THE CHILD, THE FAMILY, AND SOCIETY IN ONTARIO, 1850 - 1900, ACCORDING TO FOUR EDUCATIONAL JOURNALS

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ABSTRACT

To understand the position of the child in Ontario between 1850 and 1900 is to know a great deal about the society in which he functioned. The status and role of the child was the most vital issue of the time. Social reformers assigned to him a key role in the future advancement of their society. If one generation of children could be inculcated with all the proper values, then present social evils would disappear.

The prevailing attitude towards women and their status and role in society was directly determined by the concepts that social reformers held regarding the child and his social position. It was their ideas which led to the idealization of motherhood.

Concepts about the child also decided what importance certain institutions would have and what role they were expected to play. For example, the primacy of the family in society was due to the fact that it was considered the chief socializing agent. The fact that children should have a protected environment accounted for its private, isolated aspect. The same concepts influenced the school and its role. For example, protection of the child from unfavourable influences meant that the schoolhouse was physically isolated.

In effect, a study of the child in Ontario is a study of Ontario society in general.

I

INTRODUCTION

The second half of the nineteenth century was characterized by a pre-occupation with childhood.[1] It witnessed, in Ontario, the development and establishment of facilities designed specifically to meet the needs, or what certain adults felt were the needs, of children and youth. Free, universal schooling was placed on a firm footing. Reformatories for young criminals were set up.[2] Boy's and Girl's Homes, catering to the wants of "the poor and uncared for children", were established.[3] The advis-

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[1]Although this study is concerned with the phenomenon as it existed in Ontario, this was also the case in England and the United States. This is evidenced by the large number of articles drawn from English and American sources that made their appearance in Ontario's educational journals. Ontario reformers relied heavily on the experience of their compeers in these two countries.

[2]E. A. Meredith, Esq., Prison Inspector, "Homes or Houses of Refuge for Destitute and Neglected Children," Journal of Education for Upper Canada, XV (1892), p. 180. Future references to this journal will appear in the abbreviated form, The Journal of Education.

[3]"Repression of Juvenile Crime", Journal of Education, XXI (1868), p. 52.

ability of instituting industrial schools throughout Canada for "the training of destitute children"[4] was continuously being discussed. Towards the end of the century, kindergartens for very young children gained widespread support.

Evidence of this pre-occupation is manifested in the careful discrimination among and subsequent classification of different types of juveniles. The "destitute and neglected pauper children", for example, were divided into three categories: "1. Vicious and incorrigible children 2. Vagrants 3. Children without parents or protectors" or whose guardians did not fulfill their roles adequately.[5] Similarly, by the end of the century, that which constituted an infant, a child, and a youth was more sharply defined. Pupils in schools were categorized as dull or clever. Those comprising each new category were professed to have unique characteristics and needs requiring specialized treatment.

During this period, too, the attention of penal reformers,whose ranks included educators, clerics, physicians, and philanthropists, was focused upon the

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[4]"Editorial Notes," Educational Journal, V, (1891), p. 353.

[5]Meredith, "Homes or Houses of Refuge for Destitute and Neglected Children", op. cit., p. 180.

juvenile offender. Part of the throne speech in 1856 dealt with the "necessity of legislating for juvenile criminals."[6] That this concern had some practical effects is confirmed by the Report of the Prison Conference in which was stated the fact that one of the Conference's most pressing considerations had been the area of juvenile criminality.[7]

There were other evidences of Ontario's preoccupation with children. This period saw the formation of the Toronto Humane Society, one of whose primary aims was the "protection of children from cruelty and neglect."[8] The Society was especially concerned about homeless children wandering the city streets and those neglected or maltreated by their parents.[9] At the same time, the status and role of the family was undergoing scrutiny. In areas in which this social institution was found inadequate, there were repeated appeals for reform. All such appeals for domestic reform were aimed at defining the family's role in relation to the child and thereby making it a more efficient socializing agent.

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[6] "Prison Libraries", Journal of Education, IX (1856), p. 40

[7] Report of the Prison Conference, held in Toronto, Ontario, November 27, 1871.

[8] J. George Hodgins, Aims and Object of the Toronto Humane Society (Toronto: William Briggs, 1888), p. 10.

[9] Ibid., p. 135.

There was one group of people who expressed the most concern, or at least, were most instrumental either in developing, promoting, or helping to institute all those measures which were, according to them, essential for the welfare of the child and society. It was the views of these individuals which, to a great extent, stimulated and directed the discussion that centred around the child, and it is to them that this study makes reference.

"Social reformer" was a term which they often used in reference to themselves. In 1862, the Honourable Mr. Justice Hagarty, invited all "social reformers" to consider the serious fact that most of the females in prison were there on a charge of "Drunk and Disorderly."[10] In using this term he seemed to be directing his statements to "all who feel an interest in the reformation of their fellow-beings, or in purifying the moral atmosphere of the community."[11]

It was characteristic of such persons to be concerned about the entire present state and future progress of Canadian society, and, as a reflection of this concern, to be involved in numerous social endeavours. A prime example is John George Hodgins who was, during his long

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[10] Hon. Mr. Justice Hagarty, "Crime and Juvenile Vagrancy in Toronto", Journal of Education XV (1862), p. 38.

[11] Ibid.

career, Deputy-Superintendent of Education, co-editor of the Journal of Education for Upper Canada, Vice-President of the Toronto Humane Society, author of that Society's chief promotional publication, and active in the area of penal reform.

The reasons for the preoccupation of social reformers with children lie as much in their attitudes towards their society, its future, and their own role therein as they do in their attitude towards the child. One of the most striking features of the period was its sense of pride in Canada's accomplishments and of confidence in its future prospects. Sprung from a race that was "thoroughly energetic and progressive",[12] most Upper Canadians believed, like Daniel Wilson, President of the University of Toronto from 1880 to 1892, that they lived in "an age of unparalleled progress, and in a country in the bright flush of youth."[13] J. M. Harper, a Canadian "educationist" who was an inspector of Quebec schools from 1886 to 1903,[14] noted that his generation never tired of

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[12]Daniel Wilson, "The President's Address," Canadian Journal, X New Series (1860), p. 111.

[13]Daniel Wilson, "University College", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, VII (1885), p. 346.

[14]W. Stewart Wallace, The MacMillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Toronto: MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, 1963.

"praising the progress of the times in which we live;"[15] similarly optimistic sentiments found expression during the entire period under review. Indeed, so confident were some that Daniel Wilson, an otherwise optimistic observer, was led to criticize those who, through their writings or teachings, inculcated in youths a false and exaggerated image of the Canadian community.[16]

> Canada is not the greatest corner of the universe, nor Toronto the concentration of all that is sublime and exclusively select and magnificent on our little planet.[17]

In 1848, Egerton Ryerson, Chief Superintendent of Education from 1846 to 1876, noted that history had demonstrated that every culture did not naturally move forward in its development.[18] One had only to recall the calamities that had befallen Greece and Rome. It was not impossible, he claimed, for Canada to regress to a level similar to that of Mexico and Venezuela. The existence of the idea that a society's progress was not necessarily

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[15] J. M. Harper, "Civilization and Education -- Their Relationships Enunciated," Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, VIII (1886), p. 121.

[16] Daniel Wilson, "Review--Geography of British America," Canadian Journal, III New Series (1858), p. 50.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Dr. E. Ryerson, "Obligations of Educated Men," Journal of Education, I (1848), p. 195.

one of constant advancement had important implications. It caused many to fear that the values they cherished and the civilization whose benefits they enjoyed could be jeopardized. Ryerson saw a safeguard in the role of "educated men", whose responsibility it was to work to ensure the continued existence and improvement of Canada's institutions. Evidently, social reformers gave themselves a key role in the whole future progress of their civilization.

All social reformers were united in the common aim to advance their society, or at least to prevent it from regressing. Their objective was, in the words of one source, "to raise our race socially, physically, and mentally, and prepare them ultimately for the millenium sway of Christ."[19] Of special significance was the "moral and intellectual elevation" of the "unenlightened masses."[20]

To social reformers the child had a special and peculiar value. There were, apparently, still people who objected to what they considered to be an undue concern over children, and who did not feel that the child's status warranted making them the subject of such

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[19]The Reverend John Armour, "Concluding Lecture on Free Schools", Journal of Education, V (1852), p. 92.

[20]"Thoughts on the Causes and Results of Individual and National Enlightenment", Journal of Education, IV (1851), p. 35.

particular attention."[21] By others, such objections were quickly dismissed; such an opinion was not even worth discussing, noted one observer. He was in agreement with the correspondent who claimed that children were the "most important part of the community."[22]

Part of the concern manifested over children was due to the fact that they had become more visible. Reformers seemed to become more aware of the large number of children congregated in the streets as population became more concentrated in urban areas.[23] In that visibility, children were considered to pose an immediate social threat. This belief was reinforced by prison reports which continually recounted the increasing incidence of juvenile crime.[24] However, reformers were much more concerned about the potential future threat that children posed.

Children were of vital importance because they would be the generation of the future; and as such they

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[21]Reverend J. M. Van Buren, "Early Religious Culture: Objections Considered", Journal of Education, VIII (1861), p. 135.

[22]"What Shall the Children Read?", Journal of Education, XVII (1864), p. 73.

[23]"Prevention Better Than Cure", Journal of Education, XV (1862), p. 40.

[24]"Complimentary, or Compulsory, Education and the Prevention of Crime", Journal of Education, XXI (1868), p.49.

would determine the "manners, and morals, and the religion of the land."[25] It was in this vision of the child as a potential adult that reformers were primarily concerned. "In every infant there are the rudiments of a man or a woman."[26] The term "rising generation" was often used in place of that of children or youth.[27] Similarly, in one instance at least, the term "man child"[28] was revived.

In the nature of childhood lay the potential threat that children posed as well as the greatest hope for the future good of society, for a child, in the opinion of reformers, had the capability of being anything. From among their ranks would emerge "the wise and good men and women, that shall bless -- and the ignorant and vicious men and women that shall curse the coming age."[29] Frequent reference was made to the concept that the "child is father

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[25]Van Buren, "Early Religious Culture: Objections Considered," op cit., p. 135.

[26]Reverend Mr. May, "Importance of Common Schools", Journal of Education, III (1850), p. 33.

[27]Dr. E. Ryerson, "A Lecture on the Social Advancement of Canada", Journal of Education, II (1849), p. 183.

[28]"What is to be Done With Our Charley?" Journal of Education, XII (1859), p. 28.

[29]May, "Importance of Common Schools", op. cit., p. 33.

of the man."[30] It was professed that "the fundamental principles or cardinal outlines of character, which were received in childhood, remain unaltered either by the vicissitudes of fortune or the experience of age."[31] Childhood, in effect, represented "the formative period."[32]

Along with this concept of the nature of childhood, there existed two other ideas that led reformers to turn their attention increasingly towards the child. It was generally held that it was too difficult and usually impossible to change the adult character and that prevention was preferable to cure. The prevalent attitude was best expressed by Miss A. M. Machar, a Canadian writer who resided in Kingston:

> To begin with the children and take them young, is being more and more accepted as the most hopeful and economical method of elevating humanity, whether heathen and barbarian, or nominally civilized and Christian . . .. It seems almost hopeless to reform a tramp! Infinitely easier and better it would be to prevent him; . . ..[33]

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[30]"The Child is Father of the Man", Journal of Education, IX (1856), p. 101.

[31]"The Influence of Childhood Upon the Future Man," Journal of Education, VII (1854), p. 94.

[32]Samuel B. Capen, "The Teaching of Morals in the Public Schools. What and How?" Educational Journal, III (1889), p. 151.

[33]Miss A. M. Machar, "Compulsory Educatinn,

For these reasons, those interested in prison reform pinned their hopes primarily on the juvenile criminal "whose moral perceptions are not yet blunted by continuous contact with vice, and whose lives are not yet hardened by crime."[34]

Just as children were viewed in the light of their future potential, so also were they always seen in terms of their future usefulness. Children, in effect, were important as a resource which could be utilized to achieve certain ends. A child's entire existence was spent in preparation of what others perceived he should become. And what he should become was a useful citizen.[35] Similarly, child study was recommended, not merely in order "that the individuality of the child will be preserved, but . . . that the teacher will be enabled to deal with each child according to the peculiarities of that child,"[36] thereby making it easier to socialize him.

Some social reformers were aware not only of their power, through control over children, to determine the course of future progress, but also to possibly reform

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Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, III (1881), p. 329. See also Reverend Mr. Alexander Topp, "Supplementary or Compulsory Education?" Journal of Education, XXI (1868), p. 53.

[34]"The Free Public Library System of Upper Canada", Journal of Education, IX (1856), p. 18.

[35]E. Ryerson, "The Importance of Education to a Manufacturing and a Free People", Journal of Education, I (1848), p. 289.

[36]"Editorial Notes", Educational Weekly, I (1884), p. 497.

present society. Because it was a characteristic of the "family relationship" that there be a "reflex influence" between parent and child, parents, by being in contact with their children, would indirectly be exposed to those influences which were moulding the child.[37]

The child then, for all these reasons, had a central position in the plans of reformers to perfect and safeguard their culture. This paper is a study of the child and his place in Ontario society, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, as revealed in the pages of four major educational journals. Therein are discussed the concepts held and promoted by influential contemporaries regarding the child's nature, concepts which were then employed in his systematic socialization. There is explored the child's rights and his obligations, both as a child and later as an adult, thereby providing a revelation of his status and role. The socialization of the child with a description of the values he was expected to possess and the behaviour patterns he was supposed to manifest are examined. Therein are also revealed the status and role of two primary agents of

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[37]"The Education of Children Educates the Parents", Journal of Education, XVI (1863), p. 154.

socialization, the family and the school, and the means these used to effect this aim. As a result, the hopes, fears, and expectations of those promoting these ideas, as well as their perceptions of the ideal child, family, and society are reflected.

Educational journals are the most obvious and the most important sources of information on the child. In them are presented not only the views of educators, but also those of domestic and sanitary reformers; that is, all those who through emphasis on the child sought to change society for the better. As a result, these journals offer a picture of the whole child in all his relations with the world. Because they contain information on all influences that affected the child, they reflect a vision of the society in which the child functioned. Educational journals are also significant because it is known that the views expressed therein had wide distribution among influential contemporaries and that, as a result, these views were likely to be more prevalent.

The journals used as sources include the Journal of Education for Upper Canada, 1848-1877, the Educational Weekly, 1885-1887, the Educational Journal, 1887-1897, the Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, 1879-1902.

Of these four publications, the Journal of

Education was of special significance for a number of reasons, besides its close connection with the Education Department through the person of Egerton Ryerson, its editor. These reasons had to do with its professed aims as well as its broad base of appeal.

According to Ryerson, the Journal of Education was designed to disseminate educational information among the entire Upper Canadian populace.[38] It was also intended to explain to all persons their relationship to the school system. In his opinion,

> Its mission is special, and it pursues its one great object, omitting no topic that may be necessary to school officers, and doing what appears best calculated to awaken the curiosity and direct the attention of the country at large to principles and objects vital to the interests and progress of a free and Christian people.[39]

As a result, the Journal of Education was filled with many articles prescribing the relations of children to all classes of adults and vis versa, divulging information regarding the character and nature of children, and discussing the interrelationship of children, home, school, and society. It presented the theory behind and justi-

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[38]"Prospectus", Journal of Education, I (1848), p. 1.

[39]"Official Character of the Journal of Education", Journal of Education, V (1852), p. 8.

fication for the establishment of the school system, and in doing so, provided the public with much information on children and their socialization.

To achieve its mission, the Journal of Education was intended to have a broad basis of support. Ryerson was particularly concerned that all those who were involved in the administration of the school system should receive a copy; therefore, he arranged for one to be issued to "Wardens of Counties, and Mayors of Cities and Towns, to County Clerks, to Local Superintendents, to School Trustees, and to School Teachers."[40] His constant cajolings and the numerous measures he adopted in order to induce the latter to subscribe demonstrates that their attention was his major priority. However, he also wanted the support of others. In 1849, it was mentioned that many of the published articles were designed to provide information "respecting the relative duties of Teachers, Trustees, and Parents, on the subject of education generally."[41] The next year it was stated that the Journal of Education objective was to be the "faithful friend of Youth, Teachers,

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[40]"Notice. Journal of Education", Journal of Education, III (1850), p. 112.

[41]"Second Volume of the Journal of Education," Journal of Education, II (1849), p. 185.

and Parents,"[42] and these should also become its promoters. The publication of numerous articles in the form of advice for youth demonstrated that he sought to gain the attention of young persons themselves.

It is difficult to estimate exactly how successful the Journal of Education was in influencing its subscribers and, therefore, how widespread became the views presented in its articles. There were constant complaints that it did not have an adequate number of supporters. Only six months after its inception, the editor claimed that the Journal of Education's "expenses very considerably exceed the amount of subscriptions received";[43] in order to break even, the Journal of Education needed a greatly increased subscription." He pleaded that the pulication's readers make efforts to extend its circulation. By October 1848, the majority of Trustees had still not subscribed.[44] In 1850, Ryerson chastized teachers for not taking advantage of this journal.[45]

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[42]"Journal of Education", Journal of Education, III (1850), p. 8.

[43]"Appeal to the Public in Behalf of the Journal of Education", Journal of Education, I (1848), p. 184.

[44]"District Councils and the Journal of Education", Journal of Education, I (1848), p. 305.

[45]"Good Example--Journal of Education", Journal of Education, III (1850), p. 64.

The extent to which he went to achieve a more widespread circulation demonstrates the tardiness of the public and even school officials in recognizing its professed merits. Steps were taken to cajole teachers into ordering subscriptions. In 1850, a provision was introduced whereby subscribing teachers would be allowed to advertise for positions and trustees for employees in the Journal of Education's pages; "non-subscribers" would be charged.[46] When such indirect measures failed to get the results he desired, he turned to legal measures. By 1853, Ryerson was sending free copies to every Board of Trustees in Upper Canada.[47] In 1850, the Journal of Education was made the authorized agent of government school law; it then became the legal responsibility of every corporation of trustees to make a journal of education available to every School Section.[48]

With the adoption of these measures, it is certain

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[46]"Prospectus of the Fourth Volume of the Journal of Education", Journal of Education, III (1850), p. 185.

[47]"Extract of the Letters from Local Superintendents of Schools, Respecting the Journal of Education and Other School Matters," Journal of Education, VI, (1853), p. 9.

[48]"Notice. Journal of Education," op. cit., p. 112.

that the Journal of Education was more generally read. It is also evident that it was being read by those whose views were important in the administration of the education system. Information regarding children was being more generally circulated and was reaching an influential audience. It should be noted that because of its nature, its usefulness for my purposes, and the duration of its existence, I relied most heavily on the Journal of Education for the information for this study.

The Educational Journal contrasted sharply with the Journal of Education in its aims, its contents, and its professed supporters. According to the first issue, its objective was to appeal to "students, teachers, professors and principals; to parents, trustees and inspectors; to all Canadians who take an intelligent and patriotic interest in the great work of national and universal support."[49] However, it was evident, even from the beginning, that its primary objective was to reach the teacher; the editor noted that the "measure of its success depends entirely upon the way in which it is supported by the teachers."[50] Even the fact that it was published twice a month was due to

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[49]"Publishers' Announcement", Educational Journal, I (1887), p. 2.

[50]"Introduction", Educational Journal, I (1887), p. 168.

the conviction that teachers had no more time to devote to an educational journal.[51] Furthermore, it was the preferences of teachers that determined its contents.

In spite of the editor's reference to the Educational Journal's "mission", the primary objective of its publishers was to make it a profitable venture.[52] This approach meant that the wants of its most numerous supporters, the teachers, would determine its character to a considerable degree. It would, its editor claimed, be flexible in regard to its "specialties"; the publishers "prefer to leave these to be developed from month to month."[53] This approach also explains the practical character of this journal in comparison with the broader, more theoretical stance of the Journal of Education.

This periodical was designed to be "of practical utility" to teachers who were invited to communicate with each other through its pages.[54] It was hoped, for example, that teachers would use the English column "as a means of solving difficulties, and of giving and receiving the

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[51] "Publishers' Announcement", op. cit., p. 2.

[52] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[53] Ibid.

[54] "Introduction", op. cit., p. 168.

benefits of experience."[55] The editor noted that teachers were more interested in the practical aspects of teaching English; that is, in the "method and aim."

> To this end all mere theories will be excluded, while the teaching of actual experience in the classroom will be welcomed from whatever quarter they may come.[56]

By 1888, practical departments such as "Hints and Helps", and "School-Room Methods" had become regular features.

As a result of this approach, the pages of the Educational Journal are less valuable as a source of information regarding child nature and the interaction of children with parents. However, its pages provide material, in the form of "Special Papers", regarding the relations between children and teachers, the status and role of the teacher as an agent of socialization, the values and behaviour patterns that should be instilled in the child, and the methods by which he could be socialized most successfully. The lengthy continued existence of the Educational Journal as a profitable venture best demonstrates it success and its sphere of influence. However, after a perusal of its contents, one is reminded of the complaints of one contemporary educator, J. O. M.

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[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

Madoc. "In these days of educational progress we of Ontario may truly be said to be method mad . . .. Methods, management, and school organization form the superstructure, and to these things almost exclusive attention is paid."[57]

The Educational Weekly, its immediate predecessor, aimed to reach trustees, aldermen, legislators, and especially teachers.[58] In regard to the teacher, it desired to

> be helpful in quickening his thought, giving direction to his aspirations inspiring him with true sentiments and purposes, directing his aims; and strengthening his faith in the enduring nobleness of his calling and his courage to follow it despite every tendency to despair of success.[59]

The teacher, its editor felt, should be made aware of "the whole process of education": he did not require "page upon page of homelectical pedagogic."[60] Therefore, although its pages contained practical material, their extent did not equal that contained in the Educational Journal.

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[57] J. O. M. Madoc, "Some Essentials," Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, V (1883), pp. 274-275.

[58] "Greeting", The Educational Weekly, I (1885), p. 1.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

The Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine had a different character. Its contributors were the "leading representative members of the scholastic profession",[61] whose academic initials inevitably appeared behind their names. It was considered by the editors of contemporary magazines to be "high-class", and it did have a decidedly intellectual and cosmopolitan tone. Its endeavours were directed to teachers as well as all others interested in educational issues.

Numerous articles, especially in the Journal of Education, were excerpted from British and American sources. Even Ryerson was compelled to justify the use of such extracts. In 1849, he noted that his borrowing was based upon "the principle of selecting and adapting to Canada whatever we might find useful in the school systems or school writings of any country."[62] It was his opinion that all educationists agreed "in sentiments and feelings" on the subject of education. Evidently, concepts about the child and his position knew no national boundaries either. Therefore, these extracts cannot be discounted,

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[61] "Advertisement", The Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, VI (1884), pg.

[62] Dr. E. Ryerson, "Journal of Education", Journal of Education, II (1849), p. 8.

for they too were selected on the basis of how well they reinforced the sentiments that Canadian social reformers already held.

