more public school space,¹⁹⁹ and increasing their enrolment.²⁰⁰ In 1917, their exhibited work was amply described and highly praised.²⁰¹

By this date, however, the Collegiate Board had bought the former Ottawa Ladies' College on Albert Street,²⁰²

197 "Industrial School Had Year's Success", in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 28, 1914, p. 17; and see, "Pupils Display Their Knowledge of Cooking", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, March 28, 1914, p. 7.

198 "Free Industrial Classes Will Open", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, September 4, 1915, p. 20; "Industrial Evening Classes", advertisement in The Citizen, Ottawa, September 13, 1916, p. 14: twenty-two courses offered.

199 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1914, p. 183: added Cambridge, First Avenue; Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1916, p. 142: Connaught and Kent Street Annex added.

200 "Fine Exhibit Of Industrial Work", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, April 1, 1916, p. 18: 1,348 pupils (298 over 1915), 7 school buildings, and 33 teachers.

201 "High Class Work Shown By Pupils", in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, March 31, 1917, p. 5.

202 "Collegiate To Buy The Former Ladies' College", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, September 23, 1915, p. 1.

had submitted its renovation plans to the Department for approval²⁰³ and was conferring with Dr. Merchant on its proposed day technical school.²⁰⁴ On October first, 1917, it announced that the Albert Street Industrial and Technical School under the direction of Mr. D. A. Campbell would offer special afternoon and evening classes for wage earners.²⁰⁵

Ottawa's night classes, meanwhile, continued to expand and were pronounced the second largest in the province in 1917 by Dr. Merchant,²⁰⁶ who also praised the new technical school currently being built.²⁰⁷ By 1918, the joint

203 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1915, Box 11, 6-776, Item 11, O.C.I., Commerce Dept., and, Ibid., 1916, Box 25, 6-776, I, Item 1, Ottawa Technical School plans.

204 "Need Industrial Classes In City", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 9, 1917, p. 10; and, "Valuable Addition To Education Plans", in Ibid., March 3, 1917, p. 2.

205 "Manual Training Classes Open Oct. 1st; Pupils Enrol", in Ibid., September 22, 1917, p. 13; and see, "Day Industrial Classes In City", in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, February 9, 1917, p. 3; "When The Boy Leaves School", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 15, 1917, p. 12: quotes Putman's 1916 Annual Report and described him as "a citizen of foresight and constructive ideas", particularly with reference to poor children leaving school at fourteen years with no training in a useful occupation.

206 "Ottawa Second In Attendance", in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, October 20, 1917, p. 2; and, "1,264 Pupils In Evening Classes", in Ibid., October 13, 1917, p. 16.

207 F. W. Merchant, "Report of the Director of Industrial and Technical Education", dated Toronto, February 8, 1919, in Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1918, Toronto, Wilgress, 1919, p. 19 and 24, and p. 40-41.

exhibit of work of afternoon and evening classes had reached a high peak of excellence.²⁰⁸ The joint enrolment had increased to 1,700 pupils.²⁰⁹ In December of 1921, the Minister of Education announced that in proportion to population Ottawa's Technical School had attained the highest attendance of any school in the province (by that date the day school population was approaching one thousand and over four thousand students attended night classes).²¹⁰

Thus, the many efforts of Putman, the Ottawa Public School Board and others to establish vocational classes for adolescents, which would be free (in 1921, the Collegiate Board was forced by the Ontario Legislature to abolish its

208 "Technical School Displays Of Work", in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 29, 1918, p. 7; "Splendid Exhibit By Technical School", in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, March 29, 1918, p. 2; and, "Ground Work Of Household Duties Is Well Taught In The Public Schools", in The Citizen, Ottawa, February 5, 1918, p. 4: describes domestic science facilities and course offered at new Ottawa Technical School.

209 "Technical School Offers Help To All", in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, March 8, 1918, p. 8.

210 "Tech School Pupils Get Extra Holiday", in The Ottawa Morning Journal, Ottawa, December 23, 1921, p. 2; and see, F. W. Merchant, "Report of the Director of Industrial and Technical Education", dated Toronto, March 18, 1922, in Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1921, Toronto, James, 1922, p. 21: Ottawa Tech's enrolment was five per cent of Ottawa's population.

fees²¹¹), and would lead to specific occupations and not "dead-end" jobs at last reached success. Perhaps Putman's handwork curricular stress had an effect on the rapid increase in evening industrial class enrolment. The Manual Arts School, which closed in 1918 (see Chapter Thirteen, section 3), and even the 1906 industrial courses which Putman had urged the Carnegie Public Library to establish (see Chapter One), had been forerunners of the Ottawa Technical School.

In much the same way, the School for Higher English was a forerunner of the Ottawa High School of Commerce,²¹² which formally opened in September, 1929.²¹³ As mentioned previously, Putman undertook a number of efforts which did not succeed at this time: campaigns for junior high schools, one Board of Education, public school pupils attending classes at Tech and provision of vocational "C" stream classes - all administrative improvements which would have made a more efficient educational system for the fourteen to sixteen-year-old. But at least by 1923 there were two

211 Putman, Inspector's Report, 1921, p. 9; and, "Abolish Fees At Local Collegiate", in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 26, 1921, p. 4.

212 Janet Keith, The Collegiate Institute Board of Ottawa, A Short History, 1843-1969, Ottawa, Kent (printers), (n.d.) p. 31-32.

213 Ibid., p. 28.

well-established, free, non-academic public institutions for adolescents in Ottawa, the School for Higher English and the Ottawa Technical School.²¹⁴

214 Even in 1923, Putman believed that trades' schools, particularly in the building trades, should be established because the "technical schools alone are not giving and cannot give us what we require": see, Putman, "Apprentices And Trades' Schools", in Inspector's Report, 1923, p. 13.

CHAPTER XV

EDUCATIONAL EFFICIENCY

When Putman arrived at his inspector's post in the Ottawa Public Schools, North America was being assaulted by the new "cult of efficiency", derived from Frederick Taylor's time and motion studies to eliminate waste in business and industry. Although Ontario's public school system, since the days of Ryerson, was noted for its centralized, efficient administration, this renewed emphasis, added to rising costs in education, made it even more imperative that teachers and schools be more efficient. Campaigns were waged by the Department and by leading educators, including Putman, to increase the years of compulsory school attendance so that adolescents would not drop out at fourteen years with no vocational training and thus enter "blind-alley" occupations or roam the streets at night (evening technical classes and lectures were designed to stop this). Rural schools were looked on as urgently in need of consolidation to eliminate wastage of teachers' and pupils' time, cut costs, and increase the efficiency of the school so that it could offer manual training, domestic science, school gardening (agriculture), music and art courses. By 1923, both of these movements were running into serious public opposition and the Adolescent Attendance Act was only partially

effective.

In the name of efficiency, Putman urged the Department to create a Board of Education in Ottawa, which, he hoped, would solve the current serious separate school problems in the city. He also used efficiency terminology and, to a certain extent, criteria to eliminate waste in the administration of the public schools. Two surveys conducted in 1917 and 1918 assessed the efficiency of the Ottawa Public Schools. One, a doctoral thesis by C. E. Mark, analyzed all aspects of the management and curriculum and judged them to be well-run. The other, a comparative survey for Canada by W. L. Richardson, also revealed the Ottawa Board to be a progressive one. Because they utilized norms recognized as valid at that time, these studies will be used to evaluate the effectiveness of Putman's Ottawa Public Schools.

1. School Waste.

The leading idea in North America in the 1910-1913 period, according to Raymond E. Callahan,¹ was that of scientific management. Frederick Taylor's time and motion

¹ Raymond E. Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1962, 273 p.

studies, or "management based on measurement",² Callahan asserted, were to affect education (as well as business and industry) so much that this era could be termed "The Age of Efficiency".³ As we shall see, Putman and the Ontario Department of Education were not immune from the efficiency norms created by the "Taylor system".⁴

Callahan traced the precedents after 1900 both in society and in education which made them even more prone to the impact of scientific management. The first was the rise of business and industry to positions of prestige and influence, permeating the schools with industrial values and practices⁵ (Callahan cited the McGuffey Readers as an educational example of this new stress on material success⁶).

2 Ibid., p. 28.

3 Ibid., p. 42.

4 Ibid., p. 19.

5 Max Weber considered this a natural evolution from nineteenth century Protestantism. He traced the development of the heroic first stage with its emphasis on morality into the subsequent pragmatic stage with its concepts of utilitarianism, liberalism and modern capitalism. In this second stage, the well-known Protestant values of activity, thrift, industriousness and rational self-discipline lost their spiritual base. Specialization, quantitative measurement, standardization, and promotion of natural science and technical education were the fruits of this pragmatic value system: see, Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, New York, Scribner's, 1958, p. 119-264.

6 Callahan, Op. Cit., p. 2.

The second was Theodore Roosevelt's reform movement, which was spearheaded by muck-raking journalists.⁷ As educational precedents, Callahan listed the intensive campaign to introduce and extend vocational education in the public schools,⁸ the strong current of anti-intellectualism which accompanied this movement,⁹ and Leonard Ayres' application of the factory production criterion to promotion in the school system.¹⁰ Putman's involvement in all of these trends has been fully discussed (see particularly, Chapter Thirteen).

In the period 1911-1913, however, education was made even more vulnerable to the coming scientific management "ethic" by repeated attacks on school expenditure. As Callahan related,

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid., p. 11.

9 Ibid., p. 8.

10 Ibid., p. 15; in 1909 Leonard Ayres published Laggards in Our Schools, which, according to Callahan, was one of the first applications of business and industrial values and practices in a systematic way: "He used the normal year-by-year progress through the schools as a criterion for measuring the relative 'efficiency' of a school and he developed a system for presenting this 'efficiency' in percentage form", in Ibid., p. 15.

Beginning early in 1911 hardly a month passed for two years in which articles complaining about the schools were not published either in the popular or in the professional journals. Gradually the criticism grew in volume, reaching a peak in the spring, summer, and fall of 1912. In these months a series of sensational articles were published in two of the popular journals with tremendous circulations, the Saturday Evening Post and the Ladies' Home Journal. As the criticism mounted, the efforts of educators increased accordingly to meet the demands.¹¹

The Saturday Evening Post article, "Scientific Management for All",¹² presented the ideas of scientific management in simplified, non-technical terms; it appeared to be a system which could be applied by anyone with common sense. As Callahan summarized it, "the keynote to scientific management is cutting costs and that includes the elimination of wastes".¹³

What was even more significant in the light of Putman's administrative policies was that in February of 1912 Franklin Bobbitt of Chicago University wrote an article in the Elementary School Teacher entitled "The Elimination of Waste in Education" which, according to Callahan,¹⁴ connected the platoon system of school organization developed

11 Ibid., p. 47.

12 Ibid., p. 43; reference to "Scientific Management for All", in Saturday Evening Post, Vol. 184, July 29, 1911, p. 8.

13 Callahan, Op. Cit., p. 43.

14 Ibid., p. 59.

in Gary, Indiana, with scientific management. In another very influential article, "The Supervision of City Schools", written in 1913 by Bobbitt for the Twelfth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Callahan suggested, scientific management was linked to the prevailing theory of eugenics:

In some ways his enthusiastic response to eugenics and to scientific management constitute a pattern. Both movements claimed to be based upon science, both seemed to offer rather clear cut, definite solutions to complex and difficult problems, and both were mechanistic in nature. Bobbitt not only accepted both doctrines or systems but actively advocated them. And in the case of scientific management he was not, as a professor at the University of Chicago, subject to the pressure from the business community that other schoolmen, such as Spaulding, had experienced.¹⁵

Two months before Putman visited his schools in Newton,¹⁶ Superintendent Frank Spaulding, "a man who since 1910 had been assuming a position of leadership among school administrators",¹⁷ addressed the Department of Superintendence at the National Education Association Convention. This Department comprised "the most powerful group of educators in America",¹⁸ in Callahan's estimation. Thus, Spaulding's

15 Ibid., p. 79.

16 J. H. Putman, 'V. Newton, Massachusetts', "American Schools and Other Things through Canadian Eyes", in The Citizen, Ottawa, April 4, 1913, p. 12.

17 Callahan, Op. Cit., p. 67.

18 Ibid., p. 63.

speech on the application of the Taylor system to the Newton schools,¹⁹ and the consideration of the whole session, "Improving School Systems by Scientific Management",²⁰ showed that by 1913 efficiency was a major concern of leading educators.