The basis of the entire socialization process lay in the attitude of social reformers towards the child and their concept of his nature. Therefore, the first priority for discussion must be an examination of his nature, for it was that conception which determined how the child was to be dealt with.

II

THE CHILD AND HIS NATURE

During the second half of the nineteenth century, a considerable amount of material about children became available. This is due to the fact that educators were continually urged to observe and to study juveniles in order "to get to the core of those natures"[1] and use this new intelligence to advantage in educating them. Such information was often confused, fragmentary, and inconsistent, but it does provide important insights into the prevalent concepts regarding child nature. A knowledge of these ideas is important to us because they provided the rationale behind the entire socialization of the child during this period. Indeed, it was claimed that "the necessity for education is found in the nature of the child."[2]

Before any examination of these ideas on child

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[1] "Parents and Teachers," Journal of Education, XXV (1872), p. 28.

[2] Dr. Higbee, "Thoughts for the Teacher," Educational Journal, IV (1890), p. 178.

nature can be advanced, one must resolve the problem of who it was that contemporaries had designated a child. Readers of these journals must have been confused on this issue for the term 'children' was not usually accompanied by any reference to a specific age.

The term 'children' appears to have been used most often to refer to those who went to school and, therefore, it can safely be concluded that those persons still going to school were considered children. In this regard, one commentator noted that it was during the "period of school life"[3] that there must be inculcated those manners and morals which one desired adults to manifest.

If school age persons were children, then an obvious source for determining the upper age limit of the child is the annual reports of the Superintendent of Education, in which were recorded the attendance statistics of children of particular ages. In them, the term 'children' was always used. The Journal of Education published extracts of such reports from many American states, and it is interesting to note that the ages specified therein varied. In 1850 the youngest school child in Michigan[4]

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[3] Educational Journal, IV (1890), p. 145.

[4] "Education in Michigan, 1850", Journal of Education, IV (1851), p. 61.

and in New York[5] was aged four; in other states, children started school at the age of five. There was more variation in the upper age limit used to designate school children. The oldest child going to school in Massachusetts was fifteen,[6] while that in New York[7] and in Pennsylvania[8] was twenty-one. Accordingly, in the United States, all persons between the ages of five and fifteen were considered children, while those between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one were so considered in only some states.

Upper Canadian views on what age group constituted the child more closely approximated the sentiments of those in Massachusetts than in New York. One resident noted that, in 1850, there were 252,000 children in Upper Canada between the ages of five and sixteen.[9] In 1850, Ryerson spoke about school children between the ages of five and

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[5]"Universal Education--From the Last Annual School Report of New York", Journal of Education, IV (1851), p. 116.

[6]"Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education, 1850", Journal of Education, IV (1851), p. 62.

[7]"Universal Education--From the Last Annual School Report of New York", op. cit., p. 116.

[8]"Perils of the School-Room", Journal of Education, XXVlll (1875), p. 33.

[9]"Progress of Free Schools in Upper Canada, 1851", Journal of Education, IV (1851), p. 24.

fourteen.[10] It is important to note that, as time passed, the upper age limit of those considered children rose; for example, that for school children, in New York, rose from sixteen to twenty-one in 1851.[11]

Philippe Aries documented how boys became "the first specialized children."[12] There is some evidence that in the mid-nineteenth century, boyhood was still considered more synonymous with childhood than was girlhood. There was, claimed one commentator, an important difference between boys and girls. Boys in their childhood do not seem to be "merely, or chiefly, passing through a state of transition."[13] To girls, however, "the moment of emerging from the nursery to the auspicious epoch of 'coming out', too often is a dreary blank."[14] While boys inhabited a

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[10]"Circular", Journal of Education, III (1850), p. 148.

[11]"The New Act to Establish Free Schools Throughout the State of New York", Journal of Education, IV (1851), p. 59.

[12]Philippe Aries, Centures of Childhood, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 58.

[13]"Books for Youth and Children", Journal of Education, VII (1854), p. 158.

[14]Ibid.

joyful world very different in character from that of their elders, girls became prematurely adult. A similar sentiment was expressed in 1873.

> All the way from the cradle up to womanhood, a girl seems to fall naturally into her place, or the place assigned her, and never appears to feel awkward or in the way . . . A girl glides naturally along from childhood to womanhood, and sometimes in this fast age so rapidly, that you almost conclude that the period of girlhood is left out entirely.[15]

The existence of such an attitude may be due to the fact that information about girls was less readily available. Certainly the majority of articles about children were addressed to boys and young men. It was not until later in the century, when the issue of girls' education gained prominence, that information about girls and young women was more widely disseminated. As late as 1886, it was maintained that, although "educational experts" had concerned themselves with "the technical, scientific, and secondary education of young men and boys," they had largely ignored the issue of similar privileges for females.[16] This preoccupation with boys is also evident in those articles expounding the virtues and duties

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[15] "Our Boys", Journal of Education, XXVl (1873), p. 154. A similar observation was made by Joseph F. Kett, "Adolescence and Youth in Nineteenth-Century America", The Family in History, (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), p. 108.

[16] "Elementary Education of Girls", Educational Weekly, II (1886), p. 150.

of ideal mothers; these mothers were invariably concerned about or interacting with sons rather than daughters.

Throughout this period, adults more clearly differentiated between young people of different ages. Again, it must have been difficult for readers of these journals to know exactly when a child became a youth. Ryerson very early differentiated between children, those aged from five to eleven, and youths, from eleven to fourteen.[17] That he was not using the term 'youths' interchangeably with that of 'children' is evidenced by the fact that elsewhere he made reference to "children and youth."[18] At the same time, one source noted that the period of youth corresponded with college, and that of boyhood with school.[19] At a later date, too, the term youth was used to refer to the undergraduates at University College.[20]

The amount of confusion that existed in regard to these two terms at the beginning of the period under review

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[17]"Circular", op. cit., p. 150.

[18]Ibid., p. 149.

[19]Journal of Education, III (1850), p. 3.

[20]"Students' Temperance League", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, V (1883), p. 503.

is well illustrated by one particular article. The title, "Books for Youth and Children", suggests that the author has clearly distinguished between these two periods of childhood, and so does his statement that youth is a "stage of existence."[21] At one point, however, the terms youth, boyhood, and children were all used interchangeably. At another, the term children seemed to apply to very young children only, for the characteristics of children and those of boys were depicted as being different.

Most sources in the latter part of the century differentiated between children and youths.[22] In 1886, child life had been divided into "the Period of Infancy, the Period of Childhood, and the Period of Youth" which were "the three natural periods of human development."[23] Professor M. MacVicar, one of those few commentators willing to discuss juvenile development in terms of specific age categories, contended that a child became a youth at some time between the ages of twelve and sixteen and an adult

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[21]"Books for Youth and Children", op. cit., p. 157.

[22]Inspector J. L. Hughes, "The Harmony Between Control and Spontaneity," Educational Journal, VI (1892), p. 184. For another example, see "School-Boy Ideals", Educational Journal, I (1887), p. 77.

[23]Professor M. MacVicar, "Education of Teachers", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine; VIII (1886), p. 205.

between those of twenty and twenty-five.[24]

Infancy

In Ontario, during the latter half of the nineteenth century that period of child life known as infancy was slowly recognized as being a distinctive one. The fact that few articles concerning infants appeared in the Journal of Education before 1870 demonstrates a general lack of emphasis on this phase of development previous to that date. Where reference was made to them the terms "little ones"[25] or "young children"[26] were most often used. Similarly, infancy was referred to as "early childhood."[27] In 1851, the point was made that "Nothing, perhaps, would conduce so much to the knowledge of the human mind, as a close attention to the actions and thoughts of very young children; and yet no branch in the history

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[24]Ibid., pp. 260-261. A description of the prevalent perception of youth nature is given at the end of this chapter. Here is more evidence of that "growing conceptual segregation of childhood and youth" that Joseph Kett, op. cit., (p. 98) found in America.

[25]"Pray for the Little Ones", Journal of Education, XIII (1860), p. 110,.

[26]"Small Children in School", Journal of Education, (1851), p. 118.

[27]Reverend Dr. Sears, "Errors in Respect to Schools Corrected", Journal of Education, V (1852), p. 88.

of human nature is more neglected."[28]

Slowly there was a recognition of the fact that children under a certain age displayed different characteristics and had different needs than older children. It was suggested, for example, that children under the age of seven or eight should not be subjected to physical confinement in the school.[29] By 1863, it was recognized that young children formed naturally separate classes to be isolated from "senior classes" because they needed less mental pressure, more recreation, and the kind of empathetic handling that could only be provided by female teachers.[30]

After 1870, the ideas that initiated the kindergarten movement were generally promoted in Ontario, and information on infants was readily available.[31] There was

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[28]"Observe Children", Journal of Education, IV (1851), p. 164.

[29]"Small Children in School", op. cit., p. 118.

[30]"How to Teach Young Children", Journal of Education, XVI (1863), p. 132.

[31]The availability of such information in Canada paralleled the spread of these ideas in Britain and the United States. For developments there, see S. J. Curtis and M. E. A. Boultwood, A Short History of Educational Ideas, (London: University Tutorial Press Ltd., 1961), pp. 372-373.

some difference of opinion over whether a child became an infant at the age of two[32] or birth;[33] however, children over the age of seven were not considered to be infants.[34] By 1860, childhood was further differentiated into the periods of late childhood, "infancy and early childhood."[35]

Childhood

Although there existed contradictory concepts concerning child nature, one at least was held in common; contemporaries unequivocally believed that the child was not a small man. He was a "curious being" with a different "nature and prospects", thoughts, language, and "point of view."[36] Adults could do no more than attempt to understand him. The terms used to refer to some aspects of the child further illustrate that he was perceived as being

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[32]Baroness Von Marenholtz-Buelow, "The Importance of Children's Play", Educational Weekly, I (1885), p. 61.

[33]MacVicar, "Education of Teachers", op. cit., p. 205.

[34]"The Importance of Children's Play", op. cit., p. 61.

[35]"The Case for the Cane", Educational Journal, IV (1890), p. 41.

[36]"A Teacher's Gatherings", Journal of Education, XXVII (1874), p. 53.

different and separate--terms such as "child-mind",[37] "child-level",[38] "child-nature",[39] and "child-like hearts."[40] In effect, children were "denizens of another world."[41]

A number of articles outlined adults' perception of this world in relation to their own. While man was always "pressing onwards", conscious of his impending death and, therefore, taking stock of each passing day, the child was "floating hither and thither on a sunlit ocean, wrapt in the unconscious security of an eternal now."[42] Childhood was "intended by God to be a season of enjoyment";[43] Children were "exempt from cares, temptations, employments, and disturbing influences in general."[44] It is worthy of note that childhood was spoken of in terms

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[37]A. H. Morrison, "Echoes From the Classroom", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, XI (1889), p. 168.

[38]Rhoda Lee, "The Golden Rule", Educational Journal, III (1889), p. 168.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Arnold Alcott, "The Child's World and How to Enter It", Educational Journal, III (1890), p. 179.

[41]"Books for Youth and Children", op. cit., p. 158.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid., p. 160.

[44]"Early Training", Journal of Education, XI (1858), p. 22.

of how social reformers conceived it should ideally be. At least one person expressed the realization that there were many children whose childhoods must have been filled with cares.

> Hard their destiny who creep,
> Through a childhood full of gloom,
> Sad awake and sad asleep,
> Buried in a living tomb.[45]

One has only to recall the vision of countless neglected waifs who were forced to sleep in the streets to know the reality. The child's world was viewed not only as distinct from that of adults but also as different to the point of being opposite. Furthermore, the way in which children were depicted, as simple and irresponsible, demonstrates that they were regarded not as separate and equal but as separate and inferior; "we must bring ourselves down to their level," it was maintained.[46]

Miss Hailman, principal of the Kindergarten Department of the Toronto Normal School in 1885, noted that "what one child thinks and feels, other children will think and feel--not always exactly the same, of course, but

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[45] "Amusements", Journal of Education, XXI (1868), p. 39.

[46] "A Teacher's Gatherings", op. cit., p. 53.

sufficiently similar to aid in generalization."[47] Due to the prevalence of this attitude generalizations regarding child nature abounded. By the 1860's there appeared detailed descriptions concerning the physical, mental and moral elements of the child's nature.[48]

A child inherited his "physical constitution".[49] The fact that the body remained pliant throughout the entire childhood period meant that it could be taught to function effectively.[50] Since growth implied motion, it was ascertained that the primary trait "of a child's physical nature is activity."[51] The younger the child the more active he was thought to be. This characteristic, together with his need for physical and mental variety,[52] explained the "exuberance of real child nature."[53] It was unnatural

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[47]Miss B. E. Hailman, "The Kindergarten", Educational Weekly, VII (1885), p. 584.

[48]Miss M. E. M. Jones, "The Laws of Childhood", Journal of Education, XVI (1863), p. 70.

[49]MacVicar, "Education of Teachers", op. cit., p. 206.

[50]Ibid., p. 204.

[51]Jones, "The Laws of Childhood", op. cit., p. 70.

[52]Alcott, "The Child's World and How to Enter It", op. cit., p. 179.

[53]"Physiological Effects in Children of Early Influence", Journal of Education, XVIII (1865), p. 89.

for children to be silent or inactive.[54] As a result, play was regarded as a law of child nature; "Just as all trees produce blossoms, all birds build nests, and all foxes make holes, so all children play."[55]

Information regarding the child's mind became increasingly available, especially after 1880 when numerous articles were published on how psychology could be used by teachers in school-room experiences.[56] Indeed, it was claimed that the first priority of all educators should be "What is the human mind, how does it work, and what are its faculties."[57] It was further maintained that any study of the mind should commence with the examination of the infant mind.[58]

In 1881, a professor at Harvard, G. Stanley Hall, noted that there existed two opposing theories on the nature of the mind.[59] The one, most prevalent in England

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[54] Ibid.

[55] Von Marenholtz-Buelow, "The Importance of Children's Play", op. cit., p. 61.

[56] For example, see E. A. Henry. "Relations of Psychology to the School-Room", Educational Journal, II (1888), p. 55.

[57] Professor G. S. Hall, "Harvard Lectures on Pedagogy", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, III (1881), p. 350.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid., pp. 349-350.

and the United States, and first expounded by John Locke, claimed that the infant mind was similar to a "piece of blank paper" on which knowledge must be implanted through the senses. Education involved a process of forcing, on the passive child, material which he was to absorb and assimilate.[60] The other theory claimed that all ideas were innate and required only natural development to come into full bloom. The child was regarded as an active agent who was continually seeking to manipulate the environment according to his developing faculties. In Canada, both these theories were disseminated.

In accordance with the latter viewpoint, infancy was being examined "on the theory that each child passes through all the stages in its development that the race has passed through."[61] It was important that a child should pass naturally from one stage of development to another without being pressured.[62] At each new phase he became capable of exercising particular powers.

So it was with the mind which followed "normal laws of development."[63] It possessed faculties, or "inherent

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[60] Ibid., p. 350.

[61] Ibid., p. 349.

[62] "Froebel", Educational Weekly, I (1885), p. 29.

[63] Edward Brooks, "The Fundamental Principles of Mental Culture", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, IV (1882), p. 473.

energies", which consisted of perception, judgment and reasoning power, imagination and conscience.[64] In the infant the perceptive faculty was predominant, and in later childhood the conceptual faculty gained in ascendancy.[65] At the age of fourteen the child was ready for the complete development of his "reasoning and reflective faculties."[66] The most often noted characteristic of children, their imitiative capacity, was also referred to as a faculty.[67]

The faculties of memory and imagination worked during this entire period,[68] although both were considered most active after infancy had terminated.[69] At the end of the century, considerable attention was given to the imaginative faculty. Concern was expressed over the fact that the faculty of memory was being used at the expense of the imagination.[70] The latter could and should be

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[64] Ibid., pp. 474-475.

[65] Jones, "The Laws of Childhood", op. cit., p. 70.

[66] "Periods of Child Life", Journal of Education, XI (1858), p. 156.

[67] "Instruments of Moral Training", Journal of Education, IX (1856), p. 7.

[68] Mr. Schofield, "The Bearing of Psychology on Teaching", Educational Journal, III (1889), p. 343.

[69] Sears, "Errors in Respect to Schools Corrected", op. cit., p. 88.

[70] "The Culture of the Imagination", Educational Weekly, II (1886), p. 6.

cultivated.

It was increasingly recognized that the child's mind had a limited capacity. Being undeveloped, it could only attend to one stimulus at any given moment.[71] Furthermore, because the child possessed a very short attention span he could concentrate on a subject for only a limited amount of time.[72]

As a result, "the young, tender, delicate, unstable, imaginative brain" of infants should not be forced.[73] "Their minds are left in a withered, wilted, exhausted state."[74] In the latter part of the century, the term 'moulded' gave way to those of 'awakened', 'aroused', and 'unfolded', and regard for the natural development of the individual child was emphasized.

The prevailing concepts regarding the nature of the child's mind influenced the ensuing argument over the extent to which a child's characteristics were inherited or determined by his environment. This was an important question for the degree to which the child was susceptible to

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[71]Jones, "The Laws of Childhood", op. cit., p. 70.

[72]"Morals", Educational Journal, IV (1891), p. 581.

[73]The Very Reverend Principal Grant, "Some Fallacies Concerning Education", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, VI (1884), p. 329.

[74]Ibid.

environmental influences was a measure of his educability. There were few articles which specifically outlined how powerful were inherited characteristics in contrast to environmental influences. Many sources merely made reference to those characteristics that were considered innate, or else discussed the importance of a particular kind of environment. As the last paragraph demonstrates, emphasis shifted from a predominantly environmentalist stance at mid-century to a predominantly hereditarian one at the century's end; in 1893, a Canadian noted that there "is a tendency in these days . . . to attach too much importance to the influence of 'heredity' in the production of vice and crime."[75] One possible reason for this is the fact that the educational system had not accomplished all that social reformers, at mid-century, had claimed it should. After 1885 disillusionment was expressed more often.[76] For educators to have blamed its unfulfilled objectives on the short-comings of the system would have jeopardized the entrenched bureaucracy and therefore their own positions as well as ideals. It was easier for them to emphasize that view of child nature stressing inherited traits. This led to the conclusion that more time

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[75] "Education and Crime", Educational Journal, VII (1893), p. 247.

[76] For example, "Education and Crime", Educational Weekly, I (1886), p. 630.

and effort were needed before the beneficial effects of education could be felt.

The position taken by the vast majority of hereditarians was that environment and circumstance had some part to play in determining future character, but that heredity was of paramount importance. Only one commentator suggested that a specific inherited characteristic predetermined a child's life entirely. Noting that there were many boys whose "temperament" or "proclivities" prevented their being ambitious, he concluded pessimistically, "Nature is stronger than we are."[77]

Another position, more optimistic in terms of the educability of the child, was one which acknowledged the existence of inherent qualities, but allowed some room for the influence of environment and circumstance. Such was the opinion of one who concluded that every child had a predetermined character, bestowed by God, "and he can no more depart from the type than he can throw off his humanity."[79] Furthermore, every aspect of that character was inherited. "Circumstances are powerful, but theirs is

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[77]Michael B. Katz, Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), xix. Katz notes how firmly entrenched bureaucracy had become by 1885.

[78]"Ambitious Boys," Journal of Education, XXVI (1873), p. 155.

[79]"The Prophetic Thought", Journal of Education, IV (1851), p. 131.

only a secondary influence in human life."[80] Parents could have an effect on children provided they were prepared to "study, learn, and watch the prophetic thought of each of their children" and to manage them accordingly.[81] Individual qualities could be "encouraged", "restrained", "counteracted", and even "eradicated". However, the primacy of heredity meant that all such attempts to influence a change of character had to be initiated at birth.

Still more optimistic was that observer who proclaimed that children inherited "unpleasant peculiarities", such as an "irascible temper" or an "obstinate will."[82] The child was not to blame for such characteristics because he had no control over his hereditary makeup. Instead, teachers were instructed, "Help him to conquer it. Let him understand that it is a misfortune but not a hopeless one."[83] Here, then, was a suggestion that reform was possible, through environmental control, even at some stage of childhood other than infancy.

A wide range of characteristics were regarded as

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[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid., p. 132.

[82] "Peculiar Children", Journal of Education, (1871) p. 8.

[83] Ibid.

hereditary. These included "love of freedom" and "consciousness of self-control"[84] as well as the craving for knowledge.[85] One inherited taste was the disposition shown by individuals "for a certain line of physical or mental activity" such as music or art.[86] Acquired tastes, on the other hand, were those for tobacco and alcohol.[87] Personal habits were not generally considered to be inherited. In effect, many observers believed that every child entered the world with "an army of undisciplined, innate forces,"[88] and inherent aptitudes,[89] capacities,[90] and ideas.[91]

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[84]G. W. Lucas, "The Best System of Domestic Government", Journal of Education, IX (1856), p. 185.

[85]"The Natural Sciences in Relation to Work of Higher Schools", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, IV (1882), pp. 199-200.

[86]MacVicar, "Education of Teachers", op. cit., p. 347.

[87]Ibid., p. 348.

[88]Mrs. Eva D. Kellogg, "School-Room Sketches--For Young Teachers", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, V (1883), p. 86.

[89]MacVicar, "Education of Teachers", op. cit., p. 206.

[90]"A Little Talk on a Great Subject", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, VIII (1886), p. 230.

[91]Hall, "Harvard Lectures on Pedagogy", op. cit., p. 350.

In contrast, there were those who believed that character was given its permanent outline by "the formative power of circumstance and experience."[92] Rev. A. Sutherland commented that a person's mental bias was determined, not by heredity, but by a combination of what he was taught and the nature of his immediate surroundings.[93] According to this viewpoint the infant was a bundle of potentialities,[94] ready to be moulded into whatever form was desired. Environmentalists stressed that view of the child's mind as "empty but capacious",[95] and as "unstained as the parchment on which you write what can never wholly be effaced; impressible as the wax by which its attestation is sealed."[96] So sensitive to environmental stimuli was the human mind considered that one observer commented, "As we pass along the street, every face we see leaves us a different creature."[97]

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[92]"Fictitious Reading", Journal of Education for Upper Canada, III (1850), p. 86.

[93]Reverend A. Sutherland, "The Religious Element in Education", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, IX (1887), p. 299.

[94]"The Beautiful Mystery of Childhood", Journal of Education IX (1856), p. 155.

[95]"Books for Youth and Children", op. cit., p. 161.

[96]Daniel Wilson, "Religious Instruction in the Public Schools", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, III (1881), p. 326.

[97]Lizzie Staples, "A Teacher's Influence", Educational

As a result, "stains and deformities" were "contracted",[98] tastes were "formed,"[99] and immoral and criminal habits were acquired.[100]

The importance accorded to family training demonstrates this faith in the influence of the environment on children. It was the family that decided "the form and tendencies of their growth."[101] It was home instruction which provided the child's mind with the "bent of its inclinations."[102]

The numerous articles providing advice on the creation of ideal home and school environments further illustrates how significant the environment was considered. Just as "the tiny speck of mildew spreads until the fruit

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Journal, I (1887), p. 103.

[98]"Early Training", op. cit., p. 22.

[99]D. J. Goggin, "Literature in Schools", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, V (1883), p. 433.

[100]"Home Education--Valuable Hints", Journal of Education, VIII (1855), p. 148.

[101]"Early Training", op. cit., p. 22.

[102]"Responsibility of Parents and Teachers", Journal of Education, XIII (1860), p. 45. For more information on the role of the family in this regard, see Chapter V.

is ruined, when circumstances are unfavorable", so it was with character.[103] It was vital that people should be surrounded by good influences. An ideal school, for example, should contain pictures, flowers, good books, and generally provide "an air of genuine culture."[104] "No child, however rude, or lowborne, could resist the influence of such a place . . . could pass his school days in the midst of such surroundings without being raised and ennobled by them."[105]

As already noted, many hereditarians also believed that the environment provided some formative influence. The child had a "plastic nature", a circumstance which "makes it possible to remove, largely, constitutional or inherited deformities, and to transform, if not to annihilate entirely, powers and aptitudes which, if left unchanged, would develop into a defective if not vicious character."[106]

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[103] Wilson, "Religious Instruction in the Public Schools", op. cit., p. 103.

[104] James Baldwin, "The Common School of a Quarter Century Hence", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, VIII (1886), p. 206.

[105] Ibid.

[106] MacVicar, "Education of Teachers", op. cit., p. 206.

The very institution of the kindergarten, with its emphasis on a structured and protective environment, further illustrates this point. The role of the teacher, according to Froebel, was to supervise children constantly "in order to supply exactly that food which they require at any particular time."[107]

The viewpoint that a child's surroundings were instrumental in determining his future character and conduct was important, for it determined the means adopted by social reformers to effect social change. They believed that many of their problems would be solved if they created what they considered an ideal environment for children.

The child's moral nature was also being investigated. An important question, during this period, was whether a child was basically good or evil. On this issue too there were divergent views.

The concept of "original depravity" was still prevalent at mid-century.[108] Exponents of this view believed

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[107]"Froebel", op. cit., p. 29.

[108]"Periods of Child Life", op. cit., p. 156.

that a child's will had to be broken; if discipline was not rigidly enforced the child would remain at the same level as an animal.[109] That this concept changed is evident by the statement, in 1892, that the "most complete belief in the depravity of the child's nature does not justify the destruction of its spontaneity."[110]

Others based their conviction that child-nature was basically evil not so much on an automatic acceptance of the concept of original sin as on the observation that children very early displayed faults; for example, that they lied in infancy.[111] Still others felt that childrens' wrong doings were the result of evil habits that had been formed by early impressions.[112] It was their lack of reflection and of concern for consequences that caused them to exhibit faults.[113] One source noted that, although

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[109]"Education Without Religious Training", Journal of Education, I (1848), p. 331.

[110]Hughes, "The Harmony Between Control and Spontaneity", op, cit., p. 184. For evidence that this concept steadily lost credence in the United States after 1850, see Bernard Wishy, The Child and the Republic, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), pp, 11, 22-23, 108.

[111]"On Truth in Children", Journal of Education, XVI (1863), p. 102.

[112]"Early Training", op. cit., p. 23.

[113]L. F. F. Gauthey, "Rewards and Punishments", Journal of Education, XVI (1863), p. 71.

children had a "propensity for evil", the "faults of men are on a grander scale than those of children."[114] According to the "laws of natural development," sinfulness grew. A man robbed and perjured himself, but a child merely stole and lied. According to still another viewpoint, children were born possessing the dormant germs of goodness and wickedness; their future moral codes depended on how the young organisms matured.[115]

The opposite opinion was that all children were born good, or at least that in their infancy they conformed more closely to the heavenly ideal than adults. A child's soul was perceived as "pure and white", whereas that of an adult was "lurid".[116] "Just out of heaven",[117] they were "consciously overshadowed with the presence of God."[118] It was "the wild earth"[119] that corrupted the child. "The

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[114] "Untruthfulness in Schools--Its Preventive and Remedy", Journal of Education, VIII (1855), p. 100.

[115] Rev. T. L. Caylor, "Undiscovered Character", Journal of Education, IX (1856), p. 56.

[116] "Thoughts for the Little Ones", Journal of Education, I (1848), p. 13.

[117] T. K. Hervey, "To a Child", Journal of Education, IV (1851), p. 148.

[118] "Morality in Schools", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, V (1883), p. 451.

[119] "The Sanctity of Childhood", Journal of Education, I (1848), p. 368.

elder he grows, he is a stair lower from God, and, like his first father, much worse in his conduct."[120] That this was a newer attitude is confirmed by one commentator who noted that the theory of infant damnation, "the favorite doctrine of less than fifty years ago", was being generally disregarded.[121] Because children's sins were not as serious, they were allowed the "easiest room in hell."[122] After mid-century, however, dying children were depicted as destined for heaven.[123]

The heredity-versus-environment controversy extended into this area as well, so that after 1880 there was much discussion over "whether the moral faculty is innate and instinctive, or . . . the result of experience and education."[124] It was the opinion of one observer that this faculty was to some extent both innate and learned. Every child had at least one "moral instinct," that of obedience to author-

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[120] Bishop Earle, "What is a Child"? Journal of Education, III (1850), p. 7.

[121] "Religious Education of Children", Journal of Education, XXIV (1871), p. 61.

[122] Ibid.

[123] "The Infant's Dream", Journal of Education, XVIII (1865), p. 92.

[124] James Sully, "Development of the Moral Faculty", Educational Weekly, II (1886), p. 277.

ity.[125] This might be "the transmitted result of the social experience and moral training of many generations of ancestors."[126] Even if this faculty was inherent, "it is indisputable that external influences and education have much to do in determining the intensity and the special form of the moral sentiment."[127]

Hereditarians outlined those moral attributes they considered innate. "The most widely diffused moral sentiment is probably the sense of justice. This, in some degree or other, is generally to be found in every mind."[128] Children in particular possessed a "keen sense of justice."[129] Pestalozzi, the Swiss educator, had stated that the main characteristic of a child's nature was sympathy.[130] Similarly, it was often claimed that children were by nature truthful.[131]

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[125] Ibid.

[126] Ibid.

[127] Ibid.

[128] W. D. LeSueur, "Moral and Religious Education", Educational Journal, IV (1890), p. 169.

[129] Lee, "The Golden Rule", op. cit., p. 169.

[130] Jones, "The Laws of Childhood", op. cit., p. 70.

[131] "Childrens' Ethical Standards", Educational Journal, VII (1893), p. 118.

Another viewpoint was that the moral faculty was neither innate, nor the result of direct teaching. Instead "the moral standards of children are the product of the influences by which they are surrounded during the first few years of their lives."[132] As evidence, there was recounted the anecdote of a young boy who failed to warn his own brother that his companions were plotting to murder him. This was adequate proof, it was contended, because it was a safe assumption "that if any inborn feeling or principle is universal and ineradicable, the natural affection between brothers and sisters constantly associated from infancy, and the sense of horror and guilt connected with the taking of a human life, would be among the number."[133]

Some observers, especially at the end of the century, stressed the importance of training children in morals; their number included those who believed the moral faculty was not innate as well as those who believed it was. According to one such exponent, the child possessed a "universal soul . . . of which truth, right and beauty are necessary elements."[134] However, a teacher was required

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[132] Ibid.

[133] Ibid.

[134] "The Great Teachers", Educational Journal, V (1891), p. 403.

in order to "open these visions to the child."[135] It was his role "to set his pupils to observe the realities about them and to draw inferences."[136] According to the Baroness Von Marenholtz-Buelow, ardent promoter of the kindergarten, "moral consciousness" grew slowly "out of the darkness of involuntary activity and mere instinct. And as the vegetable germ requires the fulfilment of certain conditions in order to blossom and bear fruit, so the child's soul requires the nurture and support of a careful education, if the fruits of humanity are to become mature."[137]

It is worthy of note that observers were also concerned about the individuality of every child, for although there were "such manifestations as are common to all children, and which characterize childhood as such,"[138] there were also important individual differences. Children, for example, possessed differing physical features[139] as well

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[135] Ibid.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Von Marenholtz-Buelow, "The Importance of Children's Play", op. cit., p. 61.

[138] Ibid.

[139] "Habits--Their Force and Influence", Journal of Education, XI (1858), p. 28.

as "tastes and talents."[140] Furthermore, although "all minds possess the same general powers, these powers are often possessed in different degrees."[141]

Concern for individual children meant that the dull child was, very early, singled out for special consideration. In any discussion on dull children, it was held that childhood "is not always an earnest of manhood. We cannot confidently predict the future from the present."[142] It was important to differentiate carefully between a naturally dull and a potentially bright child.[143] When, in 1889, there was expressed concern that the dull child in Canada was being ignored, teachers were reminded that a child who was dull in regard to learning languages was not necessarily so in other areas.[144] A dull child was often thought a child of ability who needed extra encouragement.[145]

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[140]Brooks, "The Fundamental Principles of Mental Culture", op. cit., p. 475.

[141]Ibid.

[142]"Treatment of Dull Children", Journal of Education, XXII (1869), p. 87.

[143]"Word Pictures to Dull Pupils, Journal of Education, XXII (1869), p. 87.

[144]"About Dull Pupils", Educational Journal, III (1889), p. 140.

[145]Brooks, "The Fundamental Principles of Mental Culture", op. cit., p. 119.

Those who were found to be "unmistakably dull" required more "patience and help" than average children.[146]

As already noted, a knowledge of individual character was considered instrumental in moulding the child more easily. However, it was increasingly urged, especially in the later years of the century, that a child's individuality should be respected. "It is the Divine in the child. It cannot be marred or misdirected without interfering with God's plan."[147] However, this did not imply that children should be allowed total freedom. It was still necessary for the teacher to watch the children as he "prunes their redundancies and removes every impediment to their truest development."[148] This sentiment was most evident by those articles which dealt with the kindergarten and the more modern ideas regarding children.

Youth

In his discussion about youth in the United States, Joseph F. Kett noted that there was no "abundant and

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[146]"About Dull Pupils", op. cit., p. 140.

[147]Hughes, "The Harmony Between Control and Spontaneity", op. cit., p. 184.

[148]"The Kindergarten", Journal of Education, XXVII (1874), p. 181.

systematic literature on adolescent guidance" before 1900.[149] Perusal of Ontario's educational journals demonstrates that this was also the case in the province. However, brief articles in the form of "counsels to youth" did appear regularly in the Journal of Education from its inception.[150] Directed at youth, they provided no information regarding his nature; this fact reinforces the idea that youth had not been designated characteristics which clearly distinguished them from children on the one hand and adults on the other. Such advice literature was on occasion addressed to 'young men',[151] a fact which would imply that youth was equated more nearly with adulthood. However, on other occasions, as has already been noted, youth was also discussed in close relation with childhood, even when the term was not used as a synonym for children.

Whether or not youth was perceived as "a period of doubt and indecision"[152] was not distinctly specified.

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[149]Joseph F. Kett, "Adolescence and Youth in Nineteenth-Century America", The Family in History, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971), p. 97.

[150]For example, "Counsels for the Young", Journal of Education, V (1852), pp 84. Kett, "Adolescence and Youth in Nineteenth-Century America", op. cit., p. 99, made reference to the existence of this form of literature in the United States.

[151] For example, "Hints to Young Men in Cities and Towns", Journal of Education, III (1850), p. 38.

[152]Kett, "Adolescence and Youth in Nineteenth-Century America", op. cit., p. 97.

However, it was regarded as a time when young persons faced the temptations of the world. Advice to youth columns represented an attempt to help them at a difficult time. There was no suggestion, before the 1880s, that the problem was within the nature of youth itself.

That this had changed by the 1880s is illustrated by an article written by Professor MacVicar.[153] Youth was still regarded as a period of temptation but the danger stemmed as much from the peculiar nature of youth as from the environment itself. Now youth was characterized by distinct physical, mental, and social characteristics which were not applicable to either children or adults. It was for this reason that MacVicar could not give a specific age for the onset and end of that phase of life called youth.

According to Professor MacVicar, a youth's physical nature at puberty was "in a transition state"; rapid bodily growth caused youths to be susceptible to "ruinous practices", a term which implied masturbation.[154] Such growth also caused in youths "an over-exercise of the feelings, the emotions, the passions, and not of the intellect, the

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[153]This suggests that the "discovery' of adolescence" predates the 1890s, a date which was suggested by James S. Coleman, et al., Youth. Transition to Adulthood, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 22.

[154]MacVicar, "Education of Teachers", op. cit., p. 261.

reason, the judgment."[155] Intellectually, "reasoning" had overcome sense perception. However, youths tended to jump to conclusions, a circumstance which made them "naturally sceptical, conceited, and positive even to obstinacy."[156] It is evident that from this point on any adult who displayed these characteristics would be regarded as a perennial adolescent. Socially, there was a more intense interaction between young men and women which resulted from their newly aroused sexual attraction towards one another.

In effect, youth, by being given these characteristics, had changed in status. They were being defined as non-adult and therefore immature. As a result, youths obviously were in need of constant supervision just like children and the way had been laid for the further extension of childhood.

This period, therefore, witnessed a number of important changes in outlook concerning the child. Childhood was more clearly defined, and contemporaries differentiated between children at different phases of development on the basis of perceived differences in characteristics and needs. The carefree exuberance that so often characterized childhood and made that period of life totally distinct from the

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[155] Ibid.

[156] Ibid., p. 262.

adult world was idealized and held forth as an example of the kind of childhood all children should have. Not only was a child perceived as different, but that difference was expected and respected. Similarly, the individuality of the child was increasingly recognized, and, in theory, respected. Children were more often perceived as good rather than inherently bad. Children were allowed to be active because activity was accepted as natural to them, and, therefore, important to their development.

It is important to note that the chances in outlook affected primarily that class of children studied most thoroughly; that is, infants. Later, there was expressed a desire to extend the methods based on these theories to children in primary grades. It is difficult to assess, from the sources, the degree to which these theories actually influenced individual teachers, and it is doubtful that parents, the majority of whom did not read the later journals, were influenced by the changes. It is also significant that throughout the entire period, faith in the educability of the child never wavered.

III

VALUES AND BEHAVIOUR

"Children come into the world with certain rights which society is bound to respect."[1] Because children had acquired an important status they commanded a certain amount of consideration and care, and as a necessary human resource, they had to be protected from influences which might cause them harm. It was universally agreed among social reformers that children had rights in two specific areas -- those of health and education.

It was professed that every child had a right to be healthy and to be provided with all that was necessary to make and to keep him so. Because childrens' mental and moral growth was dependent on their physical well-being,[2] they "should grow up sound and healthful in body, and with the utmost degree of muscular strength that education can communicate."[3]

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[1]"Children's Rights, Journal of Education, XXVI (1873), p. 156.

[2]"Modern Systems of Education and Their Founders", Journal of Education, IV (1851), p. 147.

[3]"Importance of Physical Education", Journal of

Contemporary opinion held that the social advancement of the race was dependent on its physical condition. While reformers were confident with solutions they advanced for the intellectual and moral elevation of society, they became increasingly concerned about "the physical deterioration of the present race of mankind."[4] A Canadian commentator noted that contemporary urban dwellers "present almost every species of deformity, contraction and malformation."[5] In contrast, "wherever a proper system of bodily exercise is practiced there we find the human frame properly developed, and a robust people to exist."[6] Similarly, another source referred to "the vital importance of physical strength and bodily health to the development and advancement of that true and high civilization which it is the main task of man on this planet to promote."[7] Since all reform was felt to begin with the child, it is easy to see why reformers concentrated on his physical well-being.

Much of the concern manifested by social reformers

Education, I (1848), p. 336.

[4]"Physical Exercises in Education", Journal of Education, VIII (1855), p. 147.

[5]"Gymnastics for Our Common and Grammar Schools", Journal of Education, XVI (1863), p. 5.

[6]Ibid.

[7]"Physical Games in Colleges and Schools", Journal of Education, III (1860), p. 72.

was occasioned by the sense of responsibility they felt for advocating the confinement of active children in schools whose conditions were not conducive to health. It was in the schools that they concentrated their major efforts to effect change in regard to the health of children.[8]

One of the "natural rights of every child",[9] Ryerson claimed, was the right to be educated. It was, therefore the duty of every father to ensure that his child received an education.[10] Furthermore, it was the duty of the state to guarantee that the means were provided him.[11] In fact, this was "a matter of self-preservation for a country" because the state had to "protect his moral and intellectual life."[12] "The uneducated child grows up into a mere animal of bones and sinews, with tastes and sympathies

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[8]As a result, their outlook on and approach towards the health of school children is further outlined in Chapter V. This chapter concerns itself primarily with the rights of children in regard to education.

[9]E. Ryerson, "Free Schools -- St. Catherines", Journal of Education, III (1850), p. 74.

[10]"Every Child Has a Right to a Good Public Education", Journal of Education, V (1852), p. 75.

[11]"Free Schools in the City of Toronto", Journal of Education, III (1850), p. 74.

[12]"Children's Rights", op. cit., p. 156.

and habits as degraded and pernicious as they might be exalted and useful."[13] If the state did not attend to this matter, the oversight would only result in "the fearful retribution of national demoralization and crime from the awful effects of which no class can hope to escape."[14] In contrast,

> Nothing adds so much to the happiness and prosperity of a society as a well educated people. If our hearts glow with gratitude, when we see the maturing wheat clothe our fertile fields, and rejoice because we hope soon to enjoy the well ripened fruit, how much more shall we be glad when, in our well educating schools we see the youth ripening into manhood, soon to bless us with their refining influences, and not less, our children and friends adorning society, and handing down our institution, improved by their care, to the remotest generation.[15]

When a father failed to do his duty, the state had a right to interfere. "In fact, in most instances, no remedy would suffice short of taking away the children from their parents -- a step which would involve the necessity of supporting them."[16] Instead, compulsory education was

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[13]E. Ryerson, "Circular", Journal of Education, III (1850), p. 148.

[14]"Free Schools in the City of Toronto", op. cit., p. 74.

[15]"Every Child Has a Right to a Good Public Education", op. cit., p. 75.

[16]"Irregular School Attendance", Journal of Education, XXVII (1874), p. 121.

instituted and every child was forced to claim his right.

The benefits derived by society from the general education of children was discussed more often than those derived by the individual child. However, it was felt that because the child was born with the "traditional claim to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,"[17] he should also be provided with the "best means of perpetuating or attaining these."[18] Similarly, because the child "is to a certain extent, the child of the public,"[19] the community would expect from him "certain duties". It was, therefore, society's responsibility "to fit him to fulfill these";[20] this was considered only fair to the child. "The child is born into the right to live and society recognizes this right by making it murder to kill him. But the child is also born into the right of being taught how to live."[21]

How the child should live, and what he was to be

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[17]"Children's Rights", op. cit., p. 156.

[18]Ibid.

[19]"Every Child has a Right to a Good Public Education", op. cit., p. 75.

[20]Ibid.

[21]"Responsibility of Society", Educational Journal, V (1891), p. 402.

taught in order to live as he should, depended on how social reformers viewed the child, as a child and as an adult. The child was always perceived as being in a state of becoming; it was as though he did not begin to live until he had reached the period of manhood. As early as 1848, Ryerson stated that education was designed to inculcate "the rudiments of those things which we are expected to do when we grow up to manhood."[22] In 1891, it was still professed that every youth was being educated "to become a MAN".[23] Even the kindergarten was designed "to prepare children for school, to sow the first seeds that are to yield adults . . . ."[24]

Not only was the child being socialized to be a man, but he was also to become a particular kind of man, with specific qualities and responsibilities. He was, in effect, to be what W. K. Patterson, a high school principal, termed the "ideal man."[25] Social reformers were agreed on what was meant by this term. Ideal men were "intelligent and use-

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[22]E. Ryerson, "The Importance of Education to a Manufacturing, and a Free People", Journal of Education, I (1848), p. 298.

[23]J. J. Y., "The Necessity of Improvement", Educational Journal, V (1891), p. 582.

[24]"Kindergarten Education", Journal of Education, XXVII (1874), p. 25.

[25]W. I. Patterson, "The Ideal in Education", Edu-

ful",[26] "good citizens and consistent Christians",[27] beings who possessed "noble thoughts and aspirations"[28] and who, according to Dr. Nelles, president of Victoria University from 1850 to 1887, posed no danger to society.[29] Generally, to have one of these qualifications meant that one possessed all the others as well.

Therefore, with these rights came certain responsibilities. It was the duty of the adult to act the part of the ideal man as perceived by social reformers. It was the duty of the child to be amenable to becoming indoctrinated with the values to be held and the feelings and behaviour to be manifested by ideal manhood, and to practice these in the course of his childhood. The right to become educated soon became the duty to become educated. It became important

> to give the proper direction to the child's thoughts; to implant in his mind correct conceptions of the world and his place in it, true ideas of his duty to his neighbour and his country, and of his relations to the inferior world around him, which, sinking

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cational Journal, VII (1893), p. 36.

[26]Ryerson, "The Importance of Education to a Manufacturing, and a Free People", op. cit., p. 298.

[27]"Aesthetics in Schools: Morals, Manners, Journal of Education, XXI (1868), p. 34.

[28]Ibid.

[29]President Nelles, "Religious University Education", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, V (1883), p. 201.

> deeper and deeper with each generation, shall eventually supplant evil, and leave a soul worthy of the inspection of gods.[30]

Numerous articles appeared on the precise nature of these duties and on the values that social reformers sought to foster in children.

Obedience

The most important characteristic to be inculcated in children was that of obedience. The "habit of obedience is our first moral education",[31] one author stated. Obedience formed the foundation of social life, for there was always some authority to which every person was subject.

Children were required to obey parents, teachers, and all those who possessed a "superior wisdom and experience."[32] Youths were counselled to revere the aged.[33] Numerous articles, directed at children and youth, urged them to honour their parents. This meant more than rendering

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[30]Jno. B. Peaslee, LL.D., "Moral and Literary Training in Public Schools", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, V (1883), p. 58.

[31]Superintendent B. A. Hinsdale, "Public Schools and a Phase of Moral Training", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, VIII (1886), p. 95.

[32]"Mutual Relations of Parties Interested in a School", Journal of Education, V (1852), p. 72.

[33]For example, "Respect for Age", Journal of Education,

obedience. It included a display of reverence; that is, all "those outward signs of respect"[34] which should accompany the satisfactory execution of a command. Submission to one's parents made it easier for one to submit to God.[35] In fact, it was Divine authority that had decreed honour to parents.[36] Its demonstration suggested a pliant will.[37] Children so trained would be inclined also to show "a habit of reverence towards their seniors and superiors."[38] Children should learn to recognize "the principle of obedience to all rightful government and law, and respect for it."[39] As a result, obedience would create a good citizen who would "become a valuable element in the national character."[40]

III (1850), p. 23.

[34]"On the Outward Forms of Respect Due to Parents", Journal of Education, XIV (1861), p. 42.

[35]"The Blessedness of Obeying Parents", Journal of Education, XIV (1861), p. 123.