Spaulding's adaptation of the Taylor system to education (criticized by Callahan as being superficial²¹) involved the application of business terminology and statistical techniques to the administration of the school. Spaulding spoke of educational "products"²² or results, which could be measured. He studied the percentage of children of each age group that the school enrolled, the average day's attendance, the average length of time required for each child to do a definite unit of work, the percentage of children of each age group allowed to complete their schooling, the percentage which continued on into high school and the "quality of education that the school affords".²³ As Callahan commented,

19 Ibid., p. 67.

20 Ibid., p. 64.

21 Ibid., p. 69.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

The emphasis on per pupil cost and the reference to 'school plant', 'respective products', and 'investment per pupil' is precisely the kind of analysis one would expect of a businessman, not an educator.²⁴

Apparently Spaulding was impatient with endless educational discussions on which subjects were most valuable. Rather, "dollar values"²⁵ should be uppermost in administrators' minds, he thought. His pragmatic value system was summarized by Callahan thus:

Spaulding's conception of scientific management obviously amounted to an analysis of the budget. By a study of local considerations he meant a study of the per-pupil costs and pupil-recitation costs. His scientific determination of educational value [underlining sic] turned out to be a determination of dollar value. His decisions on what should be taught were made not on educational, but on financial grounds.²⁶

In the previous two chapters, Putman's concern for efficiency of promotion, number of children continuing on into secondary education and per pupil costs, were discussed. But, although very much a pragmatic administrator as was Spaulding, Putman never became an extreme financier. Section Two strongly suggested that Putman was primarily concerned with the child's welfare and over-all development. Although adopting the language of scientific management, Putman in

24 Ibid., p..71.

25 Ibid., p. 72.

26 Ibid., p. 73.

his idealism more closely approached that of James P. Munroe; the preface to Munroe's New Demands in Education, Callahan stated,²⁷ developed the idea that the efficiency norm should be applied to the physical, mental and moral development of the human being. Thus Putman avoided what Callahan termed the two pitfalls of scientific management which loomed ahead for educators who oversimplified the problems of education:

The tragedy was that educators were forced to assume too soon the role of experts and that in so doing they either turned their attention to cost accounting (Spaulding) or to the simple mechanical problems (Bobbitt).²⁸

But Putman did use the terminology and efficiency criteria of scientific management, particularly in connection with the utilization of buildings. Within a month of assuming office, he publicly deplored the little use made of school assembly halls for evening meetings and lectures.²⁹ In previous chapters, his efforts to have the schools used for evening lectures, workers' extension courses and evening technical classes, were discussed. Putman's 1912 article on a wider use of public school buildings was quoted in Robertson's Royal Commission Report on Industrial Training and

27 Ibid., p. 62.

28 Ibid., p. 93.

29 "Kindergartens at Christmas", in The Citizen, Ottawa, December 20, 1910, p. 2.

Technical Education.³⁰ He was hailed also by the press³¹ as a champion of the community use of schools. By 1915, the monetary success of the public lectures in the schools sponsored by the Teachers' Association, and the use of this money for charitable endeavours was being reprimanded by the Department.³² By 1916, the public schools were widely used by Settlement House summer vacation classes, teachers' physical training classes, and meetings of the temperance society, church groups, Young Men's Christian Association, Boy Scouts

30 P.A.C., Government of Canada, Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, Report of the Commissioners, Parts I and II, Ottawa, Parmelee, 1913, p. 414; and see, J. H. Putman, "The Use of School Buildings", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1912, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, December 30, 1912, p. 15-17.

31 "The Wider Education", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, March 2, 1914, p. 14: "Dr. Putman, public school inspector (one of the city's most valuable assets, by the way), has been strong in his plea for a greater use of the public schools for public good"; and, "Ottawa Public Schools", editorial in Ibid., February 1, 1913, p. 6: referred to Putman's admirable proposal to have the Management Committee buy one or more Kinecolor machines for use in school halls by both children and adults.

32 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1916, Box 22, 4-831, III, Item 40, letter of Putman to G. H. Ferguson, dated Ottawa, October 15, 1915: in 1914 the Association gave \$800 to the Patriotic Fund and \$200 was used to purchase boots for poor children and they wanted to donate \$500 in 1915 to the Red Cross; copy of letter of Deputy Minister to Putman, dated Toronto, October 20, 1915: Regulations did not permit diversion of Association funds "to purposes, however worthy, which lie outside the work of the Institute"; and further letter of Putman, Ottawa, January 19, 1916, and copy of negative reply from the Deputy Minister, February 9, 1916.

and Girl Guides, a symphony orchestra, a Glee Club, branch library staff and Rotary Club.³³ In 1922, a Special Committee on the Use of Schools drew up a list of Board Regulations³⁴ which laid down Board policy on the matter, showing that by this date Putman's campaign for more efficient use of the school plant by community groups had been successfully implemented.

But a much more noticeable use of the terminology and norms of scientific management could be seen in Putman's long discussion of "School Waste"³⁵ in his 1913 Annual Report. He began by noting the importance of the problem and by comparing the school to an industrial plant:

33 "The Public Schools Are Widely Used", in The Citizen, Ottawa, November 3, 1916, p. 11.

34 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1922, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1921, (n.p., n.d.) p. 88-90.

35 J. H. Putman, "School Waste", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1913, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, December 31, 1913, p. 32-38.

School waste is a problem which everywhere in Europe and America is constantly before school managers. An ordinary industrial plant is operated ten hours a day and more than three hundred days a year. School plants, costing in the aggregate for individual nations sums amounting to hundreds of millions, are used barely six hours a day and for less than two hundred days in each year. Schools are elaborately equipped and teachers engaged at high salaries to teach pupils whose attendance may not average more than 50 or 60 per cent. of the time the school is actually open. Pupils fall behind in their work and have to repeat one or more grades, thus greatly increasing the school accommodation required.³⁶

He then classified school waste into three categories, unavoidable waste ("building schools larger than are needed; building schools before they are needed; building schools which are needed now but which may not be required ten years from now"³⁷), waste which could be partially eliminated and waste which could be wholly eliminated. Under the second category he listed such items as

[...] expensive playgrounds, buildings, and equipment which are used less than half-time; loss through irregular attendance of pupils; multiplication of small schools; multiplication of expensive manual training or domestic science equipment which is used half-time or less; loss to pupils through inefficient teaching; increased expense of schools because of pupils having to repeat one or more grades; small and expensive classes in upper grades owing to pupils dropping out at twelve or thirteen years.³⁸

36 Ibid., p. 32.

37 Ibid., p. 33.

38 Ibid.

Waste which could be wholly eliminated, in Putman's opinion, included

[...] waste of supplies by pupils, janitors, and teachers; waste of fuel through over-heating; waste of pupils' time [...] caused by not having supplies when they are needed; waste of pupils' time because school courses are unsuitable; waste of time because of having backward and defective pupils in regular classes; waste of time through overlapping of classes.³⁹

Putman, in 1913, believed there was no serious unavoidable waste existing in the Ottawa Public Schools (see also Chapter Fourteen, section 3). He did think that better use could be made of school buildings in the evening, but, as just previously described, good progress was being made in that direction. (In fact, Putman asserted, "The Evening Industrial classes have quite upset the educational theories of more than one Ottawa citizen."⁴⁰) An interesting underlying motive for both the Ontario Government's Adolescent Attendance Acts (to be discussed in the next section) and the greater use of schools in the evening was revealed by Putman's remark,

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid., p. 34.

The Ontario Legislature during the session of 1912 passed an act called the Adolescent School Attendance Act, having for its object the further education through Evening Instruction schools of those boys and girls who leave school at 14 years. These are the boys and girls who largely make up the patrons of the moving picture shows. They are at an age when they crave excitement. Because they are wage earners they claim a freedom from home restraint which is denied boys and girls of the same age who are at school. It is no exaggeration to say that thousands of our young people between 14 and 18 years of age are forming idle and spendthrift habits and spending their evening in an atmosphere which tends to weaken their moral fibre.⁴¹

As to the waste of equipment, Putman continued, as larger schools were being built there was less and less waste through idle manual training and domestic science equipment.⁴² He discussed the "radically different policy of school organization"⁴³ as seen particularly in the schools at Gary, Indiana.⁴⁴ Putman's comment in 1913 was, "This experiment in Gary is being eagerly watched. It seems to rest on a basis of common sense".⁴⁵

Three other forms of school waste, irregular attendance, retardation of pupils,⁴⁶ and the drop-out of pupils

41 Ibid., p. 35.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid., p. 36.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid., p. 36-37.

before completion of the Grade Eight course,⁴⁷ Putman, as we have seen, was to correct substantially before the end of 1914 (see Chapter Thirteen). The waste of school supplies,⁴⁸ as previously noted (Chapter Fourteen), he believed had been wholly eliminated, as had the problem of overlapping of classes.⁴⁹

With the costly expenditure of York Street School still in the ratepayers' minds (Chapter Fourteen, section 3), Putman was able to use scientific management arguments to convince any recalcitrant critics in 1923 that

47 Ibid., p. 37.

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid., p. 38; and see Ottawa press broadcasting of educational efficiency ideas in: "Education For Efficiency", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, October 17, 1912, p. 6; "Dr. Freeland On Efficiency", in Ibid., October 12, 1912, p. 5; "Educational Progress", editorial in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, August 28, 1913, p. 6; "Efficiency Will Be Aim Of Board", in The Ottawa Free Press, Ottawa, December 20, 1916, p. 2: applied to separate school controversy over Bill Seventeen in Ottawa; "Efficiency And Public Service", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, May 13, 1916, p. 16: referred to the visit of Mr. Morris L. Cooke, a leading exponent of Taylor's ideas to the People's Forum in Ottawa in 1915; "Standard Efficiency Test Program Adopted For The Boys By Sunday Schools", in Ibid., November 1, 1916, p. 7: "The Canadian standard efficiency tests program, a national ideal for boys, has been accepted by the various Protestant churches as their official program of boys' work, and will be introduced and explained at the leaders' and boys' work conferences at the Y.W.C.A. [...]."

Modern school plants are very costly institutions and to do effective work require not only expensive equipment but expert and highly paid workers. The burden of providing them will prove intolerable and result in a disastrous reaction educationally unless they can be used to their full capacity.⁵⁰

Since the days of Ryerson, the Ontario Department of Education had been concerned with school efficiency. So successful was the centralized school system which Ryerson had set up that in 1893 it had won an award against American and European rivals at the Chicago Exposition for its unity and detail of regulations.⁵¹ The new Whitney Government elected in 1905 had pledged that it would secure more efficiency in the public schools.⁵² By 1914, the year of Premier Whitney's death, major educational reforms had been accomplished: the school-book monopoly had been broken up; Normal Schools were expanded from three to seven; thirty per cent more second-class teachers were secured; agriculture, manual training, domestic science and industrial classes were encouraged through special grants; and rural continuation high

50 J. H. Putman, "School Accommodation", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1923, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, February 7, 1924, p. 7.

51 A. Margaret Evans, "The Mowat Era, 1872-1896: Stability and Progress", in Ontario Historical Society, Profiles of a Province, Studies in the History of Ontario, Toronto, 1967, p. 105.

52 P.A.O., Pamphlet Collection, No. 59, 1908, The Educational Policy of the Whitney Government, Three Years of Progressive Legislation and Administration, 1905-1908, (n.p., n.d.) p. 3.

schools as well as evening classes for working people were set up.⁵³ The result, of course, was a trebling of educational expenditure.⁵⁴

On the premise that the progress of the schools was "chiefly a question of the teachers' efficiency",⁵⁵ the Department began a system of special legislative grants, which were based partly on average attendance of the pupils, but partly on "the basis of the grade of the teachers' certificate and the length of their successful experience".⁵⁶ Putman's policy of acquiring only second-class teachers or better, encouraging his staff to get more qualifications and trying to improve the attendance averages of his pupils,

53 "Ontario and Education", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, April 28, 1914, p. 6.

54 'Sir James Whitney and Education', "Editorial Notes", in The School, Vol. 3, No. 4, December, 1914, p. 223; an interesting article on 'School Surveys' on the next page outlined the current American craze for educational stock-taking by experts to improve efficiency, but it concluded: "Yet after reading a number of the surveys one still feels that there are some valuable features in education which are as yet too elusive for measurement and which perhaps will never yield to measurement. [...] Let us have efficiency by all means, if only for its moral effect, but let us beware of the mechanical, German efficiency, where the spirit is sacrificed to the more obvious material results!" in Ibid., p. 225.

55 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1913, Toronto, Cameron, 1914, p. x.

56 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1910, Toronto, Cameron, 1911, p. 143.

thus produced monetary rewards for the Board.⁵⁷ Another general legislative grant was used by the Department to equalize educational facilities for poorer rural areas.⁵⁸

Another set of grants, called stimulation grants,

[...] had, as their aim, the encouragement of local educational endeavour in particular directions and were money payments to school boards for specified, non-obligatory, instructional materials and services which conformed to standards set down by the provincial Department of Education.⁵⁹

During Putman's first twelve years of office, as well as the manual training and kindergarten grants, already established by 1911, the Board received grants for the following:

57 Ottawa's special legislative grant increased from \$1,850 in 1910 to \$2,225 in 1923: see, Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1911, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1910, (n.p., n.d.) insert p. 2; and, Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1924, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1923, Ottawa, Progressive Printers, (n.d.) insert p. 4.

58 P.A.O., Whitney Papers, MSS, 1906, January 1st-11th, printed Circular to the Public School Inspector [marked "Confidential"] from Pyne, dated Toronto, January 5, 1906, p. 3-4; Ottawa's general grant increased from \$3,969 in 1910 (see, Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1911, insert p. 2) to \$4,620 in 1923 (see, Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1924, insert p. 4).

59 Donald W. Rowan, A Facet Analysis of Certain Stimulation Grants in the Province of Ontario, 1867-1953, unpublished Master's thesis, University of Toronto, 1971, p. 80.

household science (beginning in 1914),⁶⁰ military instruction (beginning in 1915 and added to later with cadets),⁶¹ auxiliary classes (beginning in 1917),⁶² school gardens (beginning in 1919),⁶³ and music (beginning in 1923).⁶⁴ (Normal School work with student teachers also earned grants for the Board.)⁶⁵

But the Department realized, shortly "after the first grants were given [...] that inspection and supervision were necessary to determine whether the state was getting

60 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For The Year 1915, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1914, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) insert p. 2.

61 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For The Year 1916, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1915, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) insert p. 2.

62 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1918, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1917, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) insert p. 2.

63 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For The Year 1919, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1918, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 94.

64 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For The Year 1923, Also Financial Statement of the Board For the Year 1922, (n.p., n.d.) p. 5.

65 Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1911, insert p. 2: \$900 received for 1910.

value for its money".⁶⁶ This implied a central bureau and detailed regulations as to standards, courses and manner of inspection. As was said in 1919 after Seath's death,

Viewed in the large the history of education in Ontario from 1906 until a few months ago is the history of Dr. Seath. The Premier and the Minister of Education believed in him and supported him loyally even when at rare intervals he seemed to outdistance the public opinion of the Province. His energy was untiring. Not a phase of the educational system was left untouched. Kindergarten, Public Schools, Separate Schools, High Schools; urban schools and rural schools; grounds, buildings and equipment; courses; revenue, grants, salaries - all came under revision in the light of modern needs. [...] he gave first consideration to continuation schools, school inspection, technical education, and the training of teachers. Such reforming energy has a price and must pay it. The school law became so large in bulk and so elaborate in detail as at times to confuse if it did not irritate. Its adequacy for every school situation could not fail now and then to suggest arbitrariness in the educational administration and over-centralization.⁶⁷

One other fault accruing from Superintendent Seath's over-zealous concern for efficiency was observed by Professor Watson Kirkconnell and reported by J. M. McCutcheon: this highly-controlled educational machine was one of the most paralyzing to individual initiatives either in teachers or

⁶⁶ Norman B. Baird, Educational Finance and Administration for Ontario, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1946, p. 15.

⁶⁷ "John Seath, M.A., LL.D., Superintendent of Education For Ontario", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Fifty-Eighth Annual Convention Held in Toronto, April 21, 22, 23 and 24, 1919, Toronto, Ryerson, 1919, p. 512-513.

in school systems.⁶⁸

In the light of this comment, Chief Inspector Waugh's assessment of Putman as not being suitable (along with three other inspectors) for the newly-created position of Assistant Chief Inspector at the Department of Education in Toronto in 1918 was revealing. He headed the list with this terse judgment: "Other Inspectors of a more aggressive type whose views, however, would require to be carefully weighed [...]."⁶⁹

Despite this slur, under the more open régime of the new Education Minister, H. J. Cody, Putman's opinion was consulted on a number of important provincial educational matters.

At the first meeting of the Ottawa Public School Board in 1918, a committee was appointed to report on the possibility of establishing a board of education for the whole city to replace the several boards then existing.⁷⁰

68 J. M. McCutcheon, Public Education in Ontario, Toronto, Best, 1941, p. 170-171.

69 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1918, Box 45, M-1, Item 7, memorandum for the Minister from the Chief Inspector, dated June 4, 1918, p. 2; Seath strongly recommended William I. Chisholm, M.A., a science master at Peterborough Normal School: see Ibid., memorandum for the Minister, signed by John Seath (n.d.); Chisholm was duly appointed in 1918: see, 'William I. Chisholm', "Obituaries", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Sixty-Ninth Annual Convention Held in Toronto, April 21, 22, 23, and 24, 1930, Toronto, King's Printer, 1930, p. 56-57.

70 "Take Up Question Of One Education Board In The City", in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 17, 1918, p. 2.

Less than two weeks later Putman wrote a detailed letter to Colquhoun, who had spoken to him the previous Saturday on the difficult separate school problem in Ottawa.⁷¹ In Putman's solution to this problem, his underlying efficiency-oriented value system (and Protestant attitude to religion in the schools: see Chapter Four, section 3) was revealed. He introduced it thus:

Briefly put, my plan is that Ottawa supporters of Separate Schools should during the present year allow themselves to be assessed as Public School supporters for the year 1919, and that the Ontario Legislature should create a Board of Education for this City that would from January 1st, 1919, exercise all the powers now exercised by a Board of Education in Toronto, Hamilton, or London.⁷²

To comply with the privileges already granted to separate schools under the British North America Act and the Regulations of the Ontario Department of Education, Putman suggested two special concessions and two departmental directives. Sectarian religious instruction should be allowed in the schools for three-quarters of an hour after school hours and those parents who desired to have their

71 P.A.O., H. J. Cody Papers, MSS, Box 61, V, "Papers relating to Education", Correspondence Minister of Education, Envelope 1, 3 August-13 June, 1918, Item 4, letter of J. H. Putman to Colquhoun dated Ottawa, January 29, 1918, 3 p.

72 Ibid., p. 1.

children instructed in French should be allowed this.⁷³ A Superintendent of Schools should be appointed, he further outlined, "who would exercise general supervision of all schools conducted by the Board of Education".⁷⁴ To correct the shortage of trained teachers, Putman recommended that the Ontario Government establish and maintain by annual grants "a special school for the academic and professional education of those French pupils who wish to become trained teachers".⁷⁵

Putman's arguments in support of his recommendations were based largely on the grounds of efficiency. There were more separate school than public school pupils,⁷⁶ yet the assessment base of the Separate School Board was much lower (\$17,510,000) than that of the Public School Board (\$87,140,000).⁷⁷ As Putman commented, "A glance at these

73 The amended Regulation Seventeen of August, 1913, still did not allow French language instruction after Form One except in certain designated schools: see, Manoly R. Lupul, "Educational Crisis in the New Dominion to 1917", in J. Donald Wilson et al., Ed., Canadian Education: A History, Scarborough, Prentice-Hall, 1970, p. 284.

74 P.A.O., H. J. Cody Papers, MSS, Box 61, V, Envelope 1, Item 4, Putman's letter to Colquhoun dated Ottawa, January 29, 1918, p. 1.

75 Ibid.

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid., p. 2.

figures will convince any fair-minded person that the Separate Schools of Ottawa can never be made really efficient with their present income".⁷⁸ Further, a great deal of money was needed currently to "give their children as good school accommodation as is given by the Public Schools[,] an expenditure for buildings and equipment that would require from a half a million to a million dollars".⁷⁹ As he pointed out, even if they did settle their current litigation with the Ontario Government,⁸⁰ the separate school trustees would be handicapped further in the running of their schools by the heavy additional charges for interest and sinking fund.

Putman then summarized his efficiency arguments:

I, therefore, base my hope of inducing Separate School supporters in Ottawa to become Public School supporters on the following grounds: First, their natural desire to settle the present litigation. Second, their natural desire to provide a good education for their children. Third, their knowledge of their own unsatisfactory financial situation and the certainty that they cannot improve their financial condition unless they secure outside assistance.⁸¹

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid.

80 See Lupul, Op. Cit., p. 284-285.

81 P.A.O., H. J. Cody Papers, MSS, Box 61, V, Envelope 1, Item 4, Putman's letter to Colquhoun, dated Ottawa, January 29, 1918, p. 2.

As to fears of separate school supporters that they would lose their guaranteed rights, Putman denied this possibility; "if in five or ten years from now they were dissatisfied with the education given their children in the Public Schools they could again become Separate School supporters and establish their own schools".⁸²

But, in the meantime, Putman would have sold their property, amounting to some four hundred thousand dollars, and used this to offset their liabilities, which came to about the same amount. As he assessed the situation, "The fact of the matter is the Separate School Board is barely solvent".⁸³

With reference to the reception of his proposal by the public school supporters, Putman admitted

[...] frankly that I do not know. I know that many of them would oppose such a plan because they want nothing to do with the French people. Indeed, some of them seem to derive a secret satisfaction from their knowledge that French children are receiving a poor education and that the Separate School Board is in distress.⁸⁴

In his campaign, however, Putman would appeal to the "thousands of the most intelligent English speaking Protestants

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid., p. 2-3; and see end of Chapter Four, section 2, for Putman's difficulties with establishing French classes in the Ottawa Public Schools, 1917-1922.

[who] are broad-minded enough to wish that the children of their French fellow-citizens might enjoy better educational opportunities".⁸⁵

Daring to contradict Merchant's Regulation Seventeen which prohibited the teaching of French beyond a few limited hours each day, Putman thought this policy "very unwise".⁸⁶ Instead, his provisions would replace the current bilingual teachers with well-trained English and well-trained French teachers, who would each teach half the day. He concluded (as he did in 1907: see Chapter Four, section 2): "I am positive that this method is the only one that will satisfactorily solve this bilingual problem".⁸⁷

Putman assumed, naturally, that all qualified separate school teachers would become public school employees as of January first, 1919, and that the new Ottawa Board of Education "would gradually get rid of the clerical teachers"⁸⁸ (who were unqualified in many cases).

To broadcast his proposal, if the Minister accepted it, Putman would

85 Ibid., p. 3.

86 Ibid.

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid.

[...] write over my own name a series of letters on the Separate School situation and publish them in the Ottawa newspapers. In this way I should hope to focus the attention of the leaders of public thought upon this question and its solution. Whether or not I would approach leading French-Canadians and leading Irish Catholics before taking this step, I am undecided and open to receive suggestions.⁸⁹

Unfortunately, Putman's proposal was somewhat too progressive for the times. Despite newspaper editorials supporting the idea of one Board of Education,⁹⁰ The Ottawa Journal-Press realistically appraised the situation thus:

With the distinction that exists under the established law between the education of Protestant and Roman Catholic Children it is probably too much to look for any such unification of the educational system in Ottawa. This distinction would stand as an obstacle even to the bringing together of the now separate managements of the Collegiate Institute and the lower schools.⁹¹

Thus, even in the name of the new science of efficiency, deep-rooted prejudices and sectionalism could not

89 Ibid.

90 "The Educational System", editorial in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, December 27, 1918, p. 4; "A City Board Of Education", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, November 29, 1920, p. 18; "Ontario Educational Progress", editorial in Ibid., December 2, 1920, p. 20; "Ottawa's School Administration", lead editorial in The Ottawa Journal, Ottawa, December 7, 1920, p. 6; "A Board Of Education", editorial in Ibid., December 10, 1920, p. 6; "Public School Board Economy", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, October 15, 1921, p. 20.

91 "Inadequate Educational System", editorial in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, December 19, 1918, p. 4.

be overcome by even a leader as strong as Putman. In fact, as has been shown, his aggressiveness in campaigning for quality teaching and a liberalized curriculum made his opponents accuse him of being autocratic in his dealings with teachers⁹² and the Board.⁹³ On the other hand, Premier W. H. Hearst recommended him to Education Minister Cody in the following private letter:

Mr. Race spoke to me the other day about a Mr. Putnam [sic] of Ottawa, in case there should be a vacancy in the Department. Mr. Race does not know Mr. Putnam [sic] personally, but says he has heard many of the teachers and inspectors speak of him as a big man educationally and one who would be a strength to the Department. I know nothing of Mr. Putnam [sic] myself and do not know that there is any vacancy that he would desire, but simply pass on the information to you for what it is worth.⁹⁴

92 'One Interested In Fair Play', "Is The Public School Board An Autocracy?", letter to the Editor, in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 6, 1919, p. 12; Putman's reply that no teacher had ever been refused a hearing by the Management Committee also ended with, "I am sure the public will realize that among a staff of nearly three hundred teachers, there will often be one or more upon whom pressures must be brought either to have them improve their work, or make way for others": J. H. Putman, "Dr. Putman Exonerates Board", letter to the Editor, in Ibid., January 8, 1919, p. 10.

93 'S.R.', "Inadequate Educational System", letter to the Editor in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, December 19, 1918, p. 4; and, "Public School Bd. Under Attack Of Trustee Aspirant", in The Citizen, Ottawa, December 31, 1921, p. 3; "Denies Clique In The Public School Board", in Ibid., January 6, 1922, p. 1 and 2.

94 P.A.O., H. J. Cody Papers, MSS, Box 61, V, "Papers relating to Education", correspondence as Minister of Education, Envelope 1, 8 April - 26 April, 1919, letter W. H. Hearst to Cody, dated Toronto, April 14, 1919.

Ten months earlier, Putman had been asked by Cody to present him a memorandum on three specific provincial educational matters,⁹⁵ the simplification of School Law and Regulations,⁹⁶ improved coordination of elementary schools and vocational training,⁹⁷ and granting greater freedom of action to local trustee boards.⁹⁸ Thus, despite Waugh's slur of June fourth, Cody asked Putman's advice on three urgent departmental matters.