[36]"On the Outward Forms of Respect Due to Parents", op. cit., p. 42.

[37]"Filial Obedience and Long Life", Journal of Education, XI (1858), p. 75.

[38]"On the Outward Forms of Respect Due to Parents", op cit., p. 42.

[39]"The Taunton School Whipping Case", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, IX (1887), p. 226.

[40]"Military Drill at Schools", Journal of Education, XXVII (1874), p. 104.

It was further claimed that a child who displayed obedience would always show himself to be superior to one who did not; the former inevitably was endowed with "stronger moral fibre, greater determination, clearer views of justice and impartiality -- in short, more force of character."[41] Since he would be accustomed to recognize immediately the proper course of action, he would be a better student, and he would know that attention to study was important.

The opposite to an obedient child was a precocious one.[42] Being "presumptious and self-confident,"[43] he refused to accept the superior position of the teacher. In effect, he could not be easily controlled and inculcated with those values it was agreed he should possess.

That obedience was necessary was universally acknowledged. That such obedience on the part of the child should be "willing, intelligent, and entire"[44] was also agreed upon. However, there was some controversy concerning what was meant by willing and intelligent obedience. According to one school of thought, children should display "prompt

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[41]"Obedience", Educational Weekly, II (1886), p. 568.

[42]Educational Weekly, I (1885), p. 241.

[43]J. J. Y., "The Necessity of Improvement", op. cit., p. 582.

[44]"Mutual Relations of Parties Interested in a School", op, cit., p. 72.

and unreserved" obedience.[45] Even when the demands of their parents appeared unreasonable, "they should not rebel."[46] They should not even utter an opinion.[47] Where willing obedience was not forthcoming, "unwilling" obedience must be secured, provided all demands were "reasonable".[48] No one ever defined what an unreasonable demand was; everyone was more concerned that the child should render obedience.

Those who commanded this kind of obedience generally felt that it was to be obtained by breaking the child's will. The child was to be subjected to a "uniform system" and "rigid order" which would "admit no irregularities and show no respect to persons."[49] Such submission would initiate the child into accepting the "self-denials, the disappointments, and the labors of life."[50] Since

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[45]Hiram Orcutt, "The Discipline of the School", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, IV (1882), p. 432.

[46]"Learn to Obey", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, VIII (1886), p. 141.

[47]"Obedience", op. cit., p. 568.

[48]Miss M. H. Davis, "Formation of Good Habits", Educational Journal, V (1891), p. 354.

[49]Robert Kelly, Esquire, "The Great Economy and Advantages of Free Public Education", Journal of Education, II (1849), p. 66.

[50]Ibid.

society applied rules, the child should be disciplined so as to adhere to them as well as to the will of God.[51] Such an approach would also lead a child to develop "self-restraint."[52] The exercise of military drill was often upheld as an admirable method whereby to achieve these ends for those who were drilled tended to be more submissive and did not ask questions.

There was that opinion which, recognizing the need for "willing, cheerful obedience", claimed that a child's will should be "bent", but never "broken".[53] The will was the "source of all industry, push, pluck, perseverance."[54] Its destruction would cause a person to become useless. "You cannot have too strong a will."[55] It should be noted, however, that this sentiment was expressed towards the end of the century.

Still another viewpoint was prevalent towards the end of the century. In the opinion of its advocates, the methods used to effect the obedience of blind submission

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[51]"Early Training", op. cit., p. 12.

[52]"Children, Past and Present", Educational Weekly, III (1886), p. 203.

[53]R. K. Row, "The Development of Character by Ordinary School Exercises", Educational Journal, III (1890), p. 295.

[54]Ibid.

[55]Ibid.

had had harmful results. According to one contemporary, a child so subjected "becomes a mental nobody and will grow up either a social nobody or a criminal."[56] It was his contention that a child should be allowed to use his own judgment regarding what was morally acceptable and also to have enough volition to enforce his opinion. In effect, he should be independent and learn to rely on his own decision-making capacity. Another commentator claimed that a child was born with a tendency to be submissive towards his superiors; if properly guarded and drawn out this inclination would develop as it was meant to.[57] There was no need to apply harsh methods.

In 1892, J. L. Hughes, inspector of Toronto schools, discussed at length the need to maintain a "harmony between control and spontaneity in the training of the race."[58] "The perfect work of Christianity will be accomplished when all mankind of consciously, reverently, responsively, co-operatively submissive to the Divine will."[59] A child who

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[56]Mr. S. Groh, "Punishment in Schools", Educational Journal, VI (1892) p. 4.

[57]Sully, "Development of the Moral Faculty", op. cit., p. 277.

[58]Hughes, "The Harmony Between Control and Spontaneity", op. cit., p. 184.

[59]Ibid.

rendered this kind of obedience to his earliest authority figures, his parents and teachers, would also be inclined to extend it to government and the principle of law. Obedience to the latter should transcend submission to any individual. Hughes did not suggest that control of the child should be dispensed with; however, such manipulation should be subtle rather than overt, and the use of force should be eliminated altogether. The child must never be aware of the fact that he was being controlled, and those in authority should encourage him to direct his own growth and initiate change. In effect, a child's will power should be left free to develop under the direction of a "superior will". It is important to note that Hughes' thesis was based on a faith in the basic goodness of human nature, a belief in the idea that human growth followed a natural order of development that warranted a minimum of interference, and a conviction that adults should not impose their perceptions of the world on children whose understanding of it was different.

By 1889 there was a greater awareness that a disobedient child had valid reasons for what at first appeared to be "obstinacy"; "Much may be passing in his mind, the half of which, if we could but know, would make us blush for our criticism on his conduct."[60] He may be frightened.

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[60] M. C. H., "Obstinacy", Educational Journal, III (1889), p. 62.

Sometimes a child's brain, it was claimed, was prone to be seized by "a temporary paralysis".

Obedience, then, was considered necessary to get the child into that state of mind in which he could be easily managed, and would readily accept the authority of others. He could then be more easily instilled with those ideas and habits of behaviour which it was considered necessary for him to possess. He would come to accept society's values and recognize all those prerequisites for his personal happiness and success; for example, he would strive to be diligent, truthful, and studious. Society, in turn, would gain by adding to the ranks of its members one who did not rebel against its laws and customs.

Industry and Related Habits

It was claimed that "industrious habits" were the "highest qualities" that children could possess.[61] Not

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[61]Mr. Harris, "The Morality of Public Education", Journal of Education, XXVI (1873), p. 170. It is worthy of note that many of the ideas expounded in the self-help manuals that circulated in England, the United States, and Canada were promoted in the educational journals. Of special significance are Samuel Smiles, Self-Help, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company), n.d., and William M. Thayer, Tact, Push, and Principle, (Toronto: William Briggs), 1886. The latter, an American publication, was circulated in Canada. Both addressed their comments to young men.

only was industry of value to the nation because an industrious population caused the worth of land to increase,[62] but it was also beneficial to the individual, for industry was a necessary prerequisite to success in the world. All businessmen, youths were informed, had been industrious boys.[63] In fact, persistent industry was the only quality which held the key to success.[64] One story told of a young man who was blessed with riches but died bankrupt because he had not learned to be industrious.[65] In the same vein, a youth should not rely on his natural genius for success; even a genius should apply himself, for natural talent was augmented by industry.[66] "Nothing is denied to well-directed labour; nothing is to be obtained without it."[67]

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[62]Rev. John Armour, "Third Lecture on Free Schools", Journal of Education, V (1853), p. 69.

[63]"The Lazy Boy", Journal of Education, VII (1854), p. 99.

[64]The same point is made in Smiles, Self-Help, op. cit., pp. 31, and Thayer, Tact, Push and Principle, op. cit., p. 184.

[65]"Occupation Needed for Young Men", Journal of Education, XXII (1870), p. 90.

[66]Joshua Reynolds, "Industry and Genius", Journal of Education, II (1849) p. 172. The same idea is expressed in Smiles, Self-Help, op. cit., pp. 43, 68-69, 72, 251, and Thayer, Tact, Push and Principle, op. cit., pp. 36, 57, 65.

[67]Ibid., The same quotation appears in Smiles, Self-Help, op. cit., p. 318, and Thayer, Tact, Push, and Principle, op. cit., p. 65.

Therefore, children were taught industrious habits because these would prove useful to them in the world where they would meet "abundance of work and difficulties of all kinds."[68] However, there were more important reasons why children should be industrious. One argument, advanced in 1887, in support of industrial education was that it would create "industrious citizens, and universal industry is no less essential to the national well-being than universal intelligence."[69] Persons who were not industrious were generally idle, and idleness was considered to be "the most direct road to vice."[70] However, it was even more important to apply oneself diligently at some form of labour than it was to have a particular occupation.[71] Such application could be practiced by children who did not yet have employment, as well as adults. In effect, reformers realized that the busy mind was not amenable to the effects of surrounding influences, and, therefore, provided the work was useful, the child was effectively guarded from

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[68] W. Wilkinson, "Character Training in Our Public Schools", Educational Journal, VI (1892), p. 72.

[69] "Manual Training in the Schools", Educational Journal, I (1887), p. 237.

[70] Wilkinson, "Character Training in Our Public Schools", op. cit., p. 72. The same point is made in Smiles, Self-Help, op. cit., p. 311, and Thayer, Tact, Push and Principle, op. cit., pp. 193-194.

[71] Wilkinson, "Character Training in Our Public Schools", op. cit., p. 72.

moral danger.

A child was to be not only industrious, but also diligent in his industry. One should never look forward to possible moments of leisure, but be totally engrossed in whatever one was doing at the moment.[72] Such diligence would make a person happy.

Perseverance was also an important characteristic. It was claimed that one invariably met with opposition, and that its appearance should not keep a person from remaining steadfast in his purpose.[73] In fact, it was generally true that, in order to gain success, it was first necessary to endure failure.[74] "Let no man wax pale, because of opposition. Opposition is what he wants, and must have, to be good for anything."[75] It was even implied that perseverance in itself always led to success; people who gave in easily were considered "always helpless and good for nothing."[76]

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[72]Milton, "Diligence", Journal of Education, II (1849), p. 15.

[73]"Perseverance Crowned with Success and Honour", Journal of Education, II (1849), p. 88.

[74]Guizot, "Perseverance", Journal of Education, III (1850), p. 3. The same sentiment is expressed in Smiles, Self-Help, op. cit., p. 37, and Thayer, Tact, Push and Principle, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

[75]John Neal, "Perseverance", Journal of Education, (1880), p. 3.

[76]Ibid.

If they had persevered, "hard as it may be to work up stream all life long, they would have their reward at last."[77]

Industry, diligence, and perseverance involved self-control. This was important to character. "Self-gratification and pleasure are as dangerous as they are seductive."[78] Instead, "self-denial and the strict performance of the duty of the hour" should be inculcated.[79] "Attention" was considered "the highest and best kind of self-control."[80] Reformers evidently recognized this relation between industrious application, self-control and self-denial.

Closely allied with industry, and considered a quality that every industrious person should possess was the characteristic of being frugal. In regard to money also, self-control must be exercised. Children should be taught to save "for proper uses."[81] One anecdote told of

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[77] Ibid.

[78] Wilkinson, "Character Training in Our Public Schools", op. cit., p. 72.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Rhoda Lee, "Self-Control", Educational Journal, VII (1893), p. 94.

[81] "Editorial Notes", Educational Journal, I (1887), p. 230.

a boy who spent his hard-earned savings on a useful item like mittens rather than on the candy which depleted the funds of his more wasteful friends.[82] Lack of thrift, poor spending habits and poverty were considered synonymous. In the last two decades of the century, the advantages of establishing school savings banks were discussed in England[83] and the United States[84] as well as in Canada.

Morality

It was also the duty of a child to obey his conscience, "that sense of right and wrong which is the highest attribute of humanity, whether in childhood or in adult age."[85] Conscience, it was professed, was capable of being "enlightened, strengthened, guided."[86] This process had, however, to be started in early childhood. In so doing a parent and teacher could draw from a "common fund of moral

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[82]"Shanty Town Savings Bank", Educational Journal, VI (1892), p. 109.

[83]"Editorial Notes", op. cit., p. 230.

[84]"Shanty Town Savings Bank", op. cit., p. 109.

[85]"Moral Training: What is it?" Educational Journal, II (1888), p. 316.

[86]"Moral Training in School", Educational Journal, VII (1893), p. 262.

truth."[87] The primary moral attributes that a child should possess were justice, truthfulness, kindness, and proper language.

"The most widely diffused moral sentiment is probably the sense of justice."[88] By some, this was considered an innate quality which had to be drawn out, "guarded", and "improved." A person possessing a keen sense of justice was also inclined to be truthful.

Children were continually admonished to be truthful. Strict regard for the truth should be inculcated in early childhood.[89] Truth was considered "the foundation of character"[90] and "one of the rarest of virtues."[91] Lying, in contrast, was one of the "bad passions."[92] The language used to describe the virtue of truth illustrates how important reformers considered it to be.

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[87] Ibid.

[88] D. W. D. LeSueur, "Moral and Religious Education", Educational Journal, IV (1890), p. 131.

[89] "Early Training", op. cit., p. 23.

[90] Ibid.

[91] "A Word to Boys on Truth", Journal of Education, XXIV, (1871), p. 8.

[92] "Early Training", op. cit., p. 23.

> But a canker-worm, ruinous as intemperance, gnaws at the very vitals of youthful character. Truth, the bulwark of Christianity, the pillar of true morality; Truth, the foundation of noble character; the glory of the age and the ornament of youth, lies trampled and bleeding; and Falsehood, destroyer of peace, parent of deception; Falsehood, corruptor of society and snarer of youth, stalks unblushingly forth in the broad noonday of our nineteenth century.[93]

The idea was expressed that a person who lied had some serious deception to cover. Lying, for example, was viewed as the "twin-sister of theft."[94] It was claimed that "no nation can become truly great or noble so long as a large proportion of its citizens will do mean and dishonest things, even in ignorance or thoughtlessness."[95]

Canadian reformers felt that they had some cause for concern in this regard, for numerous religious persons seemed to consider that it was not dishonest to "cheat the customs."[96] "The great want of the age is conscientiousness, or moral thoughtfulness, and what we may perhaps call moral intelligence as the outcome of such thoughtfulness."[97] As a result,

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[93]Miss H. J. Tromanhauser, "The Teacher and the School", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, VII (1885), p. 389.

[94]"Moral Principles and Their Application", Educational Journal, VII (1893), p. 86.

[95]Ibid.

[96]"Character-Forming", Educational Journal, I (1887), p. 204.

[97]Ibid.

teachers should inculcate in Canadian children the desire "to spurn deceit, untruthfulness, and fraud in every form, and without which there can be no true nobility of character."[98]

It was also contended that children should always use suitable language. Profanity was regarded as a degrading "vice".[99] A profane child was usually one who was also idle, and, therefore, was "a pest to the community."[100] One who took God's name in vain was untrustworthy and possessed a host of other immoral characteristics. "Profanity is not less a violation of morality than falsehood, drunkenness, or theft. It begets a recklessness of thought and action--a moral vacuum, where every vice may find a sure receptacle."[101]

Displaying kindness and benevolence towards others was a desirable moral attribute. The influence of kindness was considered "boundless" and "eternal".[102] Boys were instructed to refrain from judging one's fellows by the

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[98] Ibid.

[99] Hon. Horace Mann, "Profane Swearing", Journal of Education I (1848), p. 247.

[100] "To Our Village Boys", Journal of Education, XXIV (1871), p. 61.

[101] "Profanity in School Teachers", Journal of Education, I (1848), p. 255.

[102] "Power of Kindness", Journal of Education, IV (1851), p. 6.

clothes they wore, to share one's meals, and to aid those less intelligent with their school work.[103] "In the nursery, on the playground, and in the school, there is room all the time, for little acts of kindness that cost nothing, but are worth more than gold or silver."[104]

Manners

It was generally believed that manners were so closely allied to morals that the former was a reflection of the latter.[105] "Character is the source, conduct the stream."[106] As a result, reformers were convinced that it was necessary to inculcate good manners in children. In fact, so great were their efforts in this regard that one contemporary claimed more attention was being paid to altering conduct than character.[107]

It was professed that one's manners determined

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[103]"A Bit of Advice for Boys", Journal of Education, XVII (1864), p. 30.

[104]"Kindness in Little Things", Journal of Education, IV (1852), p. 90.

[105]"Schools and School Manners", Journal of Education, XVII (1874), p. 182.

[106]"Character and Conduct", Educational Weekly, IV (1886), p. 570.

[107]Ibid.

one's popularity and, therefore, perhaps one's success.[108] A person's manner caused people to be attracted or repelled. These "little refinements" proved gratifying in the course of "friendly intercourse."[109] A person lost considerable influence if he was negligent about "these little details."[110]

There was concern on the part of some persons that being mannerly was equivalent to being subservient; this was firmly denied.[111] However, it was considered mannerly to show appropriate respect to one's superiors.[112] Also, the kinds of manners one displayed toward others was dependent upon their social position; for example, teachers were urged to treat pupils "with a degree of consideration becoming the relations existing between superior and subordinate, and pupils in their turn should be taught to observe due respect for the rights and wishes of their school mates and teachers."[113] It is evident that a mannerly

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[108] "Importance of Manners", Educational Weekly, III (1886), p. 267.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Ibid.

[111] "Conduct and Manner", Educational Journal, VI (1893), p. 343.

[112] "Good Manners, Their Want, and Their Influence", Journal of Education, XI (1858), p. 159.

[113] Tromanhauser, "The Teacher and the School", op. cit., p. 389.

child was also a subservient child. Precocious children, for example, were not considered mannerly. It was disturbing to have to deal with "one of those untrammelled people."[114] Such children always attempted to be the centre of attention and, therefore, were perceived as having "no perspective of human rights."[115] It was bad manners to display "self-assertion", more especially if one was a girl. Such a girl would be incapable of fulfilling "any of society's demands in conventionalities."[116] Self-assertion must be replaced by "self-repression". A child possessing good manners did not make public all his viewpoints, or bother his elders by asking futile questions which he could have answered himself with some quiet thought. In effect, a child who was seen but not heard and who acknowledged his dependent status in his bearing was a mannerly and, therefore, an acceptable child.

Children were not well mannered by nature, and manners were considered difficult to acquire.[117] They had

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[114]"Importance of Manners", op. cit., p. 266.

[115]Ibid.

[116]Ibid., p. 267.

[117]"Good Manners for Young People", Educational Weekly, IV (1886), p. 630.

to be inculcated in children at an early age.[118] Indeed, it was a common accusation that children "lack gentleness, politeness and thoughtfulness for the comfort and feelings of others."[119] It was, therefore, important to instill in them the habit of being polite.

There was false politeness and genuine politeness. The former was a veneer, pardonable only in "Dancing-masters, fops, and flirts."[120] True politeness, on the other hand, was rooted in "benevolence" and "good will". It was also professed to have a powerful influence. The universal exercise of this habit "would go far to induce the highest well-being of society. Dissension, strife, bitterness, and numberless other sources of misery, would seldom arise."[121] The possession of sincere courtesy would

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[118]"Importance of Manners", op. cit., p. 267.

[119]Rhoda Lee, "Politeness", Educational Journal, III (1890), p. 10. Bernard Wishy, The Child and the Republic, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), p. 18, noted that disparaging remarks on the behaviour of American children had been made since 1830. J. G. Hodgins noted that the same observations had been made about Canadian children since about 1830. For evidence of this, see J. G. Hodgins, School Children's Manners. Official Regulations. 1845-1876. Hodgins Papers.

[120]"Good Manners, Their Want, and Their Influence", op. cit., p. 158.

[121]Ibid.

also prove useful to those individuals, especially boys, who were seeking to make their way in the world.

> How much the cheerful and courteous demeanor of clerks in stores contribute to their worth and attractiveness. So true is this that it should lead every judicious merchant to regard these as essential traits in those whom they take into their employment.[122]

A child had a duty to be not only polite, but also neat and clean. There was no sense in inculcating in adults the desire to be neat for this would prove too difficult a task.[123] It was considered more useful to teach children "a horror of the antisocial practice."[124] Just as a disposition to be mannerly was not innate, neither was a love of neatness.[125] In fact, one contemporary claimed that children had an inherent aversion to tidiness and cleanliness.[126] Therefore, children must be trained in early childhood to develop these habits.

Neatness and cleanliness were held to have an

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[122]"Habits and Character", Educational Weekly, II (1886), p. 455.

[123]"Teaching 'Manners'", Educational Journal, VII (1893), p. 166.

[124]Ibid.

[125]Rhoda Lee, "A Good Habit". Educational Journal, V (1891), p. 259.

[126]"Personal Habits of Children", Educational Weekly, II (1886), p. 134.

important influence on the health and character of a child. For instance, a "chaotic mind must always result from untidy, careless, slovenly actions."[127] Cleanliness was required in order to ensure the maintenance of health; this was especially valid in large classrooms where the smell of dirty bodies caused frail children to become ill.[128] However, the moral influence of cleanliness was considered especially salutary, and the effects of neat and clean surroundings were far-reaching. It was claimed that

> the connection is obvious between the state of mind thus produced, and habits of respect for others, and for those higher duties and obligations which no law can enforce. On the contrary, a filthy, squalid, noxious dwelling, rendered still more wretched by its noisome site, and in which none of the decencies of life can be observed, contributes to make its unfortunate inhabitants selfish, sensual, and regardless of the feelings of each other; the constant indulgence of such passions renders them reckless and brutal, and the transition is natural to propensities and habits incompatible with respect for the property of others, or for the laws.[129]

Similarly, personal cleanliness was important because, "if a boy be clean, tidy, and neat in appearance, it will be the easier for him to be morally pure and true. It will be easier for such a one to be upright and honest, than for

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[127] Lee, "A Good Habit", op. cit., p. 259.

[128] Miss M. H. Davis, "Formation of Good Habits", Educational Journal, V (1891), p. 354.

[129] "Humanizing Effect of Cleanliness", Journal of Education, IX (1856), p. 140.

him to be slouching and sneakish."[130] Physical cleanliness led inevitably to physical purity.[131] The idea that cleanliness was next to godliness was often noted.[132] In light of this attitude, it is easy to understand why John Millar commented, in 1895, that "Soap and civilization are inseparable."[133]

Humaneness

It was also expected that children should be humane. The humane sentiment was characterized by a concern for and desire to help all those perceived as defenceless.[134] "Kindness and mercy to all living things are characteristic of the bravest and manliest natures."[135] This care was extended to "the poor and the sick",[136] as well as to "the

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[130]Arnold Alcott, "Cleanliness", Journal of Education, IX (1856), p. 140.

[131]Ibid.

[132]Lizzie Wills, "True Education", Educational Journal, V (1892), p. 631.

[133]John Millar, School Management and the Principle and Practice of Teaching, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1897), p. 28.

[134]"The Prevention of Cruelty", Journal of Education, VII (1893), p. 310.

[135]"Editorial Notes", Educational Journal, II (1888), p. 277.