Putman began, as would a philosopher (he was addressing an Archdeacon), by defining his goal:

If your ideal is a bureaucratic system then you must have elaborate and detailed regulations. If your ideal of administration implies a large measure of local autonomy (which from my viewpoint means democracy) then your regulations may be very simple. In my opinion, our School Law, while it needs radical changes, is reasonably simple, but our Departmental Regulations are needlessly complicated.⁹⁹

By way of illustration, Putman quoted from Circular Number Seventeen in which pages nineteen to thirty, dealing with the admission of pupils to day high schools, took up "eleven and one-half pages of printed matter, covering twenty-five

95 Ibid., 3 August-13 June, 1918: letter of Putman to H. J. Cody, dated Ottawa, June 13, 1918, 4 p.

96 Ibid., p. 1-2.

97 Ibid., p. 2-3.

98 Ibid., p. 3-4.

99 Ibid., p. 1.

sections, each with elaborate sub-sections".¹⁰⁰ As Putman wrote, this could be condensed to two pages

[...] but simplification can be secured only by giving the local Entrance boards freedom and then holding them strictly responsible for what they do. Now they have no freedom. They are part of a complicated machine which has been built up in your Department.¹⁰¹

In a second implied broadside at Seath (who did not die until 1919), Putman criticized the Department's

[...] hard and fast line between the cultural subjects of the elementary and high schools and the vocational work which is to be performed in technical and day industrial schools. In my opinion, this is a serious mistake and is bound to lead to costly and unnecessary duplication of officials and school buildings.¹⁰²

He related his abortive attempts to establish printing classes for boys (see Chapter Thirteen, section 3), or even have them learn

[...] about electrical wiring and its application to a modern home or to an automobile. Such work, according to the Departmental Regulations, is vocational and can be taught only by a high school board in an industrial school.¹⁰³

Thus, in Putman's opinion, "elementary schools should be given more freedom than is now given them in planning for

100 Ibid.; and see Chapter Thirteen, section 1 for Putman's further opinions on the Entrance Examinations.

101 Ibid.

102 Ibid., p. 2.

103 Ibid., p. 3.

pre-vocational and vocational work",¹⁰⁴ particularly when "in very few places have industrial courses been established".¹⁰⁵

On the third question, Putman thought very little more freedom should be given rural school boards until they had consolidated (his views on this will be discussed in the next section), but he thought much greater freedom could be given boards in towns and cities.¹⁰⁶

Thus, in answer to the Minister's call for "healthy, constructive criticism",¹⁰⁷ Putman provided him with a more liberal attitude toward provincial educational administration. He believed de-centralization in the long run to be more efficient for a system. Unfortunately, in 1919, Cody's party was defeated and a weak Minister of Education, R. H. Grant, succeeded him, with the result that the Department and its centralizing tendencies continued to control

104 Ibid.

105 Ibid.

106 Ibid., p. 4; Putman reiterated these criticisms of the Department in his Presidential Address to OEA in 1932: see, J. H. Putman, "School Administration and School Finance in Ontario, Can They Be Improved?", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Seventy-First Annual Convention Held in Toronto, March 28, 29, 30 and 31, 1932, Toronto, Ball, 1932, p. 17.

107 'The New Minister of Education for Ontario', "Editorial Notes", in The School, Vol. 7, No. 1, September, 1918, p. 2.

educational policies.¹⁰⁸ This was particularly evident in the Compulsory Attendance Act of 1919.¹⁰⁹

2. Adolescent School Attendance and Rural County Boards.

In 1917, John Seath "travelled through the Western States and Provinces inquiring into rural school conditions and school attendance laws".¹¹⁰ These two problems, thus, were uppermost in the Department's thinking at this time. On both of them Putman also had a great deal to say.

A start had been made already by the province in trying to compel fourteen to seventeen-year olds to remain in school long enough to acquire some skilled trade with the passage of the Adolescent School Attendance Act,¹¹¹ in 1912. By this permissive legislation, local authorities were given "power to pass by-laws requiring young people of both sexes to attend day schools whole time or part time or evening schools or both until they are 15 or 16 or 17 years

108 Kenneth M. Nicholson, Policies of the Ontario Department of Education during the Administration of Premier E. C. Drury, 1919-1923, unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Toronto, 1972, p. 111-112.

109 Ibid., p. 113 and p. 83-89.

110 "John Seath", in The School, Vol. 7, No. 9, May, 1919, p. 575.

111 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1918, Toronto, Wilgress, 1919, p. 27.

of age".¹¹² As Putman hoped in 1914,

If the Act were made operative in Ottawa it would make possible a technical school or combination of technical school and trade school. Boys might learn printing, plumbing, steamfitting, tinsmithing, book-binding, electrical work, joinery, engraving, blacksmithing, typewriting, stenography, or bookkeeping. They might go to a trade school half time and work half time in a shop for wages. Girls might have courses in house-keeping or millinery or dress-making in addition to instruction in regular school subjects.¹¹³

It would stem the whole trend of secondary education which had been toward a preparation for professional life. As Putman illustrated, "With 16,000 children registered in our elementary schools, public and separate, we have less than 600 each year who complete that course and less than 100 who continue to the completion of a secondary course".¹¹⁴

The problem was not so easily solved, however. At the conclusion of Chief Inspector Waugh's address on Ontario education to the Dominion Educational Association in 1917, Putman stood up and asked, regarding the Adolescent School Attendance Act which Waugh had not mentioned,

112 J. H. Putman, "The Adolescent School Attendance Act", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1914, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 29, 1915, p. 32.

113 Ibid.

114 Ibid., p. 31.

Now, why is not more advantage taken of it? This is the main reason - that there is no machinery to manage those young people between 14 and 17. Outside of Toronto, London, Ha[m]ilton and a few other places, there are neither teachers nor schools nor equipment for teaching industrial work, and there is not a public opinion which demands it yet.¹¹⁵

Professor Dale raised another problem that of lack of clarity in thinking upon what courses should be offered.¹¹⁶ As he pointed out, "the ladder of learning of which Dr. Waugh spoke with justifiable pride [...] is exclusively a ladder of learning, for those who in the end are to be teachers".¹¹⁷ What was needed was a highway, or "broad open road on which there is a certain amount of freedom of election, and on which a man can reach education that is honestly to be called secondary education".¹¹⁸

But an even more pertinent difficulty was raised by Ottawa's Trustee T. Sidney Kirby when reporting to the Board about his speech on "The Adolescent School Attendance Act", delivered to the Ontario Educational Association that spring. As he remarked, the real purpose of the Act was to give the

¹¹⁵ The Dominion Educational Association, Proceedings of the Ninth Convention of the Association held at Ottawa, Ontario, January 31st, February 1st and 2nd, 1917, Ottawa, Dominion Printer, (n.d.) p. 95.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 97-98.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 98.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

state "some measure of control over young people of both sexes between the ages of fourteen and seventeen years".¹¹⁹ But, he questioned, "Is this Act in the interests of the people of the Province? Has the State any right to exercise a compulsory control over anything beyond elementary education?".¹²⁰

Another major difficulty about attendance in general was the inaccuracy of the current statistical data. In two excellent papers, Professor Peter Sandiford, of the University of Toronto, with the help of an urban principal and a rural teacher, demonstrated the "sadly chaotic condition"¹²¹ and lack of uniformity of attendance statistics across Canada.¹²² As The School noted,

119 Ottawa, Ottawa Public School Board, Minutes of the Proceedings of the City of Ottawa Public School Board For the Year 1917, Also Financial Statement of the Board For The Year 1916, Ottawa, Ottawa Printing, (n.d.) p. 108.

120 Ibid., p. 109.

121 Professor P. Sandiford, et al., "Study of Non-Attendance of Pupils at School", in The School, Vol. 7, No. 5, January, 1919, p. 314.

122 Ibid., p. 314-317; and, Ibid., Vol. 7, No. 6, February, 1919, p. 356-361.

Everywhere in Canada attendance laws are under scrutiny. There is a demand for a longer period of compulsory attendance and for more regular attendance [...]. But is the attendance irregular? How irregular is it? And are the causes of irregularity such as may be met by compulsory legislation?¹²³

But, as we have seen, in Putman's mind, compulsory attendance and vocational training would greatly alleviate the problem of the "drop-out" falling into "blind-alley" occupations (see Chapters Thirteen and Fourteen). In the opinion, also, of Dr. Merchant, for the greater efficiency of Ontario's school system there was a necessity for training during the period of adolescence:

It is now very generally conceded that the only adequate means of carrying out some comprehensive scheme for the further extension of general education is through some form of compulsory education.¹²⁴

Chief Inspector Waugh asserted that truancy was one of the top concerns of the Education Department in 1918.¹²⁵ (Ottawa's truancy figures, as reported by teachers, were very high - 4,731 - in 1918 as compared with other city

¹²³ 'School Attendance', "Editorial Notes", in Ibid., No. 7, March, 1919, p. 424.

¹²⁴ F. W. Merchant, "Report of the Director of Industrial and Technical Education", dated Toronto, February 8, 1919, in Ontario, Report of the Minister, 1918, p. 27.

¹²⁵ John Waugh, "Report of the Chief Inspector of Public and Separate Schools", dated January 28, 1919, in Ibid., p. 17.

public school boards: Hamilton, 1,269; London, 150; Toronto, 25).¹²⁶

In 1919, legislative reform was accomplished at last.

The School reported that,

[...] Dr. Cody's reforms which will have most significant results in the later history of Ontario were his reforms in the School Attendance Acts. He revised the Act which enforces attendance under 14 years of age, closing several loopholes through which some children evaded attendance, and creating a Provincial Attendance Officer. And he induced the Assembly to enact a Compulsory Adolescent Attendance Act.¹²⁷

As Cody himself remarked about the Compulsory Adolescent Attendance Act after he had been defeated,

I believe that this extension of the school age will solve a great many educational problems that are now seriously vexing us, such as the problems of promotion, of examinations, of attendance, of over-crowded courses in the elementary schools, of unelastic courses in the secondary schools, and of making free the education in our high schools.¹²⁸

But Putman also predicted, "That its operation will raise a storm of protest from thousands of parents and

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 284: demonstrating that Ottawa kept more accurate statistics?

¹²⁷ 'Dr. Cody's First Year', "Editorial Notes", in The School, Vol. 7, No. 10, p. 636-637.

¹²⁸ Hon. H. J. Cody, "The Test of Progress", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention Held in Toronto April 5, 6, 7, and 8, 1920, Toronto, Wilgress, 1920, p. 147.

children goes without saying".¹²⁹ Public opinion, he was sure, would ameliorate "the drastic intent of the present Act".¹³⁰ Economics were at the root of the difficulty experienced throughout the world to enforce compulsory adolescent attendance:

The educational authorities cannot immediately establish, equip and operate enough schools to accommodate the adolescent children and the parents of the children are not financially able to maintain a home with a decent standard of living without the help of the children's earnings.¹³¹

On the other hand, as has been shown, Putman believed that the unnatural environment of the city,¹³² the high proportion (ninety-five per cent) of fourteen-year-old school leavers who ended up in dead-end jobs,¹³³ and the increasing lack of parental control¹³⁴ caused moral degeneration in these concrete-minded boys and girls:

129 J. H. Putman, "The Adolescent School Attendance Act", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1920, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 19, 1921, p. 5.

130 Ibid., p. 6.

131 Ibid.

132 Ibid., p. 7.

133 Ibid., p. 8-9.

134 Ibid., p. 9.

At the age of sixteen some of these young people barely spend one night in a week in the seclusion of their homes. Some of them are blasé before they grow up. They lead a feverish, unnatural life which saps their physical vitality, dulls their finer instincts and unfits them for the more serious struggles and responsibilities of manhood and womanhood. Can it be doubted that the majority of these children would be benefited if they could remain at school from the age of fourteen to that of sixteen years?¹³⁵

Putman's administration of the terms of the Act showed his humanitarian understanding of efficiency. He appointed a former teacher, E. T. Kerr, as School Attendance Officer for 1920.¹³⁶ He wrote to Colquhoun, suggesting that the Act be amended so that "working permits"¹³⁷ could be

¹³⁵ Ibid.; and see, further advice of Putman that the Act should be administered "in a big way and with a generous spirit", in Ibid., p. 11, with flexible courses of study; and see, Canadian Education Association, Proceedings of the Eleventh Convention of the Association Held at Ottawa, November 1, 2 and 3, 1922, Ottawa, Dadson-Merrill Press, (n.d.) p. 16-17: Merchant's address on "Some of the Practical Problems in Canadian Education" stressed that aside from the fourteen-year-old not being properly trained, there was "the necessity of safeguarding society from its criminal elements"; he quoted juvenile delinquency statistics to prove his point. The remainder of his address (urging a vocational guidance department, cultural as well as vocational education in high schools, restoration of the apprenticeship system, more men entering the teaching profession and the necessity of practical in-service training courses for teachers at the universities) closely followed many of Putman's ideas: see Ibid., p. 17-27.

¹³⁶ E. T. Kerr, "School Attendance", in Inspector's Report, 1920, p. 44.

¹³⁷ P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1919, Box 59, 4-831, Item 17, letter of Putman to Colquhoun, dated Ottawa, September 17, 1919; in 1921, 259 employment certificates were issued to adolescents from fourteen to sixteen years old in Ottawa: see, Ibid., 1922, Box 93, 2-960, Item 21, list of Provincial Attendance Officer, dated Toronto, December 10, 1921.

issued by the Education Department and the school principal for all over fourteen years in order to avoid conflict between the working child and the Attendance Officer. In Ottawa, a card index system for every child, which Putman had kept for ten years in the public schools, was used to locate all those of adolescent years whose parents were public school supporters.¹³⁸ Once a week school principals reported by mail to the Attendance Officer or by telephone during the week, in special cases. Kerr, in turn, visited the homes of delinquent children and followed up each case personally until a definite decision was taken. He recorded the number of home and employment permits for adolescents after September first, 1921, noting why they were exempt from school (largely economic reasons), and he listed the work pursued by each one.¹³⁹

On the advice of the Provincial Attendance Officer, J. P. Cowles, the Department tried to make the public school inspectors report more accurately, even on private schools, so that a "strict child-accounting"¹⁴⁰ system could be

138 Ibid., 1921, Box 83, 4-874, Item 94, "Report on Ottawa Public School Board" by J. P. Cowles, Provincial Attendance Officer, to Deputy Minister, dated Toronto, October 27, 1921.

139 Ibid.

140 Ibid., 1922, Box 102, 7-315, Item 5, memorandum from J. P. Cowles to the Deputy Minister, dated Toronto, October 30, 1922, p. 2.

devised for the province. At this, Putman balked: "I see no clause in the Regulations which would give our Attendance Officer authority to require returns from these schools".¹⁴¹ In fact, after two years of operation of the compulsory part-time attendance laws for fourteen to sixteen-year-olds, Putman began to have grave misgivings about state efficiency and its effect on the family. In 1925, he wrote,

[...] I am convinced that an amendment is desirable and must eventually be made. The family is the most important social group yet evolved in the process of civilization and the guarding of its integrity and well-being ought to be one of the first considerations of the state. It is contrary to every human instinct to say that a father and mother or a family group have no claim on a son or daughter of fourteen or fifteen years. [...]

Every Attendance Officer in the larger urban centres can cite case after case where the present Act, if it were rigidly enforced, would injure a home by cutting off the wage of a son or daughter or by depriving the home of a daughter's care.¹⁴²

In an address to the School Attendance Officers' Section of OEA in 1926,¹⁴³ Putman strongly criticized the Department's handling of the whole legislation:

141 Ibid., Box 98, 4-831, Folder III, Item 2, letter of Putman to Colquhoun, dated Ottawa, December 2, 1922.

142 J. H. Putman, "The Adolescent School Attendance Act", in Inspector's Annual Report, 1925, Ottawa Public Schools, Ottawa, January 20, 1926, p. 17.

143 J. H. Putman, "The Adolescent School Act from an Inspector's Viewpoint", in Canadian School Board Journal, Vol. 5, No. 11, October, 1926, p. 19-23.

[...] in my own opinion the main difficulty up to the present has been that we have brought into force an Act without having made any adequate provision before bringing it into force to see that we had the right kind of education for children for whom it was planned to protect.¹⁴⁴

As mentioned in previous chapters (particularly, Chapter Thirteen), Putman was especially critical of the lack of provision in both course work and Entrance Examination requirements for the adolescents with intelligent quotients below one hundred.¹⁴⁵ He urged the establishment of junior high schools, whose elective programme and different school atmosphere would cater to the needs of this half of the adolescent population and who were excluded from the academic secondary school.¹⁴⁶ Quoting specific examples of attendance problems from his Ottawa Public Schools, Putman concluded,

[...] our difficulties are nearly all with the child who is not capable of carrying on work in the existing type of school. Therefore I say that if we are going to get at the root of this problem we have got to devote more attention to providing the right courses of study and the right type of school, and not so much attention to compulsion in carrying out the law.¹⁴⁷

144 Ibid., p. 19.

145 Ibid., p. 20.

146 Ibid., p. 20-22.

147 Ibid., p. 23.

In their handling of the issue of the consolidation of rural schools, both the Department and Putman recognized that popular persuasion rather than legislative coercion had to be used. At the root of their campaign was the belief that efficiency arguments would eventually overcome local particularism.

As early as 1906 Seath was pleading for the consolidation of rural schools¹⁴⁸ (it was a tenet also of the Macdonald Plan - see Chapter One, section 1). In his first years in office under the Whitney Government, he had helped to improve rural teachers' salaries, and had increased grants given for improved accommodation and equipment.¹⁴⁹ Continuation classes were established to offer Fifth Book work to rural pupils.¹⁵⁰ The policy of the Government to encourage school gardens has been outlined (Chapter Eight); this was developed largely to revive rural children's interest in the study of agriculture.

But all these efforts were pronounced largely unsuccessful by Putman in an OEA address on rural teachers in

148 "Dinner Was Success", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, November 30, 1906, p. 1: Seath addressed the Ottawa Teachers' Association November 29, 1906.

149 "Education in Ontario", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, July 23, 1908, p. 6.

150 "Secondary Education In the Small Urban Centres", in The Evening Journal, Ottawa, March 26, 1908, p. 12.

1912¹⁵¹ (cited earlier in Chapter Four). He noted the twenty-three per cent decrease in rural school population since 1891,¹⁵² the increase of eighty-four per cent in teachers' salaries¹⁵³ and the decrease in the number of pupils per teacher of twenty-five per cent.¹⁵⁴ As well, since all unqualified teachers remained in the rural districts, they were more poorly supplied with good teachers than they were in 1891.¹⁵⁵

Putman then presented his solution:

The crucial weakness in our present system is that few rural sections have enough children of school age to make the employment and payment of a really competent teacher possible without waste. My solution of this difficulty is consolidation. The present age is one of specialization as compared with a generation ago. [...] We have changed almost everything except the country school, and that has changed in spite of all our efforts.¹⁵⁶

151 J. H. Putman, "How To Provide Adequate Supply of Teachers for Rural Schools", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Fifty-First Annual Convention Held in Toronto April 9, 10, 11, 1912, Toronto, Briggs, (n.d.) p. 361-372.

152 Ibid., p. 362.

153 Ibid., p. 363.

154 Ibid.

155 Ibid., p. 364.

156 Ibid., p. 366-367; Putman praised Seath for his earnest and unselfish efforts to improve the system. "The present conditions are not a result of any inactivity on his part [...]. They exist in spite of the most earnest efforts to make the present rural school machinery do efficient work." in Ibid., p. 366.

He outlined a plan whereby a County Board, made up of two members appointed by the County Council and a third appointed by the Minister, would control, with the County Inspector, all rural schools in the county.¹⁵⁷ As a result of their increased responsibilities, board members would become "somewhat expert in their work".¹⁵⁸ Schools would be better built and equipped. A teacher's home with adjoining garden could be provided, and more qualified staff would be attracted. The improved education offered would retain older boys and girls longer at school.¹⁵⁹ He believed that difficulties of transportation would be solved within the decade.¹⁶⁰

Putman reiterated many of these arguments in another OEA address in 1916.¹⁶¹ By this time he felt

157 Ibid., p. 367.

158 Ibid., p. 368.

159 Ibid.

160 Ibid., p. 369; and see, outline of Putman's speech in "Find Defects In School System", in The Citizen, Ottawa, April 11, 1912, p. 2.

161 J. H. Putman, "Waste In Education", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Fifty-Fifth Annual Convention Held in Toronto, April 24, 25, 26, and 27, 1916, Toronto, Briggs, 1916, p. 421-428; and see earlier reference in Chapter Thirteen, section 1.

[...] convinced that for many parts of older Ontario the time has come for an aggressive campaign for consolidated schools and that such schools would not only eliminate an actual waste that now exists but that their establishment would give us a better type of school than is now possible.¹⁶²

He pictured it as a community centre for the district, offering courses in nature study, gardening, elementary agriculture and domestic science. A really good library and "subjects which have a satisfying content for adolescent boys and girls",¹⁶³ such as literature, history and elementary science "could be so presented that the children would think it worth while to remain at school as long as possible".¹⁶⁴

Another source of waste, "the multiplicity of school authorities"¹⁶⁵ would be removed. A uniform county rate of taxation would provide a more equitable tax base. In short, Putman concluded,

162 Ibid., p. 422.

163 Ibid.

164 Ibid.

165 Ibid., p. 423.

In my opinion, county boards with power to establish consolidated schools would give us the machinery which in the course of time could gradually eliminate in our rural schools a large part of the present waste due to small classes, irregular attendance, unsuitable buildings, faulty and expensive supplies, inefficient teaching, and frequent changes of teachers.¹⁶⁶

By 1918, the consolidation movement was gathering strength.¹⁶⁷ Once again, Putman expanded on the subject, this time to the Canadian Education Association.¹⁶⁸ He reviewed the weak condition of the rural schools in Ontario¹⁶⁹

166 Ibid., p. 424; Dr. R. A. Pyne, the Minister of Education noted that the problem of rural schools was the "topic of discussion in many quarters" during 1916: see, Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1915, Toronto, Wilgress, 1916, p. 13; and see, "Inspector's Section", in OEA Proceedings, 1916, p. 67-68: Report of Committee on Consolidated Schools.

167 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1917, Box 35, 4-800, Item 2, Report of Chief Inspector Waugh to Pyne, dated Toronto, March 2, 1917: "The question of consolidation of rural schools is coming to the front. [...] In general, the best opinion has been strongly in favour of the movement. [...] There appears to be, at last, a very serious awakening to the obvious fact that the only question before the State, is, what form of education is the most efficient, and no longer, what form of education is the least expensive"; and see, Ontario, Report of the Minister, 1918, p. 9: "[...] the problem of the rural school has become serious. [...] But the most helpful plan yet devised is the consolidation of sections."

168 J. H. Putman, "Rural School Administration What Improvements Are Necessary?", in The Canadian Education Association, Proceedings of the Tenth Convention of the Association Held at Ottawa, Ontario, November 20, 21 and 22, 1918, Ottawa, Hope Printers, (n.d.) p. 32-40.

169 Ibid., p. 32-34.

and his idea of county boards of education.¹⁷⁰ He now included the idea (perhaps with his June letter to Cody in mind - see section one) of more de-centralized administration: "I should like to see in every county a local Department of Education, which would give scope for the development of local initiative".¹⁷¹ As he added, "I can conceive of unity of purpose in education without having uniformity of administration and I think after all it is the former that we want".¹⁷² He repeated his idea about the County Board having complete power to equalize the tax burden throughout the county.¹⁷³

Dividends accruing from this new administrative organization, Putman believed, would be longer and more consistent attendance,¹⁷⁴ and, as mentioned in his other speeches, better handwork courses, staff and school supplies.¹⁷⁵ He added this time that there would be advantages of music and art courses, as well as medical and dental

170 Ibid., p. 34-35: Putman now advocated a system of proportional representation to elect the board members.

171 Ibid., p. 35.

172 Ibid., p. 36.

173 Ibid., p. 36-37.

174 Ibid., p. 37.

175 Ibid., p. 38-39.

inspection.¹⁷⁶

Despite legislative timidity over instituting county administration, Putman asserted from his country background that "it only needs a campaign of education and a bit of courage and the whole thing may be done".¹⁷⁷

In 1919, permissive legislation was passed by the Ontario Legislature to allow consolidated schools to be formed.¹⁷⁸ The Minister reported that ten schools took advantage of the legislation, and that any further moves would have to be undertaken by the people affected.¹⁷⁹ Nevertheless, Grant still requested the views of the provincial inspectors, who told him (Putman was one of four

176 Ibid., p. 39.

177 Ibid.; another address on the progress of consolidation of schools in Ontario was given by Dr. Waugh, who noted that the movement had a long history in Ontario, that departmental grants did help to equalize the local tax burden already, and that Dr. Dandeno, Director of Agricultural Education, was doing good work to improve rural life: see, Ibid., p. 123-126.

178 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario, For the Year 1920, Toronto, James, 1921, p. xii.

179 Ibid., p. xii-xiii; and see, "Fewer and Better Schools", editorial in The Citizen, Ottawa, September 2, 1919, p. 16; and, P.A.O., R.G.3, Drury Papers, General Correspondence, "Education, School Grants", 1920, letter from A. N. Myer to Grant, dated Niagara Falls South, December, 1919: complained about discrepancy in grants to high schools between the agricultural and technical departments; the former was less than ten per cent of the latter.

appointed to present this claim¹⁸⁰) that only with great difficulty could a proper system of consolidation be put into effect and that the Government would be justified in bringing this larger administrative unit into operation after a plebiscite of the ratepayers in the area.¹⁸¹ But the Department advised Grant that under current rural conditions consolidation would be "impossible to secure either through the operation of voluntary effort or the enactment of Departmental regulations".¹⁸²

Instead, Grant and Colquhoun were advised to appoint a Director of Rural School Organization at a salary of \$4,600 who would study general rural school educational problems, foster interest in the consolidation movement and advise school boards in matters relating to rural school organization.¹⁸³ Dr. W. J. Karr was duly appointed to fill this post in 1921¹⁸⁴ and henceforth carried on a vigorous campaign

180 OEA Proceedings, 1920, p. 81.

181 Ibid., p. 80-81.

182 P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1921, Box 84, 6-721, Item 3, copy of unsigned memorandum to Grant, dated Toronto, April 29, 1920, p. 1.