[136]Hodgins, Aims and Objects of the Toronto

deserted, neglected and homeless waifs and strays of the city,"[137] that class of children who were viewed as the victims of parental abuse. However, the major priority of humane reformers was animals, for these were perceived as the most helpless creatures.[138] Although motivated partly by practical reasons,[139] reformers were genuinely outraged by the conditions they witnessed and their attitude did reflect a new sensitivity towards animal life. Their active concern became embodied in the establishment of Humane Societies.

The humane sentiment became generally diffused in Ontario and elsewhere during the second half of the nineteenth century. In fact, one of its most striking features

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Humane Society, op. cit., pp. 86, 93.

[137]This evidence is reinforced by the findings of Beatrice Johnston, For Those Who Cannot Speak, (Laval: Dev-Sco Publications Ltd., 1970), p. 8. She noted that the promoters of kindness to animals also extended their philanthropic endeavours to other needy groups.

[138]Hodgins, Aims and Objects of the Toronto Humane Society, op. cit., p. 204. More evidence of this is contained in the Preface.

[139]Ibid., pp. 91, 184. It was claimed that well-treated farm animals provided more healthful food products once slaughtered. Furthermore, it was urged that birds should be protected because their continued destruction proved harmful to farmers who relied on them to control the insect population.

was its international character.[140] Ontario reformers were strongly influenced by developments in England and the United States. Humanitarians in Toronto kept close contact with the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals,[141] established in 1824 and therefore the "oldest society of this kind in the world."[142] On the North American continent the initial impetus to form humane societies occurred in the United States; the establishment of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in New York in 1866[143] was closely followed by the formation of a similar organization in Massachusetts in 1868.[144] The activities of their respective founders, Henry Bergh and George T. Angell, became well known to reformers. By 1888, there were in existence a large number of Humane Societies in North America;[145] Ontario reformers were

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[140] Ibid., p. 43. Besides those existing in Britain, the United States, and Europe, there was even a Society established in Calcutta.

[141] Ibid., p. 203.

[142] Ibid., p. 41.

[143] Gerald Carson, Men, Beasts, and Gods (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), p. 99.

[144] Ibid., p. 108.

[145] Hodgins, Aims and Objects of the Toronto Humane Society, op. cit., p. 41.

receiving Annual Reports from the American Societies, notably those of New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.[146] The first Canadian organization was the Canadian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, formed at Montreal in 1869;[147] this was followed by the establishment of similar societies in Quebec City in 1870, Ottawa in 1871, Halifax in 1877, and Kingston, Hamilton and Toronto in 1888.[148]

In Ontario the humane philosophy spread slowly in spite of Hodgins' optimistic observation, in 1888, that the existence of a body of Canadian material touching on humane topics "shows that the humane sentiment is largely diffused among our people, and that it is the theme of many of our writers."[149] One of these very authors, Agnes Maule Machar, noted in 1891, that although it was generally conceded that people were displaying more humanity towards

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[146] Ibid., pp. 40-41.

[147] Johnston, For Those Who Cannot Speak, op. cit., p. 1.

[148] Ibid., pp. 23-24.

[149] Hodgins, Aims and Objects of the Toronto Humane Society, op. cit., V. As evidence that this was also the case in the United States, see Carson, Men, Beasts, and Gods, op. cit., pp. 93-94.

one another as well as towards animals, "there is still much left to desire."[150] Similarly, the promoters of this feeling met with censure as often as they did with sympathy.[151] They were "usually regarded as a set of amiable and, on the whole, harmless cranks" who had nothing better to engage their attention.[152] It was considered necessary, in order to gain public support in the form of funds and actual participation, that an extensive and detailed publication on the objectives and activities of the Humane Society be issued.[153]

Regarding education as the most efficient means whereby to effect a lasting change in attitudes, reformers concentrated much of their efforts on the child.[154] It was the contention of one observer that boys especially were in need of humane training.[155] Girls lived in a more

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[150]Agnes Maule Machar, "Training in Humanity an Important Part of Education", Educational Journal, V (1891), p. 459.

[151]"The Prevention of Cruelty", op. cit., p. 310.

[152]Machar, "Training in Humanity an Important Part of Education", op cit., p. 460.

[153]Hodgins, Aims and Objects of the Humane Society, op. cit., V.

[154]Ibid., pp. 42, 183-200. A whole section of this publication is dedicated to the topic of "The Humane Education of Children". Therein, parents and teachers are instructed on how to inculcate the virtue of humaneness in children.

[155]"Be Merciful", Educational Journal, III (1889), p. 26.

sheltered and refined environment and possessed the feminine characteristics of "gentleness and tenderness"; "a cruel girl or woman is a monstrosity in nature."[155] Boys, however, were of another breed; they possessed a desire to destroy life. Indeed, articles on the humane treatment of animals were often addressed specifically to boys.

Of course, not all cruelty to animals was of this deliberate type. Often it was due merely to "thoughtlessness."[157] "The untaught and naturally selfish child usually regards animals and is allowed to regard them simply as material for his own pleasure or caprice."[158] The existence of a humane feeling in children was the result

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[155]"Be Merciful", Educational Journal, III (1889), p. 26.

[156]Ibid. The same idea is expressed in Hodgins, Aims and Objects of the Humane Society, op. cit., p. 195. The fact that it was mothers who were primarily responsible for teaching humaneness (p. 189) made this a comforting belief.

[157]"Be Merciful", op. cit., p. 26. See also Hodgins, Aims and Objects of the Humane Society, op. cit., pp. 77 and 193.

[158]Machar, "Training in Humanity An Important Part of Education", op. cit., p. 460.

of training.[159] Furthermore, such training was necessary for the children of all classes, not just those of the lower classes.[160]

The practice of humaneness towards animals was designed also to enlarge children's sympathies and to inculcate in them the sentiment of mercy in general. "There is nothing meaner than barbarous and cruel treatment of the dumber creatures that can not answer or resent the misery which is so often needlessly inflicted upon them."[161] Injustice towards animals led inevitably to greater injustices. "Men are but children grown. It is but a step from the crushing of these little creatures, endowed with all the organs of life, to that more exquisite torture of human beings, and the trampling of human rights."[162] As evidence, it was noted that only twelve of two thousand American

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[159] Ibid., p. 459. The same idea is expressed in Hodgins, Aims and Objects of the Toronto Humane Society, op. cit., p. 193.

[160] Machar, "Training in Humanity an Important Part of Education," op. cit., p. 459. The same idea is expressed in Hodgins, Aims and Objects of the Toronto Humane Society, op. cit., p. 193.

[161] John Bright, "Current Thought", Educational Journal, III (1889), p. 294.

[162] "Kindness to Animals", Educational Journal, IV (1890), p. 75.

prisoners had had the childhood experience of caring for a pet.[163] In contrast, a child trained to be kind towards animals would realize that the meak and helpless should be protected rather than victimized.[164] In fact, he would respect the comfort of everyone with whom he came in contact. Such a child would become a feeling man; that is, one who was "refined", "elevated", and "a high type of man".[165]

From 1848 to 1877, the Journal of Education was instrumental in disseminating the humane sentiment. As already noted, its assistant-editor, J. G. Hodgins, was later a very active member of the Toronto Humane Society. There appeared in the pages of this periodical many articles urging kindness towards animals. Judging from their contents, reformers were especially anxious about the general practice among boys of destroying birds.[166] In these articles, animal life was often depicted in ways which were

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[163] Ibid. The same quotation appears in Hodgins, Aims and Objects of the Toronto Humane Society, op. cit. p. 43.

[164] "Kindness to Animals", op. cit., p. 75.

[165] "Be Merciful", op. cit., p. 26.

[166] For example, "To Boys--Destruction of Birds Forbidden in Germany", Journal of Education, XIII (1860), p. 58 and "Wanton Destruction of Singing-Birds", Journal of Education, XV (1862), p. 49.

designed to arouse sympathy. A prevalent approach was to ascribe to animals characteristics possessed and behaviours manifested by humans. Therefore, thrushes were depicted as cunning,[167] fish as gregarious,[168] and cats as tender.[169] Teachers were to read the selections appearing in the journal to their students. For this reason they often appeared in the miscellaneous section in which were published excerpts which, because of their moral content, its editors wished to see presented to students on Friday afternoons.[170]

Later in the century, the Educational Journal also assumed the function of diffusing the humane sentiment throughout the provinces. Besides the publication of articles advocating humane treatment of animals, there was frequent reference in its pages to the activities of the

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[167]"The Cunning Thrush", Journal of Education", XII (1859), p. 61.

[168]"Gregarious Habits of Fish", Journal of Education, XV (1862), p. 43.

[169]"A Case of Feline Tenderness", Journal of Education, XV (1862), p. 139. The same method of encouraging identification with animals was used by Hodgins, Aims and Objects of the Toronto Humane Society; op. cit., animals, it was claimed, possessed intelligence in the form of "dumb and silent reason" (p. 44); were affected by music (p. 45); and have "professions, occupations and enjoyments" (p. 46). The appearance of many such articles in a concentrated space had powerful impact.

[170]"Stories for Boys", Journal of Education, X (1857), p. 10.

Toronto Humane Society. This periodical's editor was an obvious supporter of the Society's aims and sought to further encourage them. In 1888 he lauded as a desirable practice the use of Hodgins' book in the schools;[171] through its use, in the Friday afternoon reading periods, children would continue to be influenced towards humane action. Because of his continued sympathy a children's newspaper, entitled School Work and Play, was published on the Educational Journal premises.[172] The editor expressed the hope that it would "be salutary in its influence upon the coming men and women of Ontario".[173]

A number of measures were taken by the Toronto Humane Society to inculcate in children a desire to be humane. In 1888, it encouraged "the formation of Bands of Mercy."[174] First instituted in England in 1875, these organizations made their appearance on the North American continent in 1882 when some were established in Boston.[175]

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[171]"Editorial Notes", Editorial Journal, II (1888), p. 149.

[172]"Be Merciful", op. cit., p. 26.

[173]Ibid.

[174]Hodgins, Aims and Objects of the Humane Society, op. cit., p. 200.

[175]Johnston, For Those Who Cannot Speak, op. cit., p. 6.

It was claimed that, next to direct training by parents and teachers, the bands were the most successful means of influencing children in humaneness.[176] They were certainly popular. In 1888, President Angell of the Massachusetts Humane Society noted that 5,743 band branches were in existence in Massachusetts alone.[177] In England, that same year, there were 500 such organizations, with 107,000 members.[178] There is evidence that in Ontario too these bands gained the support of children.[179]

In 1888, the Society published information on how the bands were to be formed. Its members were required to take a pledge "to be kind to all living creatures."[180] As a token of membership children received a badge. It was recommended that regular meetings be held once a month.[181] At these, reading material on humane topics should be presented and available for recitation. The value of the bands continued

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[176] Hodgins, Aims and Objects of the Humane Society, op. cit., p. 201.

[177] Ibid., p. 40.

[178] Ibid., p. 202.

[179] "Editorial Notes", op. cit., V (1891), p. 385.

[180] Hodgins, Aims and Objects of the Humane Society, op. cit., p. 200.

[181] Ibid.

to be promoted; for example, in 1891 the Society distributed "an eight-page pamphlet" regarding them.[182]

In 1890, the Humane Society offered one hundred dollars in prize money to Toronto pupils under the age of sixteen who wrote compositions either on "The duty of showing kindness to animals" or on "Why birds and their nests should be protected."[183] This method of involving children, first developed in England, had also been adopted in the United States.[184] The Canadian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals had inaugurated similar contests in 1877.[185] The prevalence of such activity demonstrates how important it was to reformers that children be infused with the humane sentiment.

Patriotism

All citizens were expected to be loyal to their country. Such loyalty was to be instilled in every child

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[182]"Editorial Notes", op. cit., V (1891), p. 385.

[183]"Editorial Notes, op. cit., III (1890), p. 25.

[184]Hodgins, Aims and Objects of the Humane Society, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

[185]Johnston, For Those Who Cannot Speak, op. cit., p. 6.

at an early age.[186] Although this sentiment existed at mid-century, it became more pronounced in the last quarter of the 1800's. In 1886, J. G. Hodgins voiced concern over the large number of immigrants "of mixed nationalities" who were entering the country at such a rate that there was not enough time to "absorb and Canadianize them."[187] His reaction was similar to that of American reformers who expressed anxiety over the new source of immigrant supply and the different character of those individuals comprising it.[188] In fact, Hodgins' opinion appears to have been directly influenced by the American experience, for there was neither a large increase of immigrants to Canada until after 1896,[189] nor was there a change in the character of the new arrivals until after 1900.[190] His reaction foreshadowed a concern

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[186] "The Flag in the Schoolhouse", Educational Journal, III (1889), p. 319.

[187] J. G. Hodgins, "Canadian National Homogeneity" Educational Weekly, II (1886), p. 181.

[188] James S. Coleman and others, Youth, Transition to Adulthood (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 20. For a more detailed account of the reaction of Americans, see James S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, (Toronto: F. C. Stevenson, 1909), pp. 196-199.

[189] "The Historical Background, Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV, "The Contributions of the Other Ethinic Groups", Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism, Edited by Howard Palmer, (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing, 1975), p. 7.

[190] Ibid., p. 6.

that became more general in the last few years of the century and after its turn.[191]

Hodgins' solution to what he perceived as a serious problem was to inculcate in children a feeling of "robust patriotism."[192] He recommended resorting to the same methods that Americans were using.

> Within the last few years they have introduced into the schools here and there, as part of the exercises, Author's Day, Founder's Day, Hero's Day etc., etc. Decoration Day and Arbor Day also do their part.[193]

Displaying "national and patriotic emblems" in the classroom was also advisable. He was not alone in advocating means whereby to instill patriotic sentiment. The editor of the Educational Weekly agreed that a way of achieving this end was to learn about the lives of "great men" and to study Canadian history and literature.[194] A Kingston resident claimed that all pupils should be supplied with

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[191]"Attitudes Towards Immigration and Immigration Policy", Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism, op. cit., pp. 16-21. This concern was the reason for the publication of the book by Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, op. cit.

[192]Hodgins, "Canadian National Homogeneity", op. cit., p. 181.

[193]Ibid.

[194]"Patriotism in the School-Room", Educational Weekly, II (1886), p. 278.

flags and that a flag should be situated in every school"; It would be a silent, eloquent and faithful teacher."[195]

There was some dispute about what consituted a "true patriot."[196] The editor of the Educational Journal noted that "the old idea of patriotism" was "to hate foreigners and fight for one's country 'right or wrong'."[197] He complained that such patriotism was founded upon "blind passion" and produced "the national prejudice and bigotry and greedy, grasping selfishness, which do so much to embitter international relations, when they might be and should be of the friendliest character."[198]

> Hence it will be seen that true patriotism cannot be taught by simply shouting huzzas, or waving flags, or reciting historic incidents, in prose or verse, with a large admixture of unhistoric exaggerations, or by pouring denunciation or ridicule upon other nations, or marching through the streets with swords and guns, of either wood or steel, and singing or shouting defiance at imaginary foes in general and our nearest neighbors

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[195]"The Flag in the Schoolhouse", op. cit., p. 319.

[196]"Educational Notes", Educational Journal, III (1889), p. 309. For evidence that this controversy was also occurring in England, see "Teaching Patriotism", Educational Journal, VII (1893), p. 327.

[197]Ibid. This article provides evidence that the United States was accused of adopting this stance.

[198]"True Patriotism", Educational Journal, IV (1891), p. 524.

and kinsmen in particular.[199]

A proper kind of patriotism, it was professed, "is intelligent, discriminating, broad-minded."[200] A man possessing this quality respected individual and national rights and sought to elevate the moral and mental character of all around him.[201] This new attitude was expressed in the opposition to drill that was evident in the latter part of the century. Objection was taken to the "mock-military display" often engaged in by "juvenile warriors" in Ontario schools.[202] "The ideal soldier is the one who responds like an automaton to the word of command. So is the ideal company, the ideal regiment, the ideal army."[203] The ideal soldier was not the ideal human being.

The desirable citizen was not only a patriot, but also bound to take into consideration such things as "obedience to law; respect for rules; fidelity in office; the ballot; preserving and upholding the dignity and honor

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[199] Ibid.

[200] Ibid.

[201] "Teaching Patriotism, op. cit., p. 327.

[202] "Militarism in the Schools", Educational Journal, VII (1893), p. 71.

[203] Ibid.

of citizenship; oaths."[204] In fact, these were his patriotic duties in times of peace. During the last third of the century, reformers, influenced by developments in the United States, considered the viability of establishing, in the schools, a subject termed 'Civics'. Its aim was to teach children "those elementary facts relating to citizenship and government" which would cause them to become better citizens.[205]

Tobacco, Alcohol, Gambling and Sex

Social reformers sought also to control certain personal habits of children and to discourage some of the pastimes in which they engaged. These included their use of tobacco and alcohol, and their participation in amusements such as gambling.

Concern about tobacco grew slowly. According to the President of the Ontario Grammar School Masters' Association, the smoking and chewing of tobacco was viewed, before 1869, as a "useless" and "harmless" habit.[206]

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[204] W. A. McIntyre, "Training for Citizenship", Educational Journal, IV (1891), p. 550.

[205] "Civics", Educational Weekly, I (1886), p. 648.

[206] "Ontario Grammar School Masters' Association," Journal of Education, XXII (1869), p. 138.

Before that time its use by male pupils was not common, and therefore, no consideration was taken thereof. However, it became, he claimed, increasingly more customary to see boys at eight or younger resorting to tobacco. His contention is confirmed by the fact that there appeared fewer articles about this matter in the Journal of Education before 1869 than thereafter, and those that did appear reflected no alarm over the situation. He concluded, "I think I shall be sustained by all in saying that the time for attempting at least to stay the progress of this vice among school-boys has fully arrived."[207]

The prevalence of this habit did not abate during the rest of the century. One Canadian observer, in 1872, was compelled to comment that "Still the 'weed' is in favour."[208] In 1892, anxiety was again expressed over the fact that boys aged eight and nine could be seen "puffing away at cigarettes with all the nonchalence of experts at the business."[209] There is no evidence to show that girls also smoked; reference was made only to boys in any articles touching on this subject.

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[207] Ibid.

[208] "Smokers", Journal of Education, XXV (1872), p. 45.

[209] Willis, "True Education", op. cit., p. 631.

The use of tobacco was objected to for three major reasons. One of these was the fact that the purchase of tobacco was a waste of money; Canadians were informed that "in Germany, Holland, United States and England, tobacco costs more than bread."[210] Many objections were based on its professed effects on the health of children. Tobacco was considered a poison.[211] Although it was dangerous "in any form", it was more so when smoked as a cigarette.[212] Whereas a cigar contained only one poison, a cigarette contained five; these included "oil in the paper, the oil of nicotine, saltpetre to preserve the tobacco, opium to make it mild, and the oil in the flavoring."[213] Once inhaled, these poisons would never leave the human body. The number of maladies that tobacco was professed to cause was impressive; they included giddiness "sickness of the stomach, dyspepsia, diarrhoea, angina pectoris, liver complaint, heart complaint, pancreas complaint, nervousness, amaurosis, paralysis, apoplexy, atrophy, deafness, nausea,

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[210] "Smokers", op. cit., p. 45.

[211] Ibid.

[212] "The Deadly Cigarette", Educational Journal, III (1889), p. 92.

[213] Ibid.

ulceration of the gums, cheeks, and mucous membrane of the throat, hysteria, hypochondriasis!"[214]

The most serious objection to tobacco was the fact that it had narcotic effects. "Cigarettes create a thirst for strong drink", it was maintained.[215] Therefore, "there should be anti-cigarette societies, as there are temperance societies."[216] Cigarette-smoking was also held responsible for influencing young adults of both sexes to use "morphine and other strong drugs."[217] No mention of such drugs was made until 1895; apparently, they were being used in "extreme secrecy."[218] However, by then, physicians and others voiced concern that "the evil is growing to an alarming extent, not alone among the lower and criminal classes, but spreading . . . among those of the city's people whose breeding, rearing, and education should render them proof against such folly."[219] For these reasons,

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[214]"Smokers", op. cit., p. 45.

[215]"The Deadly Cigarette", op. cit., p. 92.

[216]Ibid.

[217]"Training the Fathers", Educational Journal, IX (1895), p. 166.

[218]Ibid.

[219]Ibid.

stopping the use of tobacco among children was considered important for "the welfare of the Commonwealth".[220]

Attempts to do so extended to the initiation of reform through legislative change. In 1892, an "Act Respecting the Use of Tobacco by Minors" was ratified by the Ontario legislature.[221] It imposed a fine and the penalty of possible imprisonment on every person who caused any child under the age of eighteen to possess tobacco in any form. There was some difference of opinion in regard to this law. There were those "lovers of the weed" who claimed that it posed a curtailment of freedom.[222] Others viewed it as "unworkable."[223] The latter included even some who agreed with the sentiment that occasioned the Act. Enforcement did prove a problem; three years after the law was passed, young smokers were still to be seen everywhere.[224] There were also those who felt that the state had the right "to interfere for the protection of boys not yet arrived

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[220]"The Use of Tobacco", Educational Journal, VII, (1893), p. 263.

[221]Ibid.

[222]Ibid.

[223]Ibid.

[224]"Training the Fathers", op. cit., p. 166.

at the years of discretion, from the consequences of their own lack of wisdom, and the harmful influences by which they may be surrounded."[225] It was their opinion that if this law was rigidly enforced, contemporaries could be assured of a "healthier, purer, and higher average of manhood in the next generation."[226]

Children were directly influenced in the schools to discontinue the use of tobacco. The East Middlesex Teachers' Association met to discuss how teachers could aid in enforcing the new Act.[227] At the same time, many articles expounding the ill effects of cigarette smoking appeared in the educational journals.

"The subject of 'Temperance', as it is popularly called, is the problem of the age,"[228] claimed one contemporary, adding that it was not a major topic of concern before 1865. Although a greater concern was displayed in the latter part of the century, there is evidence that considerable anxiety was manifested by reformers at mid-century. It was claimed that either one or both parents

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[225] "The Use of Tobacco", op. cit., p. 263.

[226] Ibid.

[227] "Editorial Notes", Educational Journal, IV (1890), p. 238.

[228] Mrs. J. L. Harvie, "Temperance Instruction in Our Public Schools", Educational Journal V (1891), p. 456.

of one-quarter of the inmates at Wisconsin's State Reform School were drunkards and one-quarter of the prisoners themselves were constant tobacco users or alcoholics.[229] Furthermore, while the use of tobacco was limited to males, that of alcohol was not; in 1863, more women than men were imprisoned in the Toronto jail on a charge of intemperance.[230] Similarly, Canadians knew that some American states had, during the 1850's, introduced laws forbidding the sale of liquor.[231]

The purchase of liquor was also viewed as being a waste of money.[232] However, it was the effects of indulging in alcoholic beverages which provided most cause for concern. Their harmful influence could be clearly witnessed.

> in the shrivelled, haggard features, the lack-lustre eye, the half palsied form, the staggering gait, the absence of nerve and will power, the loss of manly energy and ambition, and the pitiful slavery to degrading appetites and passions, which

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[229] "Vicious Children", Journal of Education, XVI (1863), p. 39.