183 Ibid., and, memorandum from Merchant to Colquhoun, dated Toronto, January 17, 1921.

184 Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1921, Toronto, James, 1922, p. ix.

for consolidation.¹⁸⁵

But, despite all these efforts, and, in 1925-26, the attempt by Premier Howard Ferguson to bring in the Township School Board Bill, the consolidated school movement failed because, as David Cameron concluded, Ontario's electoral system discriminated heavily in favour of the rural vote and no party dared to fight local, political interests.¹⁸⁶

Putman continued his campaign for a larger unit of administration in rural schools for the rest of his life. He tried to explain his point of view to irate rural teachers,¹⁸⁷ particularly with respect to the advantages to them

185 W. J. Karr, "Report of the Director of Rural School Organization", in Ontario, Department of Education, Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario For the Year 1922, Toronto, James, p. 42-59; and see, Dr. W. J. Karr, "The Rural School Section in Ontario", in Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings of the Sixty-Second Annual Convention Held in Toronto, April 2, 3, 4 and 5, 1923, Toronto, James, 1923, p. 476-482: economy and efficiency of consolidation stressed; and, Dr. W. J. Karr, "The Consolidation of Rural Schools in Ontario", in Ibid., p. 217-222; and, P.A.O., R.G.2, P-3, 1922, Box 90, 1-293, Item 1, Ontario Department of Education, The Consolidation of Rural Schools in Ontario, Toronto, James, 1922, 24 p.

186 David M. Cameron, The Politics of Education in Ontario, With Special Reference to the Financial Structure, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1969, p. 22-23; and see, Robert M. Stamp, "Urbanization and Education in Ontario and Quebec, 1867-1914", in McGill Journal of Education, Vol. 3, No. 2, Fall, 1968, p. 134.

187 'Experience', "School Teacher's Appeal", letter to the Editor, in The Citizen, Ottawa, November 26, 1918, p. 12; and, 'A.P.N.', "The Rural School Teacher", letter to the Editor from Hull, P.Q., in Ibid., November 28, 1918, p. 12; and, Niles G. Ross, letter to the Editor from Forrester's Falls, in Ibid., December 7, 1918, p. 18.

of higher salaries and pension funds,¹⁸⁸ but he found himself often misinterpreted.¹⁸⁹ He also addressed trustees on the matter, again using the efficiency argument that "The present plan of administration is clumsy, often ineffective and wholly out of harmony with the spirit of our progressive age".¹⁹⁰ In 1929, the front cover of The Canadian School Journal consisted of two headlines: "1. The Biggest Factor in Education is the Discipline of Work. 2. The Small Rural School Cannot Give the Instruction that the Modern Age Demands" and an excerpt from Putman's 1927 article,¹⁹¹ in which he described rural conditions of seventy-five years ago.¹⁹² Just prior to his running as Liberal candidate, with

188 J. H. Putman, "Rural School Teachers' Salaries and Pensions", letter to the Editor, in Ibid., December 11, 1918, p. 12.

189 Emma Rae, "Reply To Dr. Putman", letter to the Editor, in Ibid., December 25, 1918, p. 14; to which Putman replied in a letter in Ibid., December 27, 1918, p. 10; and further, 'S.R.', "Teachers' Pensions", letter to the Editor in The Ottawa Journal-Press, Ottawa, January 11, 1919, p. 4; and Margaret Gordon, "Rural Teachers' Salaries", letter to the Editor in The Citizen, Ottawa, January 16, 1919, p. 14; and, Emma Rae, "Re Rural Teachers' Salaries", letter to the Editor, in Ibid., January 23, 1919, p. 14.

190 J. H. Putman, "The Larger Unit of Administration", in Canadian School Board Journal, Vol. 7, No. 1, December, 1927, p. 12.

191 Ibid., p. 8.

192 The Canadian School Journal, Vol. 8, No. 11, October, 1929, p. 1.

the promise of the post of Education Minister in Mitchell Hepburn's Liberal Government in 1937 (see Chapter Two, section 1), Putman wrote a series of articles on rural education for The Globe, in which particular emphasis was placed on the advantages of the larger administrative unit.¹⁹³ But, despite all these efforts, rural county school boards were not established until January, 1969, in Ontario,¹⁹⁴ one of the last provinces in Canada to overcome local sectionalism.

193 J. H. Putman, 'I. What Is Education?', "Talks on Education", in The Globe, April 23, 1936, p. 4; Putman, 'II. One Mark of an Educated Man', in Ibid., April 25, 1936, p. 4; Putman, 'III. The Primary School', in Ibid., April 27, 1936, p. 4; Putman, 'IV. The Rural School', in Ibid., April 28, 1936, p. 4; Putman, 'V. The Rural School (Continued)', in Ibid., May 1, 1936, p. 4; Putman, 'VI. The Management of the Rural School', in Ibid., May 4, 1936, p. 4; Putman, 'VII. The Organization of High and Continuation Schools', in Ibid., May 6, 1936, p. 4; Putman, 'VIII. An Intermediate School', in Ibid., May 8, 1936, p. 4; Putman, 'IX. A County Board of Education', in Ibid., May 9, 1936, p. 4; Putman, 'X.-A County Board of Education (Continued)', in Ibid., May 11, 1936, p. 4; Putman, 'XI.- A County Board of Education (Continued)', in Ibid., May 13, 1936, p. 4; Putman, 'Rural and Country Life Versus City Life (Concluded)', in Ibid., May 15, 1936, p. 4; and see, Putman, "School Administration and School Finance in Ontario", in OEA Proceedings, 1932, p. 20-24; and, J. H. Putman, "Appendix III - Organization of District Boards", in W. A. F. Hepburn, Chairman, Report of the Quebec Protestant Education Survey, (n.p.) 1938, p. 340-354.

194 Robert M. Stamp, "Government and Education in Post-War Canada", in Wilson, Op. Cit., p. 450: Stamp mentioned that this campaign began one hundred years ago with Ryerson.

3. Assessment of the Ottawa Public Schools.

It is significant that two surveys conducted at this time, a doctoral thesis on The Public Schools of Ottawa, A Survey by C. E. Mark,¹⁹⁵ and The Administration of Schools in The Cities of Canada by W. L. Richardson,¹⁹⁶ both adhering to the latest measurement techniques,¹⁹⁷ used the Ottawa Public Schools for statistical data. C. E. Mark noted that his survey was modelled on American studies in education which had been subjected to "the processes of exact measurement"¹⁹⁸ so that "their educational excellences and

195 C. E. Mark, The Public Schools of Ottawa, A Survey, Ottawa, Pattison Printers, 1918, 108 p.; p. 8: all statistics were for the year 1917.

196 William Leeds Richardson, The Administration of Schools In The Cities of the Dominion of Canada, Toronto, Dent, [1921], xviii-315 p.; study conducted 1918-1919, al though some statistics included up to 1921.

197 Mark, Op. Cit., p. 1: one of his thesis directors was Dr. Peter Sandiford, who in 1924 was to assist substantially in the first provincial school survey in Canada as a member of the British Columbia School Survey: see, "Appendix I. The Testing Programme. Report of Professor Peter Sandiford, University of Toronto", in J. H. Putman and G. M. Weir, Survey of the School System, Victoria, 1925, p. 436-509; and Richardson, Op. Cit., p. viii: his work was criticized by Dr. C. H. Judd, Dr. H. O. Rugg and Dr. J. F. Bobbitt, leading American progressive educators and measurement specialists (Bobbitt cited in section one), and also by Professor Peter Sandiford (p. ix); both studies included ample statistical tables.

198 Mark, Op. Cit., p. 9.

deficiencies"¹⁹⁹ could be clearly set out. Richardson drew a parallel between his study and the annual report demanded by shareholders in a business; in both cases "efficiency engineers"²⁰⁰ were called on to measure their productivity.

To measure the efficiency of the Ottawa Public Schools, Mark's study used the prevailing efficiency criteria. In so doing, he set up a tension between the spirit of Putman's New Education curricular reforms and the quantitative results demanded by the new scientific measurers. His study revealed also the primitive state of the measurer's art in 1917. For instance, Mark preceded his comments on the curriculum by a list of intended aims,²⁰¹ then admitted that the Department prescribed the course in very great detail in its manuals, allowing little freedom of scope.²⁰² Thus he restricted his examination first to those "certain subjects of study which lend themselves most readily to examination",²⁰³ and then only to those aspects of the subject which were measurable (the time spent on each and

199 Ibid.; and see, p. 27: "The interests of efficiency and economy (thoughts very much in the foreground of late), economy both of money and effort, demand some such re-adjustment."

200 Richardson, Op. Cit., p. 295.

201 Mark, Op. Cit., p. 76.

202 Ibid., p. 76-77.

203 Ibid., p. 77.

adherence to the standard as set by the Department). Spelling was analyzed using only three grades, two schools²⁰⁴ and one test (the Ayres' List).²⁰⁵ As a result of this limited statistical analysis, Ottawa's programme was pronounced too thorough (eight per cent instead of six per cent of the pupils' time was spent on it) and with results which were higher than the recommended average: average spelling scores for Ottawa (standard scores in brackets) were, in Grade Four, 74 (73), Grade Six, 80 (73), and Grade Eight, 89 (73).²⁰⁶

In the same fashion Mark evaluated Ottawa's other subjects of study: writing (speed and quality measured);²⁰⁷ reading (speed in words per second and comprehension measured in words written),²⁰⁸ arithmetic (speed and accuracy of execution in the four fundamental operations);²⁰⁹ geography

204 Ibid.

205 Ibid., p. 79.

206 Ibid.

207 Ibid., p. 80-81: up to Grade Six good speed, Grades Six to Eight, quality attained with speed sacrificed.

208 Ibid., p. 81-83: wide range of ability both in speed and comprehension he thought indicated insufficient training in silent reading.

209 Ibid., p. 83-85: despite 17.3% school time (versus American 13.2%), Ottawa's results showed "a lamentable general deficiency in accuracy"; efficiency percentages included.

(measured by number of field trips taken during the year²¹⁰ and by number of supplementary books in the library²¹¹); history (not assessed quantitatively and judged to be "successfully striving towards one or more of the authorized aims"²¹²); composition (time allotted was 150 minutes per week and he commended the use of concrete situations²¹³); nature study (praised lessons as "of high order"²¹⁴ with good use of specimens, and number of children involved in gardening²¹⁵); manual training (admired programme but criticized too many formal models in junior grades)²¹⁶; music (applauded music reading ability, cantata performances and time off for instrumental lessons);²¹⁷ physical culture (commended practical hygiene work, inter-school sports, qualifications of all teachers and accurate health sheets for each child);²¹⁸ and supplementary reading (listed only

210 Ibid., p. 85: thirty-four teachers had taken an average of two for the year.

211 Ibid., p. 86.

212 Ibid., p. 87.

213 Ibid.

214 Ibid., p. 88.

215 Ibid., p. 89; stressed economic value for the home and the good thrift habits cultivated.

216 Ibid., p. 89-90.

217 Ibid., p. 90.

218 Ibid., p. 90-91.

sets of a dozen or more books in one school).²¹⁹ In his three pages of recommendations, Mark stressed the need for more concrete lessons in line with the new (Herbartian) Normal School methods.²²⁰ He recommended (as did Putman at this time) more music (instrumental lessons) and physical exercises for all rather than for the competitive few.²²¹ Finally, as Putman, he urged more vocational work for senior manual training classes²²² (restricted, it will be recalled, by departmental regulations).

From Richardson's comparative study, again heavily weighted in terms of quantitative measurements of progress, Ottawa appeared to be one of 43 boards in Canada offering manual training, one of 39 employing special teachers, and one of 11 cities employing clay or plasticene in the primary and one of 2 using them at the Grade Six levels.²²³ It was in a select number of from three to seven cities using paper, cardboard, raffia and wood in the higher grades. Only six cities began woodwork at Grade Five (Ottawa had Grades Three and Four boys doing thin woodwork in 1914 - see Chapter Six).

219 Ibid., p. 91-92.

220 Ibid., p. 94.

221 Ibid., p. 96.

222 Ibid., p. 95.

223 Richardson, Op. Cit., p. 195.

Household science (both cooking and sewing) was taught in forty-one Canadian cities, but Ottawa was one of 20 cities offering cooking to the sixth grade,²²⁴ and one of 6 cities beginning sewing in the third and fourth grades.²²⁵ In only twelve cities in Canada were special classes for backward or defective children established, and Ottawa's per capita cost of \$140 was the highest.²²⁶

In Mark's assessment of the status of Ottawa teachers, he compared them in both salaries and qualifications with those of Hamilton and London and found that "Ottawa ranks high in the number of first-class certificates and particularly in the number of university graduates";²²⁷ he attributed Ottawa's lack of over-age teachers to the fact that the Board had a Pension Fund,²²⁸ and the 1918 salary

224 Ibid.

225 Ibid., p. 196.

226 Ibid., p. 196; the next highest was Victoria, B.C., costing \$129.53.

227 Mark, Op. Cit., p. 42; Ottawa's twenty-one university graduates, forming ten per cent of the staff had no equivalents in Hamilton and London.

228 Ibid., p. 43; Richardson, Op. Cit., p. 161 - only two cities in Canada had age restrictions: Ottawa's new staff appointments had to be under thirty years of age.

schedule, he found, "second to none in the province".²²⁹ He praised the objective method of hiring (names could only be considered from the Inspector's office)²³⁰ as he did the lack of tenure and promotion dependent on quality of service rendered all contributed to a high quality of service in Mark's estimation.²³¹ From a questionnaire²³² which elicited only sixty-four returns (seventeen from male teachers), Mark recommended that Ottawa teachers develop many-sided interests in the community, read more professional literature and travel (he did admit that they had strenuous demands on their time and energy in their job).²³³

229 Mark, Op. Cit., p. 48; compare Table No. 24 of Richardson, Op. Cit., p. 176, for six Canadian cities; Ottawa for 1918 generally was in the highest category, but see Ibid., p. 179: Ottawa only one of 4 Canadian cities making grade taught a determinant in the salary schedule; and, Ibid., p. 180: Ottawa's length of eleven years to reach maximum salary was the longest of all cities in Canada; and, Ibid., p. 181: the Ottawa Board added "merit" to salary considerations.

230 Mark, Op. Cit., p. 48; and p. 49: less than twenty-five per cent of the teachers on the staff had their homes in Ottawa before their appointment.

231 Ibid.; and see, "Appendix G" in Richardson, Op. Cit., p. 308: "Indianapolis Teachers' Efficiency Record", measured training, experience, rating (personality, community interest, professional interest, teaching ability, executive ability), grade of licence, combined rating, salary; Ibid., p. 169: Ottawa teachers' two-year probationary period was the longest in Canada.

232 Mark, Op. Cit., p. 50-51.

233 Ibid., p. 55; and see, Richardson, Op. Cit., p. 199: commended Ottawa for its close connection between the public library and the schools and for a "fine collection of professional books made easily accessible".

Mark relented somewhat from his efficiency criterion in describing the attractive personality and kindness of Ottawa teachers:

It is evident that these two characteristics have been given a place of due prominence in the selection of teachers in Ottawa. Many visits to different class-rooms but strengthened the impression that there was, with a few exceptions, a splendid spirit of co-operation between teachers and pupils. Investigations were carried on in a manner suggesting partnership. The frank candour and freedom of expression on the part of pupils, both in and out of the class-room, betokened a confidence in the teacher that was very commendable.²³⁴

The problem of retardation of pupils, according to an age-grade scale of classification, Mark found to be more acute in Ottawa than in London,²³⁵ but he recognized that Ottawa officials had attempted to correct the problem and had achieved a three per cent improvement in the 1913-1917 period.²³⁶ The distribution of retardation was more even and he described how school nurses, after-school extra study sessions, the School for Higher English and the Manual Arts

²³⁴ Mark, Op. Cit., p. 53.

²³⁵ Ibid., p. 61: Ottawa had 30.4% retarded versus London's 15.5%; and see, Richardson, Op. Cit., p. 220: only five Canadian cities used an age-grade table to indicate pupil enrolment; and, Ibid., p. 226: Ottawa's pupil progress showed no untoward check for a pupil of ordinary ability; and, Ibid., p. 238: Ottawa only one of 6 cities using "expert scientific examinations to detect alleged subnormal children".

²³⁶ Mark, Op. Cit., Table 32, p. 62.

School had helped to retain the more concrete-minded student longer in school.²³⁷ He recommended a campaign to achieve more regular attendance (although Ottawa's average of eighty-four per cent was higher than the Ontario average of seventy-one per cent),²³⁸ the application of the Adolescent Attendance Act to prevent students from going into "blind-alley occupations",²³⁹ and the institution of a junior high school to "reach"²⁴⁰ students before they left school. He commended Ottawa's shortened grade system²⁴¹ and extension of the Manual Arts School idea (C-stream classes) into different areas of the city; "such classes could profitably be used to serve largely as feeders to the Industrial Junior High School or the present Technical High School".²⁴² He suggested that provision of ungraded classes be made for exceptionally gifted children to progress as fast as possible.²⁴³

237 Ibid., p. 62-63.

238 Ibid., p. 64.

239 Ibid., p. 66.

240 Ibid., p. 67.

241 Ibid.

242 Ibid.

243 Ibid., p. 68.

In the estimation of both Mark and Richardson, the expertise of the inspector and the unquestioned acceptance of his recommendations by the Management Committee, particularly with respect to the appointment, transfer or dismissal of teachers, was completely "in accordance with the best practice".²⁴⁴ Mark applauded the progressiveness of Ottawa's Board in sending Putman to Gary, Indiana, to investigate its school plan.²⁴⁵ He termed Ottawa's inspection (largely carried out by the junior inspector: 276 visits versus Putman's 122 visits in 1917²⁴⁶) as "thorough",²⁴⁷ with a tendency toward over-rigid lesson plans and exact timetables. On the other hand, he praised the in-service teachers' sessions, the supervisory staff for special subjects, and the abolition of the uniform system of promotion.²⁴⁸ He recommended that certain responsibilities, such as the use of schools by outside groups, could be entrusted by the

244 Ibid., p. 70; and see, Richardson, Op. Cit., p. 54: "school boards have found it expedient to engage experts. Upon these they have in a general way, placed the actual performance of work for which they, the trustees, are still responsible but which they can no longer actually execute."

245 Mark, Op. Cit., p. 70.

246 Ibid.

247 Ibid., p. 71.

248 Ibid., p. 72.

Board to its officials²⁴⁹ (this was done several years later - see section one). In fact, he believed that a much larger bureaucracy should be created by expanding the powers of the senior inspector, appointing a third (woman) inspector, appointing additional supervisors (particularly for geography), giving the supervisor of physical training more scope, and allowing principals to hire assistants.²⁵⁰ In an oblique defence of the School for Higher English, Mark commented that a specially-staffed school should be set up to try out the findings of educational experts and carry out experiments on its own.²⁵¹

Richardson strongly praised Ottawa's clear-cut by-laws setting out the duties of the senior inspector, and pronounced them more specific than Toronto's by-laws.²⁵² He included a table comparing professional assistance (a determinant of a city's "progressiveness"²⁵³) and showed that Ottawa, for its size, had by far the largest number of supervisors (six) of any city in Canada.²⁵⁴ Another table

249 Ibid., p. 73.

250 Ibid., p. 74-75.

251 Ibid., p. 76.

252 Richardson, Op. Cit., p. 114-116.

253 Ibid., p. 121.

254 Ibid., p. 298.

showing educational meetings and external schools attended by the inspector, revealed that Putman and the Board (who paid his expenses) demonstrated their progressiveness by having him visit Toronto, New York, Detroit, Gary, Cleveland and Rochester between 1915 and 1917.²⁵⁵ But Richardson reserved his highest praise for Putman's annual reports, which were unique in Canada for the full information they supplied to the taxpayer.²⁵⁶

In a very thorough discussion of costs of education in Ottawa in 1917 (with evidence of assistance from Putman's statistics in answer to his newspaper critics), Mark tried to compare Ottawa's costs with other cities of comparable size and concluded that both in totals and on a per capita basis, Ottawa's costs were high.²⁵⁷ The expenditure per pupil he also estimated to be higher than any other city (but he used Putman's writings to explain many of these high costs)²⁵⁸ and had increased five point seven times since 1895 (although enrolment had gone up only two point three

255 Ibid., p. 138.

256 Ibid., p. 139, 144; and see, p. 3 and 286: "The construction of a good official report is a piece of work requiring a high degree of professional proficiency."

257 Mark, Op. Cit., p. 99; and see tables, p. 98.

258 Ibid., p. 99.

times).²⁵⁹ Teachers' salary increases accounted for most of the increase of \$6.78 in the 1912-1917 period.²⁶⁰ He praised the "scientific economy"²⁶¹ measures practised by administrators, teachers and students; "all betoken an endeavour to conserve material and to eliminate waste".²⁶² In conclusion, Mark urged that a finance or business manager be appointed to relieve the senior inspector of his cost-accounting functions and he believed that the mill rate, in comparison with that of the separate schools, could be raised.²⁶³

Mark assessed the sites, equipment and twenty-three Ottawa public schools in a very detailed fashion.²⁶⁴ He praised the efforts at landscaping,²⁶⁵ the fire-proofing²⁶⁶ and sanitary facilities,²⁶⁷ and the reproductions in the

259 Ibid., p. 101.

260 Ibid., p. 102.

261 Ibid., p. 104.

262 Ibid.

263 Ibid., p. 166.

264 Ibid., p. 29-41.

265 Ibid., p. 31.

266 Ibid.

267 Ibid., p. 37.

halls and rooms of some schools.²⁶⁸ In his recommendations, he urged the purchasing of land in advance of housing and the construction of York Street School with as little delay as possible.²⁶⁹ Richardson cited Ottawa's increased expenditure of 33.5 per cent for buildings and of 120.8 per cent for school sites in the 1910-1914 period over 1905-1909, and the 531.4 per cent increase for building, land and furniture over 1900-1904, as illustrations of the enormous increase in school costs across Canada.²⁷⁰ He commended the detailed list of duties provided the Ottawa Board's property committee,²⁷¹ and Building Superintendent.²⁷²

In a detailed report on his trip with Trustee Hamilton to the United States, Building Superintendent W. C. Beattie compared Ottawa schools with those in Toronto, Windsor and the American seaboard.²⁷³ He found "Toronto schools in general are not up to our later ones",²⁷⁴ and that all boards could "come to Ottawa for lessons on domestic science

268 Ibid., p. 38.

269 Ibid., p. 38-39.

270 Richardson, Op. Cit., p. 249.

271 Ibid., p. 252-253.

272 Ibid., p. 256-257 and p. 259.

273 W. C. Beattie, "Report of United States Visit", in Ottawa, Minutes of the Board, 1919, p. 247-252.

274 Ibid., p. 247.

equipment and heating and ventilation".²⁷⁵

In Mark's conclusion he judged, as a result of his survey, that "the Public Schools of Ottawa have already attained a high state of efficiency and are in a healthy state of growth".²⁷⁶ He quoted the Chairman of the Federal Commission on Industrial Education as saying that he had never met or seen a better conducted set of schools in all those he had visited across Canada than those in Ottawa.²⁷⁷ In a more sophisticated survey conducted by Maxwell Cameron in 1935, Ottawa was ranked first in Ontario for total expenditure per pupil²⁷⁸ and for assessment per pupil.²⁷⁹ It also ranked first in average of teachers' salaries.²⁸⁰ But, as he remarked,

275 Ibid., p. 252.

276 Mark, Op. Cit., p. 106.

277 Ibid., p. 107.

278 Maxwell A. Cameron, The Financing of Education in Ontario, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1935, p. 171.

279 Ibid., p. 179 and p. 184.

280 Ibid., p. 181.

In the city of Ottawa [...] almost exactly one-half (49.4 per cent) of the children are educated in separate schools at a cost (for current expense) of \$32 per pupil and a tax rate of 14.8 mills; while for the education of the other half of the school population, over \$85 is spent per pupil, and the tax rate necessary is only 7.85 mills. If there were no separate schools in Ottawa, we can scarcely doubt that the public school tax rate would be higher and the expenditure per pupil lower than at present.²⁸¹

Thus, according to the circumstances and norms of the times, the Ottawa Public Schools were judged to be progressive and enlightened. Much of the credit for this could be attributed to the leadership of John Harold Putman. At the end of his career, in 1938, the Ottawa schools were "admitted by departmental authorities to be unsurpassed in the province".²⁸² As R. O. Spreckley, writing in Saturday Night, concluded:

For many years a fearless and consistent advocate for reform of the traditional, standardized school system, which he contended did not make sufficient allowance for the widely varying talents, intellects and personalities of the pupils, Dr. Putman has been instrumental in introducing radical changes in the curriculums of the schools under his jurisdiction, and he has had the satisfaction of seeing many of his ideas generally adopted throughout the Province.²⁸³

281 Ibid., p. 200.

282 "Chief Inspector Steps Down", in The Citizen, Ottawa, September 30, 1937, p. 24.

283 R. O. Spreckley, "Dr. J. H. Putman", in Saturday Night, Vol. 51, No. 13, February 1, 1936, p. 16; and see, "Notes and News", in The School, Vol. 24, No. 5, January, 1936, p. 440.

CONCLUSION

John Harold Putman proved to be very much a man of his times. He was fortunate to have been born at a period in Ontario's history when educational opportunities were being progressively opened up for young men of merit. Putman was in the forefront of his peers in his advancement up this ladder of learning to its highest level. He attained his doctorate in 1910 just as the Whitney Government had completed its major educational changes for the province, opening up more opportunities for local school boards to initiate reforms in their systems.