[230] "Crime in Toronto During 1863", Journal of Education, XVI, (1863), p. 38.

[231] "American Prohibitory Liquor Laws", Journal of Education, VIII (1855), p. 107.

[232] H. C. Krebs, "A Lesson on Practical Temperance", Educational Journal, V (1892), p. 667.

> mark the pathway of the destroyer through modern society.[233]

Drink affected not only the "body and brain", but also "personal manhood and national character."[234] Just as cigarette smoking created a yearning to drink, so the practice of drinking led one inevitably to prison, which in turn led directly "to the gallows".[235] The relation between crime and alcohol was often noted; drunkards were more likely to "swear and murder and rob."[236] Drunken parents failed to provide the kind of environment that would influence children toward the good, and thereby threatened to offset all the advances made in the schools.[237] It was estimated that in the United States alone, sixty thousand persons died annually from having become alcoholics.[238] Indeed, so powerful were its effects that the liquor craving, once developed, was never entirely eradicated, even though a former victim abstained for years.[239]

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[233] "Temperance and Hygiene", Educational Journal, I (1887), p. 220.

[234] Ibid.

[235] "Temperance Training", Educational Journal, V (1891), p. 249.

[236] Krebs, "A Lesson on Practical Temperance", op. cit., p. 667.

[237] Mrs. Hartley, "The Teacher's Relation to the Liquor Problem", Educational Journal, VI (1892), p. 58.

[238] Mrs. Mary Hunt, "Alcohol", Educational Weekly, I (1885), p. 52.

[239] Ibid.

In this matter too, reformers focused their attention on the young; their education was considered "one of the preventive means against intemperance."[240] Many doubted that the enactment of legislation would make any difference; it was felt that the only effective results would occur when "aversion to intemperance, fierce as the hatred which burned in the sixteenth century, is born in the blood and bred in the bone of the youth of our land."[241] There were a number of important reasons cited as to why children were, once again, singled out as the only hope for reformers. The taste for alcohol was considered acquired because liquor was generally distasteful; therefore, if it was not formed in childhood, it was unlikely that this taste would develop in later years.[242] Furthermore, because children were "impressionable" by nature they would be greatly influenced by temperance teaching. Being naturally "questioning" they would eagerly assimilate

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[240] "Temperance in Public Schools", Educational Journal, VI (1892), p. 69.

[241] Tromanhauser, "The Teacher and the School", op. cit., p. 389.

[242] Harvie, "Temperance Instruction in Our Public Schools", op. cit., p. 456.

this knowledge. The prevalent belief in prevention as preferable to cure caused reformers to doubt that a drunkard could be saved; in contrast, children "are free as the air from the fetters of strong drink. Let us keep them free."[243] Every individual child so indoctrinated could be counted as a future temperance worker. Obviously, if all the children in school were effectively counselled on the evils of drink, there would be no problem after the next twenty years.

The educational journals give some evidence of that attempt to interfere in the amusements of men in general and children in particular.[244] The love of amusement was considered God-given and therefore natural in man.[245] This

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[243] Ibid.

[244] For evidence of this phenomenon in Britain and the direction it took, see Robert W. Malcolmson, Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1973), Chapters VI and VII.

[245] "Our Amusements: Hints for Friday Afternoons", Educational Weekly, II (1886), p. 490. It is important to note that there was some ambivalence regarding this point in a society which also strongly encouraged industry, diligence, and frugality. Malcolmson, Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850, op. cit., pp. 89-95, pointed this out in the case of England during the eighteenth century. As already outlined in this chapter, the work ethic was still being promoted in the second half of the nineteenth century. The stance taken by the authors of the self-help manuals being circulated during this period are worthy of note. Samuel Smiles, Self-Help, op. cit., p. 343, clearly recognized the need for amusement, provided one maintained a healthful balance between 'work' and 'play'. In his mind amusement was synonymous with pleasure and

instinct was even stronger in child-nature; readers were reminded that "the young life craves fun, frolic and diversion -- craves it, and furthermore will have it."[246] However, it was important that only "proper amusement" be pursued.

That which constituted proper amusement was generally agreed upon. Any games involving chance were discouraged because they did not form a good character.[247] The sports

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required no industry, diligence, or purposeful activity. Thayer, Tact, Push, and Principle, op. cit., p. 209 made the distinction betwee recreation and amusement. Recreation was an acceptable alternative to work. It should be pleasurable, but because it was designed only as a rest from persevering physical or mental action, the range of activities one should consider were limited. He recommended reading for the labourer, gardening and walking for those engaged in mental pursuits. Amusement or unacceptable activities were those which represented a waste of time, and included theatre-going, dancing, and any game such as billiards. In spite of this allowance, it was made plain that the approach of the most successful self-made men towards their work was the ideal; that is, they worked as though "pleasure is not a factor to be considered in the problem of life. We can discover no provision which they made for fun. Such a thought does not seem to have entered their heads." (pp. 68-69).

[246]"Our Amusements: Hints for Friday Afternoons", op. cit., p. 490. Self-help manuals referred primarily to youths, not small children.

[247]This was an obvious reaction in a society that deemphasized the role of luck while it promoted the work ethic. For the prevalent attitude towards the role of luck, see Smiles, Self-Help, op. cit., pp. 67-69, and Thayer, Tact, Push, and Principle, op. cit., pp. 57-59.

engaged in by young children should be pure, "for the seeds of public amusement are sown in the nursery, set out in the home and nurtured in the world."[248] Hence, games similar to those played in the Greek Olympics were acceptable.[249] It was considered just as advisable to allow children to indulge in spontaneous play as to participate in the more structured exercises that they were taught; however, not everyone agreed with one who called for no interference in children's spontaneous games except where they were not conducive to health.[250] Although he also regarded spontaneous play as more healthful than physical exercises, Professor MacVicar stipulated that the child should be "surrounded by proper conditions" in a "well-regulated playground" and that there be "proper provision for the natural discharge of physical energy."[251]

There were certain types of amusements that children should avoid. Gambling was considered an evil

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[248] Ibid.

[249] These were actively promoted in the pages of the Journal of Education as well as by J. G. Hodgins in his book, Physical Training in Schools, in a Series of Gymnastic Exercises, (Toronto: Educational Depository, 1852), pp. 5-11.

[250] "On the Exercises and Amusements of Boys and Girls", Journal of Education, XIII (1860), p. 123.

[251] MacVicar, "The Education of Teachers", op. cit., p. 258.

that ranked second only to drinking as the "master-evil of the day."[252] It was a threat to the participant and to the country. The public was so enthusiastic about gambling that the government, although legislating against it, was hesitant to do so. Card playing "on railways and steamboats" was proclaimed illegal, but betting on the horses, which was considered the worst kind of gambling, was allowed. Any disposition towards gambling should be checked. Even young school children learned to enjoy this vice in the process of playing with marbles.

Some articles dealt with the problem of what to do on long "winter evenings and leisure hours in rainy weather."[253] The solutions advanced invariably described the home as the ideal environment in which such hours should be spent; hence, "indoor games" and "home amusements" were promoted.[254] These should be designed to stimulate the intellect. As a result, they would prove not only amusing but also useful. Recommended forms of enter-

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[252]"The Teacher's Relation to Society and the State", Educational Journal, VI (1892), p. 54.

[253]"On the Exercises and Amusements of Boys and Girls", op. cit., p. 123.

[254]"Our Amusements: Hints for Friday Afternoons", op. cit., p. 490.

tainment included spelling games, "intellectual games", recitations, and debates. All these would serve to make the boys involved therein "fire public speakers and self-reliant men."[255] Similarly, listening to music, singing, and reading were considered admirable pastimes.[256]

Although the sexual habits of children were rarely alluded to, there is evidence that reformers were concerned about them. In 1867 the Rev. G. R. Young, Inspector of Toronto Grammar Schools, claimed that the major reason that boys and girls between the ages of fifteen and seventeen should not be educated together was "its moral tendency."[257] There was always the possibility that girls would "be subjected to a familiarity of treatment, which is apt insensibly to blunt their instinctive feelings of delicate reserve."[258] The Rev. J. Wycliffe Gedge, Inspector of Schools for Winchester, England, pronouced that one of God's commandments prohibited "gluttony, sloth, impurity, and all sins of the body."[259] Children should be kept "chaste"

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[255] Ibid.

[256] "On the Exercises and Amusements of Boys and Girls", op. cit., p. 123.

[257] Inspector Young, "Girls in the Grammar Schools", Journal of Education, XX (1867), p. 83.

[258] Ibid.

[259] Rev. J. Wycliffe Gedge, "Scripture Lessons for School and Home", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, VII (1885), p. 394.

as well as "truthful, honest", and "dutiful".[260]

One American commentator, Samuel B. Capen of Boston, expanded on the subject, after having noted that "the perils of impurity are not so often emphasized".[261] Children he urged, should not be allowed to indulge in the "secret sin", that is, masturbation. They should not peer at "indecent pictures", and should turn from temptation as soon as it was presented rather than remain in its presence in an attempt to conquer it. They were especially to avoid "harboring impure thoughts".[262]

In effect, social reformers sought to regulate every facet of the child's life, including his values and behaviours. For the child, the world was divided into those who demanded obedience, adults, and those who obeyed, children. As a result, the child was placed in a position to be inculcated with all those values that his superiors contended he should possess. As a child, he was preparing to be the ideal man. As a man, he should be obedient,

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[260]"The Bible in the School", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, VIII (1886), p. 25.

[261]Capen, "The Teaching of Morals in the Public Schools", op. cit., p. 151. Wishy, The Child and the Republic, op. cit., p. 40, found that there was a similar unwillingness to discuss these matters in the United States.

[262]Capen, "The Teaching of Morals in the Public Schools," op. cit., p. 151.

industrious, moral, mannerly, humane, patriotic, and pure. These qualities would make him successful, happy, and acceptable. In reality, his duties, both as a child and as an adult, exceeded his rights.

IV

PROTECTION FROM PERNICIOUS INFLUENCES

> There are dangers to which a child is exposed, whether he be educated at home or abroad, in common schools or in private schools, in society or in solitude, for there is no escape from that constant probation which is the condition of human existence.[1]

This quotation describes what social reformers considered one of the most unfortunate realities of their society. While great pains were being taken, in the schools, to protect children from objectionable influences and to instill in them appropriate values and behaviour patterns, there were still, working on the child, influences which threatened to offset and even reverse any advances gained through these efforts. In the daily intercourse of children with others, in the environs of the streets, and between the covers of many a pernicious book or periodical lay the germs of a child's possible undoing.

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[1]Robert Kelly, Esq., "The Great Economy and Advantages of Free Public Education", Journal of Education, III (1850), p. 66.

Association As A Source of Contamination

A. In the School

During the second half of the nineteenth century, a topic of major concern was the adverse effects of "immoral associations" upon children.[2] The amount and degree of apprehension manifested by social reformers illustrates their concept of the overwhelming influence of indiscriminate interaction. Along with "want", "ignorance", and harmful literature, "bad company" was regarded as one of the four major factors that compelled youths to commit crimes.[3] The potential power wielded by a child's peer group was also recognized; the view that a child's friends and acquaintances were instrumental in determining his personality,[4] was a general one.

The concern of social reformers was natural enough when one takes into account their recognition of the imitative capacity in children. However, these fears were also

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[2] Ibid.

[3] "Pernicious Reading for Boys who Can Read", Journal of Education, XVIII (1865), p. 163.

[4] "Books for Youth and Children", op. cit., p. 162.

based on an awareness of the peculiar social relations that characterized the interaction of children; more particularly, that of boys. It was argued that, in the company of his peers, a boy would attempt to establish his ascendancy by seeking to emulate what he considered adult masculine behaviour.[5] Unfortunately, this usually involved engaging in such perilous activities as smoking or chewing tobacco, and consuming alcohol. The most proficient thereat was lauded as the one coming "nearest to being a man." The ridicule that these successful boys aimed at their less experienced friends was designed to make the latter try harder. As a result, moral but unsuspecting youths were every day being goaded into adopting the degraded standards of boys of a more wicked character. This awareness of the power of social pressure is further evidenced by an anecdote about a youth who, in spite of an ideal childhood and the prospect of a bright future, was led to a life of degradation as a drunkard due to the incessant appeals, by a wedding company, that he join them in a drink.[6]

In the effort by social reformers to safeguard children, boys and youths were continually cautioned about

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[5]"To Our Village Boys", op. cit., p. 61.

[6]"Taste Not -- A Story for Boys", Journal of Education, XIV (1861), p. 30.

undesirable associates and reminded of the need to be selective in one's choice of friends. In 1849, Ryerson stressed the need for "good companions"; "Thoughtful conversation with a few select friends will yield more profit than thoughtless conversation with a large and promiscuous company."[7] Youths were urged to give up "all idle and silly companions" if they wished to become learned.[8] They were also cautioned to refrain from spending time in the company of those who were accustomed to employing "profane, vulgar, or mean language"; one would only manage to acquire this vice.[9] They might also develop more vicious habits for it was contended that boys who exhibited this particular fault tended also to display a whole range of other, more serious characteristics, including untruthfulness and inhumaneness.

Profanity, above all other vices, was viewed as the one which was most easily spread by evil association. Employers were advised that they were morally obligated to so regulate their businesses that the youths employed therein as apprentices would not be exposed to "profane swearing or

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[7]Ryerson, "A Lecture on the Social Advancement of Canada", op. cit., p. 182.

[8]"Rules for the Young", Journal of Education, VI (1853), p. 176.

[9]"To Our Village Boys", op. cit., p. 61.

filthy conversation."[10]

It is clear that the work place was considered to have its drawbacks as a potentially safe environment for the young. However, this could be expected, since here youths were indiscriminately mixed with those who had not been exposed to the refining influences of the school-room. What alarmed reformers was the knowledge that even in the schools, children were not entirely free from the dangers posed by immoral communication.

Wealthy parents were re-assured that their children were probably just as safe from these dangerous influences in "a well disciplined common school" as in one operated for rich children.[11] Although there was a risk of corruption from association in common schools with the uncared for children of the poor, there was a greater likelihood of the children of the wealthy becoming "contaminated by intimacy, with the spoiled children of indulgence", with whom they would probably prefer to associate.

It is the school recess issue, more than any other, which illustrates the extent of the apprehension of reformers

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[10]"The Habit of Profane Swearing", Journal of Education, XIX (1866), p. 143.

[11]Kelly, "The Great Economy and Advantages of Free Public Education", op. cit., p. 66.

and the reasons for it. Similarly, the solutions advanced illustrate their priorities and values. The controversy, which raged for many years,[12] focused on the advisability of retaining a recess period. Its staunchest defenders upheld its establishment on the grounds of health.[13] As a short respite, it provided school children with relief from the mental pressures and physical discomforts to which they were necessarily subject, and it satisfied their need for physical activity, as dictated by the laws of child-nature. The intermission also provided teachers with a convenient moment during which to air out the classroom, thereby providing pupils with a supply of pure air.[14]

Some opponents of the recess also based their objections to it on the grounds of health. Children were

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[12] J. H. Davis, "The No Recess Plan. Its Advantages". Educational Weekly, I (1885), p. 332. See also "The Recess Question", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, V (1883), p. 234.

[13] "How to Teach Young Children", Journal of Education, XVI (1863), p. 132.

[14] J. George Hodgins, Hints and Suggestions on School Architecture and Hygiene With Plans and Illustrations, (Toronto: Printed for the Education Department in the office of the Minister of Agriculture, (1886), p. 76. Hodgins outlines this controversy in Chapter XIII, "Hygiene Value of the School Recess". His account illustrates the extent to which Ontario school reformers were influenced by developments in the United States in regard to this issue.

inclined to overexert themselves, to suffer accidents, and to develop sickness when they failed to dress adequately.[15] However, others, many of whom used these arguments to further strengthen their own stance, opposed it primarily because they viewed the recess as merely another occasion during which the morals of good children could be undermined by their evil companions.[16] One such adversary mockingly ventured that this period of "'democratic freedom'" was unequalled as a "promoter of morals", for

> through its agency, the pure minded, the gentle, the well-taught are made strong and noble, and self-controlling by the daily hearing and seeing of things rude, impure and vile.[17]

He ridiculed what he considered the prevalent contemporary viewpoint that goodness was strengthened by exposure to temptation. One might just as well, he contended sarcastically, establish a saloon in the school basement as a means of instilling in school boys the virtues of temperance.

Indeed, in the 1880's, even the degree of contamination that could be imparted during the recess period

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[15] "No Recess", Educational Weekly, II (1886), p. 139.

[16] "The Recess Question", op. cit., p. 234.

[17] Baldwin, "The Common School of a Quarter Century Hence", op. cit., p. 373.

became a subject of controversy. There were those who seemed to be trying to find a middle ground. Aware of the validity of hygienic arguments, they, nevertheless, felt that contamination was possible. It was alleged that the amount of contagion possible was not equivalent to that occurring in the streets, especially if the school was well-regulated, and that the students would be too preoccupied with their sports events to be amenable to undesirable influences.[18]

The latter viewpoint, by minimizing the dangers inherent in association, provided a rationalization for the retention of the recess period. It was a compromise solution which placed the health of school children above all other considerations.

However, this solution was unacceptable to those who viewed the safeguarding of the child as a primary objective. An alternative solution was the implementation of a no recess system, an idea which had its origin in the United States.[19] J. H. Davis, Superintendent of Schools in Chelsea, Massachusetts, maintained that the outdoor recess had no advantages to recommend it except those

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[18]"The Recess Question", op. cit., p. 234.

[19]Hodgins, Hints and Suggestions on School Architecture and Hygiene with Plans and Illustrations, op. cit., p. 78.

based on hygienic grounds; in fact, it afforded an opportunity "for mischief and wrong-doing", for the "contamination of morals" of virtuous children by the immoral, for bullying of the smaller, more delicate children by those of a more "overbearing and domineering" character, and for interaction between the sexes, which was undesirable.[20] A no recess system could be designed to placate health advocates if proper ventilation and temperature controls be adopted by all schools.

B. In The Street

If reformers feared for those children confined in well-regulated schools under the supervision of those whose task it was to eliminate any threatening elements, it is easy to understand why they viewed the streets as filled with "snares" for unsuspecting youths.[21]

There is an obvious link between the street and evil associations, for it was there, reformers felt, that children came into contact with those youths considered undesirable. The streets were filled with idle juveniles who, reformers complained, were befriending "vagrant

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[20]Davis, "The No Recess Plan. Its Advantages", op. cit., p. 333.

[21]"Our Boys", op. cit., p. 154.

companions".[22] Furthermore, in their opinion, the "viciousness of street children is proverbial";[23] in Toronto, these vagrants were "polluting the ears of passers-by, male and female, old and young, with blasphemy and filth, --rapidly qualifying themselves for appearance at police courts, and repeated imprisonments in jail or reformatory."[24]

In addition, the street presented a totally different environment from the one that reformers hoped pervaded the home and school. There flourished all those facilities for the gratification of pleasures and amusements which were discouraged and even forbidden elsewhere. It was in the streets that youths could find "drinking saloons and dance-houses"[25] as well as "the ball-alley, gambling room, and places of a still worse character."[26]

The existence of such facilities and their easy

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[22]"Complementary, or Compulsory, Education and the Prevention of Crime", op. cit., p. 49.

[23]"Two Hours in a Kindergarten", Journal of Education, XXV (1872), p. 132.

[24]Hagarty, "Crime and Juvenile Vagrancy in Toronto", op. cit., p. 38.

[25]"Youth and Crime in Montreal", Journal of Education, XV (1862), p. 40.

[26]"A Mechanics' Institute--The Mechanics' College", Journal of Education, VI (1853), p. 49.

accessibility, together with the evil influences exerted by immoral companions of the street resulted in what one source termed "street education".[27] An anecdote published specifically to serve as a warning to male readers, recounted the plight of an unfortunate and penitant criminal who traced his undoing to the baneful influences with which he was confronted on the street. There, with his companions, he learned to "lounge", "smoke", "gamble", and "pilfer". The street was the haunt of the Devil, he concluded.[28] There were also other heart-rending stories of youths who had been led to crime by "street education".[29]

The issue of compulsory schooling centred around this concern about undesirable associates, and street vice. Attendance was required not because a child who missed a few days of schooling would suffer intellectually, but because truancy "leads to bad company, to deception, and to vicious habits."[30] Compulsion was advanced as a means of forcing parents to take their children off the streets.

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[27] "Street Education", Journal of Education, XXVII, (1874), p. 45.

[28] Ibid.

[29] "Evils of Street Education", Journal of Education, XV (1862), p. 180.

[30] "Playing Truant", Journal of Education, VI (1853), p. 176.

It was not even vital that they keep their children in schools; as long as the latter were "usefully employed" or even "instructed at home", they would be off the streets.[31] As for those children who roamed the streets because of their parents' neglect, they would be placed "under wholesome influences, which will give them a chance of growing up good and useful members of society."[32] Henceforth, any child who was not kept preoccupied at home, at work, or at school was defined as a vagrant and thereby became a social problem.[33]

Literature as a Source of Contagion

I. The Problem

Immoral associates and the street with its inducements to vice were not considered to be the only hazards to a child's moral welfare. In "this reading and writing

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[31] "Complementary, or Compulsory, Education and the Prevention of Crime", op. cit., p. 49.

[32] "Prevention Better Than Cure", Journal of Education, XV (1862), p. 40.

[33] Similarly, any child whose behaviour deviated too far from what was expected of an obedient child was considered a juvenile delinquent.

age",[34] the possible influences, for good or evil, of all reading-material, was continually being evaluated. Social reformers concluded that they had a number of excellent reasons for being concerned; these had to do with the supply and price of books, their contents and power, as well as the nature of the child and his newly acquired skills.

One notable feature of this period, in comparison with preceding eras, was the plenitude and cheapness of reading-material. In 1867, one author made reference to the "ocean of books" and the "infinitude of books".[35] Many more books and especially newspapers were being bought.[36] "Everybody has a paper, even to the children."[37] The low cost of these publications made them readily available, for the first time, to those who were not wealthy.[38]

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[34]Hon. Mr. McGee, "Mental Outfit of the New Dominion", Journal of Education, XX (1867), p. 177.

[35]Rev. Frederick Arnold, "Systematic and Desultory Reading", Journal of Education, XX (1867), p. 105.

[36]McGee, "Mental Outfit of the New Dominion", op. cit., p. 178.

[37]"A Reading Age", Journal of Education, XIV (1861), p. 22.

[38]"The Value of Public School Libraries", Journal of Education, XIII(1860), p. 17.

However, the plentifulness, cheapness, and wide distribution of literature was not, in itself, regarded as a cause for anxiety. Reading, it was felt, was an essential activity. As a means of acquiring knowledge, the habit of reading was a decided aid in the creation of an intelligent populace; even more important was the consideration that, if properly pursued and if the material was carefully selected, reading offered a profitable and harmless pastime.