In the course of his professional and scholastic endeavours Putman was exposed also to the climate of idealism in nineteenth century Canada. He found it in the Froebelian Kindergarten run by Miss Hart at the Toronto Normal School, in the sermons of Reverend Ezra Stafford at Metropolitan Church and in the English literature classes of Professor W. J. Alexander of Toronto University. Later, at Queen's University, Putman was thoroughly educated in Protestant idealism by one of its leading exponents, Professor John Watson. At the same time, in his Ottawa Model School teaching experience Putman was introduced to the new teachings of psychologist G. Stanley Hall and philosopher John Dewey. Both of these influences, idealistic and

pragmatic, affected Putman's New Education curricular innovations after 1910.

Putman's intellectual ability and charismatic personality aided him greatly in his aggressive thrust toward educational leadership in the province. He demonstrated these characteristics in his scholastic achievements, his wide range of writings and speeches between 1895 and 1910, and his obvious success as a dynamic teacher. By his letters, experimental educational practices, text-book writing, and OEA speeches, the Department was made aware of his forthright leadership. At the same time, the citizens of Ottawa would have gathered, from Putman's civic responsibilities, membership in numerous clubs and organizations and enlightened letters to the newspapers, that they had a progressive, socially conscious educator in their midst. His great assets were an organized, highly-analytical mind and a direct and powerful style of communication.

But, despite Putman's enlightened, Gladstonian liberal approach to social and educational reforms in the province, his values remained rural and Protestant in orientation. The motive behind his campaign for school gardens at the Model School was that working with one's hands, particularly in the out-of-doors and with plants, led one to an appreciation of beauty and a moral improvement in character. His ideal of the good man was found in his father, who

was pictured as very competent at a variety of hand skills demanded by his farm life. In the same way, his ideal for girls and women was expertise in all household skills. Putman also believed that "learning by doing", or experience-centred learning, was the ideal method of education. He valued the Protestant norms of thrift, self-sufficiency, and hard work and evolved an ethic of individualism which fitted in well with the "equal opportunity" societal ideals of his day.

At the same time, from his religious background, Putman acquired social consciousness, a political realism and a moderate reformist stance, which guided him toward an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary attitude to reform. The concern for the individual's moral improvement, a characteristic of early Methodism, remained for Putman the major goal of education. But he believed, as did the social gospel Methodists of his time, that the school could be the spearhead for social change. He and the "reconstructionists" of the 1920's optimistically hoped that better schooling and better teachers could bring about moral reform in society.

Thus, Putman's values were rooted in his rural past. Throughout his life he campaigned for consolidated rural schools to bring the amenities of urban schooling to the country. But the highlights of the curriculum which he would have offered (and which he instituted in the Ottawa

Public Schools) were nature study and school gardening (agriculture), domestic science and manual training, all designed to rejuvenate the ideals which he had experienced in his rural childhood.

Putman's campaign for a differentiated curriculum for the concrete-minded adolescent was based on his Protestant and rural heritage, as well. In the past, farm life provided practical work experiences for these youngsters even before they completed their schooling. Putman must have compared his own goal-oriented life with the aimless wandering of many fourteen-to-seventeen year olds in the urban environment and thus urged the establishment of evening technical classes, lectures, workers' extension courses and compulsory attendance laws. In the 1920's, however, Putman began to have misgivings about the compulsory attendance laws. The family was always the essential element in society for Putman and when the state encroached too much into family responsibilities, he believed that it should be curtailed. Putman's humanism and spiritual background, then, tempered the social environmentalist trend of his times. He remained a liberal democrat with a great respect for individual initiative and the fostering of individual talents within a rational, middle-class social order.

An examination of the curricular changes and administrative innovations of the Ottawa Public Schools between 1911 and 1923 revealed two distinct cultural influences. They were the idealism of the New Educators, tempered somewhat by American pragmatism, and the efficiency norms of the scientific measurers. Despite their inherent conflict in philosophical orientation, in many ways they complemented each other.

For instance, although Putman's goal for the School for Higher English and Applied Arts was to provide a good sound English education with a solid cultural foundation in the humanities, his Report introducing his proposed commercial school to the Board made liberal use of statistical tables showing attendance figures, age-grade classification of pupils and the costs involved. His interpretation of these statistics was primarily in terms of cost-benefit to the ratepayer and efficiency of education for the pupil. The ample newspaper coverage of the Report not only communicated Putman's enlightened proposal in very favourable terms to the public, but definitely established Putman as an educational expert, who could advise the trustees most efficiently.

Putman's New Education ideal of acquiring highly-qualified staff from outside Ottawa and paying them liberal salaries was politically secured by his victory over his

critics in the hiring of A. F. Newlands as art supervisor and instructor at the School for Higher English. Putman attributed the success of the school to the strong humanitarian character of its teachers (who were kept on individual salaries and not paid on a schedule as the rest of the Ottawa Public School teachers). Their personal appeal to the boys and girls, Putman believed, spurred them on to higher moral and mental achievement. But this achievement, particularly as measured by the current norms of success in examinations, was widely publicized in the newspapers, thereby gaining equal status in the public mind with the Collegiate Board's examination results.

Quality of workmanship, in fact, was utilized by Putman and the Board, both for efficiency reasons and for "selling" purposes. With an idealist's tempering of the prevailing efficiency norms, Putman argued that the pupil's time was wasted if he did not have the best of teachers, the widest range of curricular offerings to suit his needs, and the highest quality of materials. But to convince the ratepayer that this more expensive education was in the best interests of his children, Putman and the Board held frequent exhibitions and concerts, which were highly extolled by the press. In his annual reports, letters to the newspaper and educational addresses, Putman advertised not only the innovations but the rationale behind them.

Putman's policy of beginning curricular reforms in a small way at the School for Higher English, and having their success proved before expanding them throughout the system (illustrated in the domestic science, art, school gardening and handwork programmes) also helped the ratepayer to adjust to the more modern educational scene. Aside from these New Education curricular endeavours, more efficient administrative procedures, such as the intermediate school with specialist teachers and rotary organization, were pioneered first at the School for Higher English to win public support before being applied system-wide. Early moves to segregate pupils in auxiliary classes and in the Manual Arts School demonstrated both New Education concern for the moral and vocational welfare of the subnormal pupil and efficiency worries for their retarding effect on the other pupils.

Because of Putman's conviction that education was essentially self-education and that the dynamic teacher, using a more activity-oriented curriculum, could act as a catalyst and capture the interest of the concrete-minded child - all New Education beliefs - he expanded the handwork curriculum throughout the educational system. Following the modern psychological thinking of G. Stanley Hall and the Froebelian philosophy implicit in the Kindergartens, Putman argued that the advantage of an expanded handwork

curriculum was that it involved the child early in his educational life to actively participate in his own educational self-realization. Once emotionally awakened by his charismatic teacher and by the interesting environment in the classroom, the child would rationally direct himself toward self-improvement.

Putman's curricular reforms included physical and aesthetic offerings, such as gymnastics, eurhythmics, music and art so that through these activities the pupil, physically and emotionally, could detect a higher spiritual reality. Geography, nature study, history and literature, taught as vividly as possible with visual aids, field trips, gardening experiences, community models, and with current and classical examples, were introduced to the student's mind to convince him that a rational, ordered, Christian universe existed outside his own limited world. By the end of his educational journey, Putman believed, the student would have a good idea of his own particular talents and could go on either to higher academic endeavours or to more specific vocational training in the technical or commercial high schools.

This essentially humanistic view of education, stressing the sound mind in the sound body and the moral goal of education, was basically that of the New Education movement. But in its administrative procedures and in its

modern psychological basis it foreshadowed the later progressive education movement. The abolition of external written examinations and the placing of responsibility for promotion on the teacher were basic progressive education beliefs. The campaigns for junior high schools, optional subjects, and differentiated high school programmes became hallmarks of progressive education at the secondary level. Concern for the pupils' health needs and encouragement of extra-curricular activities, particularly the school's becoming a focal point for the community, were to become constant progressive preoccupations. The beginnings of the project method (or enterprise) were to be found in the community models of the 1920's, themselves derived from Froebel's fifth Gift. But it was primarily the change in educational psychology, moving away from the faculty psychologists of the nineteenth century and toward the twentieth-century, child-centred psychologists, which set the stage for the progressive education era. By turning their attention away from the subjects of study and toward the child, by carefully studying his "ages and stages", and by realizing that active problem-solving in a stimulating environment was the essence of the educational process, these modern educators changed the whole direction of educational history.

Fortunately for Putman, his humanistic background and rural, Protestant values induced him to implement his progressive reforms in a sound, efficient manner. In this transitional era between the New Education movement of the nineteenth century and the progressive education movement of the twentieth century, a moderate, balanced progressivism was achieved that provided the Ottawa Public School pupils with a good preparation for the society to which they belonged.

Essentially, Putman was a product of his times because none of his reforms would have been possible without Ontario Government sanction. This study has shown that a number of devices were employed by the Government to encourage local reform initiatives. These included stimulation grants, permissive legislation, summer training courses, departmental manuals and circulars, and progressive upgrading of inspectors' and teachers' salaries and qualifications. John Harold Putman was fortunate to be in the vanguard of these progressive reforms of Ontario education in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

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Dr. Harry Pullen, Ottawa, May 15, 1972.

Miss Irene Putman, Ottawa, February 23, 1972.

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Mr. Merritt Putman, Constance Bay, January 8, 1973.

Miss Annie Slinn, Ottawa, November 30, 1974.

Miss Lois Stephenson, Morrisburg, October 9, 1973.

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A worthwhile comparative study of the progressivism of urban school boards across Canada. Bias toward ideas of scientific management.

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Wilson's book and letter to the author from Thunder Bay, October 13, 1971, initially were important starting points for this study. The chapters by J. D. Wilson, R. M. Stamp, M. R. Lupul, and H. A. Patterson were particularly useful both for general references in Canadian educational history during the 1840-1940 time period, and for specific details, such as the historiography of the Ryerson period, the Ottawa Separate School controversy and the progressive education movement.

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Well documented study of the thought and educational reforms of this first New Educator in Canada.

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Excellent study of the history of Ontario's Kindergartens. Useful both for historical details and for insights into the cultural ideas behind the movement.

Croal, A., The History of the Teaching of Science in Ontario, 1800-1900, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1940, 234 p.

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Valuable for information on the eugenics theory and its influence on Dr. Helen MacMurchy and for understanding her role in promoting auxiliary classes in the province.

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Important historical background study for Putman's Model and Normal School period.

Rogers, S. John, The Organization, Control and Administration of the Teacher Training System of the Province of Ontario: 1900-1920, unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Ottawa, 1973, 228 p.

Valuable source for the teacher education and Queen's University phase of Putman's career.

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Useful in understanding of the general Ontario vocational education policies.

Stamp, Robert Miles, The Campaign for Technical Education in Ontario, 1876-1914, unpublished Doctoral thesis, The University of Western Ontario, London, 1970, xi-323 p.

Very important source for placing Ottawa's and Putman's technical education campaigns within the overall provincial setting.

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Provided useful provincial background for Ottawa's public school music programmes, 1907-1923.

APPENDIX 1

ABSTRACT OF

John Harold Putman and the Roots of Progressive Education in the Ottawa Public Schools, 1911 1923¹

John Harold Putman became Inspector of the Ottawa Public Schools at a crucial time in Ontario's educational history. Because of the reforms of the Whitney Government, by 1910 it was possible for the first time to have New Education ideas and practices instituted on a system-wide basis throughout all the grades. In his first twelve years of office, Putman made significant curricular and administrative innovations in the Ottawa schools in this direction. But his reforms were not derived solely from the New Education movement.

From his rural and religious background and the social climate of his times emerged a system of values which also was to affect the direction of Putman's educational reforms. From the philosophical climate of idealism prevalent in Canada in the latter half of the nineteenth century and from Putman's exposure to the child-centred psychology of G. Stanley Hall and the pragmatic philosophy of John

¹ B. Anne Wood, doctoral thesis presented to the School of Graduate Studies of the University of Ottawa, Ontario, May 1975, xiii-806 p.

Dewey came the dual influences, idealism and pragmatism, that were to be the foundations of the New Education and the later progressive education movements.

Putman's curricular innovations in the Ottawa Public Schools between 1911 and 1923 revealed these two themes. In the handwork, nature study, school gardening, pottery, music and eurhythmics programmes could be seen the influence of New Education idealism. On the other hand, the kindergarten-primary, community models, natural science, and vocational training programmes, as well as the junior high school, auxiliary classes, health services and platoon system of organization indicated pragmatic influences from the United States which were to evolve into the progressive education movement of the 1930's.

Another influence, the efficiency norms demanded by the scientific measurers, was to affect the administration of education at this time and to help public school reformers "sell" their progressive educational innovations to the public.

This thesis, then, is a social and cultural study of the Ottawa Public Schools during an important twelve-year period in which John Harold Putman established New Education progressive reforms throughout the Ottawa Public School system. It is a study of the cultural roots of the later progressive education movement.