Because there was no sense in allowing any moment to be wasted, youths were instructed to have on hand a desirable book with which they could fill in "'odd ends'" of time.[39] This was even more advisable considering that idleness was regarded as a promoter of mischief.[40] However, reading was viewed as having even more salutary influences.

> Create a taste in youth for good books, and the pleasures of literature will supply the place of those grosser pleasures that lead astray the unthinking.[41]

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[39]Rev. Dr. Potter, "Suggestions for the Proper Choice and Reading of Books", Journal of Education, VI (1853), p. 138.

[40]"Influence of Pernicious Literature Upon the Youthful Mind of Canada", Journal of Education, XIV (1861), p. 49.

[41]"Good Books a Supplanter of Evil Habits", Journal of Education, XV (1862), p. 162. See also William Brown, Esquire, "Munificent Gift of a Free Library and Museum in Liverpool", Journal of Education, XIV (1861), p. 3.

Thereby a man would develop the strength "to resist the cravings of those appetites whose indulgence brings death."[42] What these "grosser pleasures" and "cravings" were, this source did not specify. But others felt that reading would keep a lad out of such disreputable establishments as bar-rooms and billiard-halls, and thereby save him from the evil effects wrought thereby.[43] As a matter of fact, it was generally believed that the desire to read was the most effective way of checking the tendency of men to congregate in taverns which, it was often felt, were the only sources of relaxation and entertainment; the establishment of reading-rooms was urged on the grounds that these would be a counteracting influence.[44] Indeed, reading as an activity of constructive amusement and recreation was a frequently advanced argument.

Reading, then, had many advantages. What disconcerted reformers was the fact that undesirable reading-material was as plentiful and as cheap as desirable literature. Ryerson noted, as early as 1849,

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[42] Ibid.

[43] "Influence of Pernicious Literature Upon the Youthful Mind of Canada", op. cit., p. 49.

[44] Ryerson, "A Lecture on the Social Advancement of Canada", op. cit., p. 182.

> But, unhappily, the poison is everywhere mingled with the healthful food; bad books are as numerous as good ones, . . . [45]

Evidently this evil was not confined to the British Isles[46] and the United States;[47] as early as 1856, a local school Superintendent of Hamilton complained that, in Canada, these publications were made available not only in book stores but also in the streets, "in steamboats and railroad cars."[48] Even more discouraging to those who were already alarmed about the situation, was the attractiveness of these editions, which were often graced by "a profusion of wood-cuts."[49]

In an age which had to contend with a sudden proliferation of books, the systematic education of the young posed a peculiar problem. The fact was that children were everywhere learning to read and write. It was claimed,

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[45] Ibid., p. 182.

[46] "Popular Literature", Journal of Education, II (1849), p. 176.

[47] E. B. Powers, "English Language in Public and High Schools", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, (1848), p. 472.

[48] "The Free Public Library System of Upper Canada", op. cit., p. 18.

[49] "Pernicious Reading for Boys Who Can Read", op. cit., p. 163.

in 1854, that there were in various urban communities "hundreds and thousands of young people all with a keen appetite for reading."[50] As predicted, this trend was to continue. It was noted, in 1883, that a "very greater proportion of the young people of today read then formerly."[51] In Ontario, in 1861, at least 62.51 percent of all children between the ages of six and fifteen were receiving some elementary school education.[52] This increased interest in reading was reflected in the greater supply of children's books appearing on the market; in fact, their sale had become "a new and very profitable business."[53]

The phenomenon marked a potential threat, for there was no guarantee that this new consumer of books and periodicals would choose those considered appropriate. That such questionable literature was popular was well known.[54]

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[50]"The Promotion of Public Libraries in Upper Canada", Journal of Education, VII (1854), p. 132.

[51]"Home Reading", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, V (1883), p. 236.

[52]Harvey J. Graff. "Towards a Meaning of Literacy: Literacy and Social Structure in Hamilton, Ontario, 1861", History of Education Quarterly (1972), p. 426. The author also points out that the population of Ontario was highly literary in comparison with that of other countries; for example, 90 percent of Hamilton residents were literate. Hamilton was in no way exceptional; in fact, the literacy rate in urban areas was lower than that for rural areas.

[53]"Home Reading", op. cit., p. 236.

[54]Rev. A. Lillie, "The Ennobling Influences of Good Books", Journal of Education, IX (1856), p. 22.

That this popularity was not due to the lack of more suitable publications was also recognized; the Rev. A. Lillie, a minister and professor at the Toronto Theological Institute noted, in 1856, that although there was a wealth of appropriate books,

> Multitudes, especially among the young, spend their spare time in the perusal of books, on which they should tremble to look--books which no consideration should tempt them to read.[55]

Apparently youth also sought out such literature and read it with "avidity".[56]

The preoccupation with and anxiety over the influence of literature on the youthful mind was, to a large extent, a product of the prevalent conception of child nature. A child's impressionable mind made him susceptible to the slightest influence, whether beneficial or baneful. His thirst for knowledge caused him to seek out such influences in every quarter.[57] It was also felt that a child's mind, in its concreteness, led him to "an unhesitating and uncritical acceptance of everything presented."[58] Furthermore,

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[55] Ibid.

[56] "Establishment of School Libraries", Journal of Education, XXVII (1874), p. 177.

[57] "Books for Youth and Children", op. cit., p. 159.

[58] Ibid., p. 158.

his imitative bent caused him to lose "his own identity in that of the person represented."[59]

II. Unhealthy Literature and Its Effects

The growing concern about children's reading habits was based also on the nature of the contents of the literature being so generally distributed. Social reformers found the majority of available books unsuitable. Although most commentators agreed as to what literature was dangerous and what its harmful effects were, there appeared some difference of opinion over the advisability of reading any form of that class of literature called fiction.

It must have been difficult for readers of the Journal of Education to determine what exactly was included in this classification. According to one Canadian source, fiction included novels published in book form as well as "romances, legendary tales and plays, together with comic renderings."[60] Fiction was also published in serial form in "newspapers and periodicals."[61]

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[59] Ibid.

[60] "Library and Reading", Journal of Education, XXVIII (1875), p. 28.

[61] McGee, "Mental Outfit of the New Dominion", op. cit., p. 178.

Some articles made reference to the "lighter literature" available,[62] and it is often difficult to determine whether this reference included fiction or represented some other form of undesirable literature. Ryerson pointed out the harm done by the literature of "amusement, of light literature and works of fiction,"[63] a statement which would suggest that he drew a distinction between these three categories. However there were those who do not appear to have made this distinction, for in some articles the terms fiction and light literature were used interchangeably.[64] The Hon. Mr. McGee, member of the House of Commons, classified books into four categories -- "religious books", "poetical works", "books or historical, scientific and literary subjects", and "works of fiction."[65] An observer who did not view all fictitious literature as injurious to moral health used the term light literature to depict a lesser class of fiction.[66] Indeed, some writers were inclined to make the

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[62]"Establishment of School Libraries", op. cit., p. 177.

[63]Ryerson, "A Lecture on the Social Advancement of Canada", op. cit., p. 182.

[64]"Fictitious Reading", op. cit., pp. 86-87.

[65]McGee, "Mental Outfit of the New Dominion", op. cit., p. 178.

[66]Rev. Geo. H. Bridgman, "Characteristics of Fiction", Journal of Education, XXI (1868), p. 73.

same distinction as the author who differentiated between better fiction and, those worthless novels whose existence resulted from the cheapness of all literature.[67]

Fiction certainly included "sensational and sensual books" whose authors were too often women, and which were read eagerly.[68] It included also what Ryerson referred to as "that class of novels which outrage decency by the impure profligacy of both their expressions and illustrations."[69] In effect, fiction made up the bulk of all the reading material reformers condemned as vile.

The effects of such literature were considered to be serious, and, as a result, it was denounced in the strongest terms. It was considered "a great moral blight" which

> blasts the blossoms of virtue, withers every natural feeling and benevolent principle, every serious thought and religious purpose, and unfits the soul for every thing important, dignified or divine.[70]

It was argued that the reading of novels, like the use of intoxicants such as alcohol, tobacco, and opium,

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[67]"Educational Results of Cheap Fiction", Journal of Education, XXI (1868), p. 73.

[68]McGee, "Mental Outfit of the New Dominion", op. cit., p. 178.

[69]Ryerson, "A Lecture on the Social Advancement of Canada", op. cit., p. 182.

[70]"Library and Reading", op. cit., p. 28.

was habit-forming because it instilled in its patrons "so powerful an appetite for the stimulus."[71]

> It throws its coils around them like the monstrous boa, and death follows its terrible grasp.[72]

Then, once the habit of reading fiction had become powerfully imbedded, the mind would become unaccustomed to dealing with material of a more instructive kind which would involve concentration and thought.[73]

Reading fiction was also viewed as unadvisable because of the particular view of life such works projected. It was contended that "fictitious reading is more powerful than experience, or rather it is a species of experience of itself, but of a monstrous and erroneous nature."[74] This fact coupled with its representation of unrealistic situations made books of fiction extremely dangerous. In fact they "are principally a delusion from beginning to end",[75] and people should remember that life "is earnest

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[71]"Fictitious Reading", op. cit., p. 86.

[72]Ibid.

[73]Ibid.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Ibid.

and real, not a fiction."[76] Ryerson was especially concerned that people would become discontented with their real lives and forget their duties; such reading-material would not make daughters "more affectionate and submissive", wives more attentive to their husbands and homes, and boys "more virtuous, more manly, more industrious."[77] And one authority agreed that the young store clerk would find it difficult to cater to aged female customers after reading about Romeo, and would consider it mundane to learn the prices of his products after imagining himself as a Medieval knight.[78]

Contemporaries linked the reading of pernicious literature with increased crime. Reformers partly attributed the "mania of theft and other kindred crimes", which were being committed in the early 1860's by the children of both poor and wealthy parents, to books recounting successful crimes.[79] Apparently there was a "class of

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[76]"Read Good Books Only", Journal of Education, XII (1859), p. 157.

[77]McGee, "Mental Outfit of the New Dominion", op. cit., p. 182.

[78]"Rev. Dr. Caird on Novel Reading", Journal of Education, XVI (1863), p. 47.

[79]"The Free Public School Libraries in Upper Canada", Journal of Education, XVIII (1865), p. 161.

criminal literature"[80] whose aim it was to make heroes of criminals.[81]

Each day, then, the virtue of unsuspecting youth was being jeopardized by the scores of immoral and sensational literature that flooded the market. Reformers viewed with alarm the rise in the rate of juvenile criminality and continued to warn the public of the dangers inherent in the perusal of such vile reading-material.

III. The Solution

Taking into account these factors -- the plenitude, inexpensiveness, and physical attractiveness of a type of reading material which was considered objectionable, the increasing desire on the part of juveniles to exercise their new reading skills on this form of publication, and the susceptibility of children under the sway of an influence whose effects could be so powerful -- social reformers determined to consider how the evils manifested could be dealt with and what alternatives in the way of solutions were most operative.

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[80] Ibid.

[81] Bridgman, "Characteristics of Fiction", op. cit., p. 73.

In 1849 Ryerson suggested it was "the duty of all virtuous and intelligent persons to aid in resisting and, if possible, suppressing this growing evil."[82] However, it became evident that the availability of impure books could not be so easily impeded; in the 1880s vast amounts of such literature was still being sold "in every city."[83]

In 1854, one source pleaded "Only let there be some selection",[84] and in this lay the key to an alternative solution to which reformers very quickly resorted. It was generally agreed that booksellers were not fulfilling their moral and social responsibilities of being selective in the choice of books they made available to the public. One concerned correspondent of the Journal of Education, upon making his views on these obligations known to a bookseller, was told "that to sell books was his business, and not to pick and choose for people."[85] It was further contended that, in any case, book-sellers did not know the contents of the books they sold, nor their "comparative worth."[86] If proper

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[82]Ryerson, "A Lecture on the Social Advancement of Canada, op. cit., p. 182.

[83]"Home Reading", op. cit., p. 236.

[84]"Books for Youth and Children", op. cit., p. 162.

[85]"Influence of Pernicious Literature Upon the Youthful Mind of Canada", op. cit., p. 50.

[86]"Libraries -- Study -- Means and Aids to Self-Education", Journal of Education, I (1848), p. 137.

selection was to be achieved, the task would have to be performed by a more socially concerned authority.

It is not by accident that the promotion for the establishment of public and school libraries paralleled so closely that for the efficient establishment of the educational system and the growing concern about what children were going to read. As early as 1848, Ryerson stated that one of his most urgent aims was that of inducing Municipal Councils to establish Common School Libraries, and expressed regret that this objective had not yet been effected.[87] Commenting on common school libraries, an American authority voiced the prevalent opinion regarding these establishments;

> This philanthropic and admirably conceived measure may be justly regarded, as next to the institution of Common Schools, the most important in that series of causes, which will give its distinctive character to our civilization as a people.[88]

The benefits derived from them lay in their "controlling influence"; offering a careful selection of reading material, the library would guarantee that the desire to read, stimulated at school, would be "rightly directed."[89]

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[87] Ryerson, "A Lecture on the Social Advancement of Canada", op. cit., p. 186.

[88] "Common School Libraries", Journal of Education, VI (1853), p. 140.

[89] "Establishment of School Libraries", op. cit., p. 177.

It was concluded that it would be futile and even harmful, considering the voluminous amounts of "worse than empty literature" flooding the market, for governments to provide the means to read, without furnishing the appropriate materials, and the dangers of such negligence was especially serious "in the case of the masses."[90] The very act of establishing a library system would mean the distribution of "the first really popular literature", besides newspapers and Sunday School books;

> Can any one doubt then, that we have reached a point or place in our civilization which demands the exercise of a provident care, an anxious, if not a timid circumspection?[91]

Ryerson wanted Upper Canada to avoid the mistakes made in New York, a state which had very readily instituted a library system, but failed to consider the importance of a proper and careful selection of books; as a result, the character of the books circulated jeopardized their professed value.[92] In New York the choice of library books was left at the discretion of trustees who, it was claimed, were too often influenced by "travelling pedlars, who offer the

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[90] "Common School Libraries", op. cit., p. 140.

[91] Ibid., p. 141.

[92] "Public School Libraries", Journal of Education, VII (1854), p. 180.

most showy books at the lowest prices."[93] Ryerson, on the other hand, designated the Council of Public Instruction as the sole authority in this matter. He noted with satisfaction, in 1854, that there was in circulation in Upper Canada 110,000 books "of choice and excellent works."[94] Upper Canada's libraries would allow Canadians to peruse the best books that issue from the presses in both Great Britain and the United States at a very small cost.[95] In short, and in Ryerson's own words, libraries would

> prove a most valuable and potent system of social police, improving and elevating society, multiplying means, and diffusing streams of enjoyment, happiness and usefulness before unfelt and unknown.[96]

IV. Healthy Literature And Its Influence

So great was the concern of reformers about the effects of immoral literature that the distribution of "pure" literature was held to have "a still higher claim" to attention than that of sanitary reform.[97] The kinds of reading material

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[93]"Lord Elgin's Report to the Imperial Government on the State of Elementary Education in Canada", Journal of Education, VIII (1855), p. 81.

[94]"The Free Public Library System of Upper Canada", op. cit., p. 20.

[95]"The Promotion of Public Libraries in Upper Canada", op. cit., p. 132.

[96]Ibid., p. 133.

[97]"A Pure and Healthy Literature", Journal of Education, XV (1862), p. 163.

that social reformers wanted circulated, especially among the young, were those which "will excite men to higher motives of action, and will supply them with examples to guide them in their courses in whatever sphere of life they may be placed."[98] Books written by moralists, philosophers and historians provided moral elevation, mental stimulation, and a realistic view of life which would in turn imbibe in youths a realistic outlook.[99] Biography presented the thoughts and actions of great men and thereby provided youths with desirable models for emulation. The Bible was still considered the best source of moral instruction. There were those who favoured the reading of certain kinds of fiction. It was claimed that fiction was "advantageous under certain restrictions;"[100] Biblical parables, religious allegories, the works of Homer, Virgil, and Shakespeare represented that class of fiction which "inculcated right feeling." Another agreed that there existed fiction which possessed "admirable morals" and was of educational

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[98]Sir George Grey, "Educational Speeches by Distinguished Men in England", Journal of Education, VII (1854), p. 18.

[99]Ryerson, "A Lecture on the Social Advancement of Canada", op. cit., p. 73.

[100]Bridgman, "Characteristics of Fiction", op. cit., p. 73.

value.[101] But readers were cautioned that although there was safe fiction, it should be resorted to only occasionally, in order that "mental atrophy" might be prevented.

There were those who urged that only literature imparting useful knowledge, those works needing "vigorous study" and "close attention and continuous thought,"[102] should be read. Youths were informed that "One hour of study is worth a day of listless dawdling over a shelf of books."[103] In this regard, scientific books were highly recommended.[104]

A more extensive knowledge of child-nature and an increased circulation of juvenile literature led some to recognize that, in regard to reading matter, the needs of younger children differed from those of adults. As a result, there ensued a discussion as to the advisability of allowing youngsters to read fictitious stories. There existed a school of thought which warned against this practice. One such author claimed that, although all fiction was not necessarily harmful, it should not be given to children

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[101] Grey, "Educational Speeches by Distinguished Men in England, op. cit., p. 18.

[102] Mr. Hillard, "Bad Effects of Miscellaneous Reading", Journal of Education, III (1851), p. 138.

[103] Ibid.

[104] "Seek Useful Knowledge", Journal of Education, VI (1853), p. 165.

because "it does not seem to be desirable as a moulding influence in childhood."[105] Therefore, children should not be provided with story-books; that is "fancy tales, accounts of strange adventures, real or fanciful; and stories of ghosts, giants, and magicians."[106] Although such literature was gratifying to children, it was not instructive; children's books should be chosen with a view to their permanent effects. Story-books might instill in children a taste for reading fiction. Reading material which was "simple, truthful, and instructive" and which provided useful information requiring some intellectual effort was the most desirable.

Others, who held a more optimistic view of the child, disagreed. Children, whose imaginative and affective powers were stronger than their reasoning faculties, should be allowed to read "books of mere amusement" with no instructive characteristics.[107] It would do no harm for children to believe in them, and they were even useful in that they provided play.

> It is scarcely worth while, for the sake of a superficial smattering, to dwarf the imagination, disgust the natural appetite for knowledge, foster a complacent irreverance,

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[105]"Literature for Children", Journal of Education, XVI (1863), p. 19.

[106]Ibid.

[107]"Books for Youth and Children", op. cit., p. 161.

> dazzled by the parade of its own proficiency, and substitute an artificial unprogressive precocity for the generous growth of time.[108]

A child, it was claimed, was most easily influenced through "the imagination and the feelings."[109] In books of moral instruction, the morals could be indirectly woven into the plot, as was the case with Aesop's Fables.

> The lesson conveyed penetrates deeper into their nature by being received thus unconsciously; it becomes an integral part of their character by absorption--it acts more efficaciously than it would, if administered like a dose of medicine, a dry sermon after an entertaining narrative.[110]

Social reformers did not feel that children should be allowed to go out into the world and learn through experience. In the world children were surrounded by pernicious influences. Since it was considered too difficult to change the environment, it was decided that juveniles should be protected from these dangers. As a result, they were to be isolated in the protective bosoms of the home and the school.

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[108] Ibid.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Ibid., p. 160.

V

THE FAMILY

This study must include an account of that social unit which, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, was considered to be society's most basic and most important, namely, the family. The articles in the Journal of Education serve to illustrate what reformers thought about this organization and the function it was expected to perform.[1] Of what then, according to their viewpoint, did the family and home life consist?

First, ideally, a family should live in a house. In only one excerpt was the importance of the house and its relation to the home and family explored. The article, written by New York's famous minister, Henry Ward Beecher, was an eloquent and revealing one. It opened with the line "God be thanked for THE HOUSE."[2] It was described as a sacred place, for it is here that the heart rests each

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[1]The Journal of Education contained more material on the home and family, their function, and the relations of family members to one another, than did the other three journals under review. As a result, most of the material in this account is drawn from that source.

[2]Henry Ward Beecher, "A House and a Home", Journal of Education, IX (1856), p. 155.

day. Beecher likened a man without a house to a man without a body -- "What a poor, shivering, restless, rapping sprite . . .. He cannot take root."[3] Similarly, a "family without a house is a camp merely fortified for the night"; a house, on the other hand, provided a "permanent fortification".[4] Indeed, home ownership, Beecher felt, was essential for the maintenance of society as it was. "The educating power of a house cannot be overestimated. It is doubtful whether civilization would not totally change its character, if men should cease to live in there (sic) own permanent homes."[5] Beecher never hinted at what effects such changes might bring; however, it is evident that he considered any change undesirable.

Evidently security and protection were important to the well-being of a family. Here is the idea of the family unit as self-contained and self-sufficient, looking inward upon itself, isolated not only from its potential enemies, but also its neighbours. Such social distance was regarded as a desirable and even natural phenomenon. Once children were born, parents' "relations to the outside world,

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[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 156.

[5] Ibid., p. 155.

become by degrees quite secondary matters . . . ."[6] The house is the physical structure which provides this protection and privacy. Although such an outlook existed there appears to have been no attempt at this point in time, as there was after 1900,[7] to have this desire for "sheltered intimacy"[8] embodied in a particular architectural style.

Therefore, ideally, every family should live in its own house. However, a family was more than the sum total of those living in a particular house. A house could possibly include domestics and relatives, or any other number of persons. However, these were never discussed in any articles which dealt with the family, and they appear to represent extraneous members. They may have been part of the household, but not part of the family.[9] Indeed, references to domestics are scarce. One excerpt which dealt with the subject of how to maintain a harmonious

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[6]"The Education of Children Educates the Parents", Journal of Education, XVI (1863), p. 154. Similarly, Aries, Centuries of Childhood, op. cit., pp. 398-400, noted that this trend towards privacy in family life began to develop in the eighteenth century.

[7]Robert C. Twombly, "Saving the Family: Middle Class Attraction to Wright's Prairie House, 1901-1909", American Quarterly, XXVII (1975), pp. 57-71.

[8]Ibid., p. 57.

[9]Aries, Centuries of Childhood, op. cit., p. 400, noted that domestics were not included in the concept of the family in the eighteenth century.

family environment merely advised family members to "speak kindly to the servants--to praise them for little things when you can."[10]

Who, then, comprised the family? It might be expected that every marriage ceremony created a new family; that is, a couple who generally moved into a new house and established their own household. Indeed, it was never expressly stated that a couple was not a family. However, the nature of the Journal of Education's articles implied there was more than this involved. The word family always implied parents and children; at least, all the articles dealt with some aspect of a couple's role in relation to their children. The role of a mother was dealt with in the minutest detail; that of wives was largely ignored. One commentator noted the transformation that occurred when a married couple had their first child. God "draws very near to them" and asks them to educate it in his absence.[11]

> It gives to the life of those parents a new and higher impulse and ambition. The education of the children by degrees unites those two in a new and higher wedlock, a

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[10]"To Promote Peace in a Family", Journal of Education, XXVII (1874), p. 186.

[11]"The Education of Children Educates the Parents", op. cit., p. 154.

> oneness of purpose and a train of new duties, out of themselves, out of each other, out of the whole world besides, but all centering in their children.[12]

This idea that the household revolves around the children demonstrates that the family was considered to have been instituted for the very purpose of conceiving and raising them.

The family, then, was a basic and very essential organization of society. Reformers attached to it a myriad of functions that it was to perform. It was, in short, to be the salvation of the world. Its role in relation to the social order involved the ability of the parents through the home environment they created and by their own precepts and example to socialize their children. It was in the home where must be accomplished "the great work of mentally illuminating, and morally elevating the young of our happy land . . . ."[13] It was here that the next generation was to be conditioned "into a nobler, better, and more refined race than those of the present."[14]

It was the prevailing sentiment, from the 1840s to

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[12] Ibid. This same observation is made by Aries, Centuries of Childhood, op. cit., p. 10.

[13] "Home Influences", Journal of Education, XI (1858), p. 152.

[14] "The Education of Children Educates the Parents", op. cit., p. 154.

1880s that no other institution in society had enough influence to correct what had been done through imperfect home training.[15] According to Rev. Johnston of Ottawa, neither "the enactment of wholesome laws, or the efforts of an active police, or the establishment of public educational institutions, or the unsheathed sword of military power" could counteract such negligence.[16] These institutions had momentary effects "but if the heart has not been cultivated at home-- . . . this deep undercurrent of evil, will in time, sweep away every barrier, and ingulph (sic) society in the polluted waters of licentiousness and anarchy."[17] In contrast, provided that home life was satisfactory, shortcomings in these other institutions would have little effect. Therefore, "among the first and most imperative duties of man", secondary only to man's duty to love and obey God, "is the proper cultivation and government of the domestic affections and relations of

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[15]It appears that a shift in attitude occurred after 1880; the school having assumed many of the functions of the family, was increasingly regarded as the primary socializing agent.

[16]"The Domestic Affections", Journal of Education, IX (1856), p. 108.

[17]Ibid.

life."[18]

What would be the effects on society? It was claimed that the "happiness, prosperity, and strength of a nation" depended on the existence of those virtues "which have their sources at the hearthstones of the people."[19] On the individual level, "the happiness of mankind is essentially interwoven with the domestic affections", a fact demonstrated by the unswerving loyalty and devotion of a mother for her child, and a wife for her husband.[20]

The home then was designed to be a pure and joyous haven for its family members. Indeed, if society was to survive it was necessary that such should be the case, for outside the home they would be besieged by evil influences.[21] Parents were urged never to allow their sons to roam the streets "after nightfall."[22] There was praise for those young men who in the evenings stayed at home, the place which was "an altar, a paradise, and a sure

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] This point was discussed in Chapter IV.

[22] "Home Education--Valuable Hints", Journal of Education, VIII (1855), p. 148.

defence against the snares of vice and dissipation."[23]

The home was conceived as being separate and different from the world; it formed an island or oasis of security in a sea of vice. Children were segregated in families where they were surrounded by influences which were the very opposite of those which they were expected to encounter during their brief sojourns into the outside world. If there was something wrong with society, reforms must be made in the home; if there were any persons promoting the idea of improving society by changing the city or business environment, their voices were not being heard by those reading educational journals.

The Function of the Home and Parental Responsibilities

Parents had a number of important functions to perform; they had not only to teach their children their duty to society and to God, but also to cultivate the heart and prepare the mind so that they might successfully fulfill these duties. Numerous articles illustrate the nature and source of a parent's authority and the significance of his role. The duties of parents were a "trust

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[23] Ibid., p. 149.

committed to them by the Creator."[24] One commentator referred to "the dignity, importance, and responsibility of the parental office" and described the extent of parental influence as "unlimited."[25] It was claimed, for example, that nine-tenths of the world's evil dispositions could have been prevented had their parents fulfilled their responsibilities.[26] In effect, they were accountable to God, their children, and their own society as well as that of future generations. "Who would not tremble to occupy so responsible a situation?"[27]

Because parents' authority was such that they could do great good or, conversely, great harm, it was they who were singled out for criticism when that influence proved harmful. The nation's greatest enemy was not the lawbreaker, but the negligent parent--he "who has originated evil dispositions, and cradled evil tendencies at his home" and then set his immoral children loose on society.[28]

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[24]Joel Mann, "Duties of Parents", Journal of Education, VI (1853), p. 166.

[25]"Truth in Parents", Journal of Education, X (1857), p. 140.

[26]"Filial Obedience and Long Life", op. cit., p. 75.

[27]"Truth in Parents", op. cit., p. 140.

[28]"Parental Responsibility", Journal of Education,

Articles appearing in the Journal of Education did more than outline the gravity of the parental office; they dealt with specific duties, suggesting means of achieving desired results, foreseeing problems, and advancing solutions. These parental duties fall broadly into four main areas, involving health, discipline, religious instruction, and education.

However, there was one prerequisite to their fulfillment. It was the responsibility of parents to make home life so attractive that its influences would be effective. There appeared in the Journal of Education articles which contained advice on topics such as how to create an attractive and cheerful home atmosphere and how to make each family member's relation to the others more rewarding. What, according to the viewpoints expressed, constituted an ideal domestic environment?

An article which appeared in 1849 discussed those characteristics which should be fostered in every family member in order that each could contribute to a contented home life. These traits included a "forbearing", "forgiving",

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IV (1851), p. 119. The same point was made by Wishy, The Child and The Republic, op. cit., p. 31. Wishy made similar observations as myself about the American parents. That the situation was the same in Britain is demonstrated by the fact that the majority of articles about parents were excerpted from The British Mother's Journal.

"benevolent", and "open, frank, cheerful, communicative spirit", a constant willingness to fulfill one's responsibilities genially, a "love of God", "a disposition to make the rest happy", and a determination to avoid any words or actions which might annoy another family member.[29] Twenty-five years later these goals remained basically the same and so did the instructions of domestic reformers.[30] All family members should be prepared for a daily clash of wills. Because of every man's innate sinfulness one should not raise one's expectations too high. An effort should be made to "learn the different temper and disposition of each individual."[31] Show concern for every family member and celebrate with those who have been fortunate. Stifle any resentful remark or feeling and conquer annoyance. Be empathetic towards the troubled and those in pain. Please when you can, and try to be an optimist. And remember, "In all little pleasures which may occur, to put yourself last."[32]

Such was the family climate which reformers felt to be essential. However, they also dealt with the physical

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[29] "How to Make Home Happy", Journal of Education, II (1849), p. 171.

[30] For example, "To Promote Peace in a Family", op. cit., p. 186.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

aspects of the home and their effects. This point is amply documented by one source whose author draws a picture of two different and opposing kinds of homes. The one he describes as a house located directly behind a pig-pen, and enclosed by a ramshackle fence surrounding a yard strewn with wood chips and garbage.[33] He then proceeds to ask a rhetorical question: "Now what are the effects, the consequences of such a home? Associations form the mind and the man. Children brought up in such a place have no taste for the beautiful but their minds, habituated to loathesomeness, become themselves loathesome, their habits filthy, and their manners disgusting."[34] As a contrast, he pictures the ideal house as one surrounded by sweet-smelling flowers and spacious lawn. What would be the influence on children of this more carefully kept garden? "Home has a charm for them found no where else. The harsh asperities of nature are softened, and the heart is moulded by the associations to love and melody".[35] In short, children's morals and manners were a direct reflection of the nature of their immediate surroundings.

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[33] "Home? Two Pictures, Their Influence", Journal of Education, IX (1856), p. 108.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

There was also advanced the idea that one's outlook on one's family and home life determined one's outlook toward the particular lifestyle which that home represented. As an illustration, reference was made to what was considered a "great evil of rural life"; that is, that the children of farmers became disillusioned with farm life and left for what appeared to be "less laborious and more profitable occupations".[36] However, another important factor in leaving was the belief held by these youths that their city friends had a more pleasant home environment. The sole solution in arresting this trend was to improve the farm house and the atmosphere within it. This demonstrates again the very powerful influence it was claimed the home could exert, and how important it seemed to these promoters that a particular environment be developed.

It was advisable that parents determine not only the outward appearance of the house and the emotional atmosphere fostered therein, but also the internal facilities and arrangements. Children should be given their own "playrooms, their toys and pictures, their sewing and patchwork, their slates and pencils, their saws and hammers."[37]

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[36]"Farmers' Homes", Journal of Education, XVII (1864), p. 12.

[37]Ibid.

Evidently children should be influenced to recognize the necessity of privacy at an early age. Books should also be provided. Parents were urged to hold family gatherings for the purpose of reading and discussion. However, it was mentioned expressly that a "family room" should be provided for the purposes of such encounters. There could not be a better illustration of the significance attached to the role and function of the family. It was no longer enough that family members ate, slept, and found refuge together under one roof. The family was not a number of individuals, but a unit in itself whose members were forced to recognize their duties and obligations to one another and to society as a whole. There was to be set aside one particular room designed expressly for the purpose of developing family affections and communications and which represented the cohesiveness and mutual interests of the family unit.

Health

Another important parental responsibility, besides that of providing a particular kind of home environment, was that of maintaining the health of one's children. In an article devoted to a discussion of twelve rules governing

family life, this responsibility appeared first on the list.[38] Although it seems a logical priority the author complained bitterly: "It is deeply to be regretted that so many families disregard the laws of health; we cannot wonder that illness often prevails or that death so prematurely ensues."[39] Others concerned with promoting rules for the proper rearing of children gave considerable attention to suggesting ways in which children could be kept healthy.[40] The health of all children and their parents' duty to maintain it was a recurring theme in the Journal of Education.

Discipline

The importance attached to parental responsibility in regard to discipline is indicated in the following excerpt: "There is no one subject connected with the training of children, whether in the family circle or the schoolroom, of more importance than that of their government or

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[38] "Twelve Golden Maxims for Families", Journal of Education, XII (1859), p. 29.

[39] Ibid.

[40] For example, see "Rearing Children"; The Rev. Wm. Cornell, M.D., "Summer Sickness of Children", and "Give the Children Fresh Air", Journal of Education, XIV (1861), p. 102.

judicious control."[41] It was further noted that such discipline must begin "at home".[42]

In spite of the importance of proper discipline, many complained that parents were not fulfilling their responsibilities in this regard. One observer, having drawn up a list of sixteen guidelines for the proper training of children, noted: "These rules are plain and simple enough, one would think, and easy of observance by parents; but how often are they reduced to practice? Not by one in a thousand!"[43] It was further claimed that "on no subject are errors more prevalent, or fatal mistakes more frequently made."[44] The correct handling of children was an "art" which was not often enough made "the subject of serious study and reflection."[45]

One undesirable method was that of administering discipline in an inconsistent, haphazard, and irrational manner;[46] another was that of being indulgent. Indeed,

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[41]"The True Principle of Government Both in Families and Schools", Journal of Education, IV (1851), p. 117. The benefits to society of a properly disciplined child were discussed in Chapter III.

[42]Mann, "Duties of Parents", op. cit., p. 166.

[43]"Rules for Home Education", op. cit., p. 166.

[44]"The True Principles of Government, Both in Families and Schools", op. cit., p. 117.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Ibid.

throughout the entire second half of the nineteenth century, concern was expressed regarding this new permissive attitude towards child-rearing. Since those commenting on this phenomenon were generally Americans, it is difficult to gauge how prevalent this practice was in Canada. A Canadian complained that the lax manners so often displayed by American and Canadian children resulted from permissive management.[47] Similarly, the fact that these articles were published at all demonstrates that Canadian reformers were concerned that such might be the case in Canada.

The exact nature of the complaint against indulgence was expressed in 1855.

> They have virtually abandoned the exercise of parental authority, and endeavoured to regulate the conduct of their children by reasoning and persuasion--by the mere presentation of motives--and not by the enforcement of commands.[48]

This method failed to produce the desired results because it undermined any attempt to render children obedient. One article described the effect of a mother's action in giving in to the wishes of a child who had just thrown a

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[47] "Conduct and Manner", op. cit., p. 343.

[48] "The Use of the Rod", Journal of Education, VIII (1855), p. 3.

temper tantrum.

> Every wish after this must be gratified or a fit of passion followed. Should this child in after years prove the self-willed, obstinate, disobedient scholar, the unamiable brother, the tyrant husband, unfeeling father and lawless citizen, who will say that the scene we have described had not a material influence in thus moulding the character?[49]

In contrast, famous persons were depicted either as ruling their children in a firm manner or having themselves been dealt with firmly. Parents were informed that Noah Webster governed his children according to one maxim, "and that was instantaneous and entire obedience. This was insisted upon as right--as, in the nature of things, due by a child to a parent."[50] Similarly, the mother of Washington "formed the character of her son" by early teaching him three virtues; "obedience, diligence and truth."[51] Of these three, obedience was the most important.

Among the most explicit and detailed articles on home training was one containing rules more than half of which dealt with discipline. Parents were reminded: "From your children's earliest infancy, inculcate the necessity of instant obedience."[52] The key to disciplining successfully was contained in the second guidelines; "Unite firmness

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid., p. 2.

[51] "Home Education--Valuable Hints", op. cit., p. 149.

[52] "Rules for Home Education", op. cit., p.166.

with gentleness."[53] The majority of the rules concerned the problems of how and when parents should be firm and gentle. Immediate but mild punishment upon the first misdemeanor was more effectual than the threat of more severe punishment should the deed be repeated. However, although children should be punished for deliberate disobedience, they were never to be reprimanded in anger. "If they give way to petulance and temper, wait till they are calm, and then gently reason with them on the impropriety of their conduct."[54]

This ambivalent attitude towards child discipline was a general one. Parents were also advised that they "should establish no rule for the government of children without a plain and easily comprehended reason for it."[55] The use of threat was considered "cruel, unjust, and dangerous".[56] Here then was a plea aimed against arbitrary parental government. Such firm, reasoned disciplined was considered fair.

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[53] Ibid. Also see Wishy, The Child and the Republic, op. cit., p. 98.

[54] Ibid.

[55] "The True Principles of Government, Both in Families and Schools", op. cit., p. 118.

[56] "Rearing Children", op. cit., p. 102.

It is worthy of note that John George Hodgins, Deputy Superintendent of Education, in discussing discipline and management in the school room, set down these very rules as worthy of use by teachers.[57] In his introduction to this particular section, he commented, "These rules and principles are derived from various sources. They are adapted to the wants of pupils and teachers, and are well worthy of their consideration."[58] It is evident, therefore, that Hodgins and other Canadians agreed with this particular method of child discipline.

An increased knowledge of child-nature and a more widespread acceptance of the principles which gave impetus to the kindergarten movement saw the advent of a less authoritarian approach to child-rearing. It was professed that the kindergarten system was applicable to the home as well as the school. At present, parents ruled children "through ignorance--ignorance of the child-nature and its needs--ignorance of the principles of government and education, and a mistaken idea of his true relations as a parent."[59] Besides being guilty of disciplining

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[57] J. G. Hodgins, The School House; Its Architecture, External and Internal Arrangements, (Toronto: Lovell and Gibson, 1857), p. 137.

[58] Ibid.

[59] "Kindergarten Education", Educational Weekly, II (1886), p. 454. Wishy, The Child and the Republic, op. cit., p. 24 also notes this changed attitude towards child-rearing.

children according to their whims, they too often demanded from their offspring "servile obedience through slavish fear."[60] The fact that "the child's will is too often cowed, instead of being guided and directed towards right" meant that most children never gained that "true moral independence" which was later expressed in "self-government."[61] The need for disciplinary action would be greatly curtailed if children were kept occupied and if mothers would "direct these activities into pleasant and profitable channels."[62]

The advice presented in the last paragraph was directed at and read primarily by teachers. It was felt that kindergarten education would have a reactive influence for good in the home.[63] It is, therefore, difficult to estimate how widespread was the influence of Froebel's philosophy among parents themselves. There was no guarantee that the busy teacher, often guilty of the same negligence and not necessarily convinced of the validity of these arguments, had an influence on parental discipline. It is more likely that parents continued to manage their children according to the dictates of their own moods or

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[60] Ibid., p. 455.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

the stricter rules set down earlier in the Journal of Education, a periodical which more parents appear to have read and which set down specific, easy-to-follow directions. Educational journals continued, throughout the entire period, to be concerned about discipline.

Religious Instruction

Parents were also responsible for imparting, to their children, a knowledge of God and the Bible, and they were urged to recognize this duty. "Next to their own salvation, there is no subject of so great importance, or that should command so much of their attention, their time, and their labor, as the spiritual and intellectual education of their children."[64] Parents were admonished not to use the excuse that they did not have adequate time to perform "the discharge of this hallowed duty", for religious instruction "is even more important than working for their daily bread."[65] The choice parents had to make for their children was whether they should be trained for God or for

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[64]"Responsibility of Parents and Teachers", op. cit., p. 45.

[65]"The Duty of Parental Religious Instruction", Journal of Education, XIV (1861), p. 135.

the "world".[66]

The latter statement, however, was not quite accurate, for such religious training was designed to bestow benefits which would serve its subject on this earth as well as in heaven. Biblical instruction was aimed at instilling into children a "godly character;"[67] it would make them "capable of understanding all their moral duties . . . such as obedience to parental authority, domestic concord, truth, justice, mercy, and forgiveness."[68] The benefits of these qualities were invaluable. "By acquiring them every right feeling is stimulated; and it is the early development of the religious feelings and moral sentiments that prevents the inroad of evil thoughts and corrupt practices."[69] The Holy Ghost was always there "to nurture and strengthen those principles upon which depend purity of heart, propriety of conduct, domestic peace, social order, salutary laws, and good government, . . . and does not all temporal prosperity which is conducive to real

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[66]"Early Training, op. cit., p. 23.

[67]Ibid., p. 22.

[68]Van Buren, "Early Religious Culture: Objections Considered", op. cit., p. 135.

[69]Ibid.

happiness, spring from the existence of these principals (sic)?"[70] In short, it was felt that a good foundation of religious education would furnish for its adherents, not only heavenly salvation and earthly success for the individual, but also salvation for society.

The articles appearing in the Journal of Education did more than counsel parents on the extent of their responsibility in this sphere. Many set out to instruct parents on how they should go about this task. Once obedience was assured, parents could proceed to provide "daily religious instruction from God's word."[71] Father as "priest" and mother as "the impersonation of heavenly mercy" should exemplify those principles they were preaching and supplement this by religious instruction.[72] The home was the environment most conducive to this task. "The public catechism of children, the Sabbath school, and the Bible class, are important aids", but parental influence could be more effective because parents were considered naturally more nurturant and because theirs was a "daily, hourly influence."[73]

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[70] Ibid.

[71] "Early Training", op. cit., p. 23.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

In spite of this emphasis on religious instruction in the home, Sunday schools were not to be ignored. For example, parents were advised to oversee their children's lessons.[74] They were to explain their contents to all family members. In 1861 parents were urged to recognize the benefits to be gained by their children from attending Church and Sunday School regularly.[75] Many youths "conscientiously instructed at home" never recognized the value of Sundays as a holy day of rest or of belonging to a church. The Sunday school was depicted as a "helpful agency" designed by God to supplement parents' efforts at religious education.

How were parents to proceed in conveying religious truths to their children?

> Gather them around you, and read to them the lessons of holy truth. Speak to them, with affection and earnestness, of the will of God. Urge them to obey it. Commend them in solemn prayer to Him, and you will soon find the exercise a blessing to yourselves and to them.[76]

The superior virtues of the Bible as a source from which to teach children were extolled. This, then, was where

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[74]"Help the Children", Journal of Education, XXVII (1874), p. 103.

[75]"A Plea for Sunday Schools", Journal of Education, XIV (1861), p. 134.

[76]"The Duty of Parental Religious Instruction", op. cit., XIV (1861), p. 135.

parents should begin; the Bible's lessons were to be a parent's guide to teaching religion.[77] They were designed to be comprehensible to a child. Furthermore, the Bible surpassed all others designed for the instruction of youth in its biographies, histories, its "moral precepts and narratives", and its "profound doctrines."[78]

Still another way of fulfilling God's command to look after the children's souls was to pray for them.[79] In 1855 a poem was published depicting the prayer of a concerned father for his children; contained therein were those sentiments and requests which the ideal father should include in his prayers. As such, this poem warrants some attention. No doubt it was offered to parents as an outline or example of what they themselves should use. What, then, were parents urged to ask God on behalf of their children?

> I ask not for them eminence or wealth--
> For these, in wisdom's view, are trifling toys;
> But occupation, competence, and health,
> Thy love, thy presence, and the lasting joys
> That flow therefrom; the passion which employs
> The breasts of holy men, and thus to be
> From all the taints, or darkness
> The strength of principles, for ever free:
> This is the better boon, O God, I ask of thee.[80]

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[77] Ibid., pp. 134-135.

[78] Ibid., p. 134.

[79] "Pray for the Little Ones", Journal of Education, XII (1860), p. 110.

[80] Rev. Dr. Withington. "A Father's Prayer", Journal of Education, VIII (1855), p. 139.

He asked that God should protect them from the evil influences that surround them on all sides. And if by chance God already knew of some fault or sin which would lead his children to eternal death, he asked that God should rather cause them to die young while they were still pure; thereby, they would at least not lose hope of heaven. If, on the other hand, they were destined to live a worthwhile life, "obedient to the laws," "humble, virtuous", living and teaching such virtue in their homes, and generally following in God's summons, then he hoped that God would allow them to live a long life. He further prayed that the Lord would aid him in his task of imparting to them God's precepts, especially that which counselled them to "shun the harlot".

> From treachery, falsehood, knavery, may they start
> As from a hidden snake; from woman, wines
> From all the guilty pangs with which such scenes combine.[81]

Above all he desired that on the judgement day he would not encounter that most horrible of visions--his children damned to hell.

The influence of such a praying parent could have great effects. An article which recounted the experience of two religious men attributed their later conversions to

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[81] Ibid.

the lingering memory they had of their "praying mothers".[82] One of these men was able to withstand countless temptations because the image of his mother's praying never left him.

It was not enough that parents by means of prayer should intercede between God and their children. Parents were responsible for teaching their children to pray by themselves. One commentator noted that there was some controversy concerning the proper time for children to be taught to pray.[83] There were those who felt that this should be done only when children were capable of comprehending what they were doing and when they could compose their own prayers. The author's own sentiments were not similar and he practised a different method. His own children were urged to say a number of well-known prayers as they began to speak; they added a prayer of their own when they were ready. Children must learn to pray while still very young; they do grasp the meaning of prayer more easily than some would imagine.

In short, the religious duties of parents were explicit and well-defined. After the inculcation of obedience which made the child more amenable to being influenced,

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[82]"Praying Mothers", Journal of Education, XI (1858), p. 156.

[83]"Shall we Teach Our Children To Repeat Prayers?" Journal of Education, IX (1858), p. 155.

religious instruction was the parent's primary responsibility. By reading the Journal of Education, parents could discover exactly what this responsibility involved and how it was to be discharged. In contrast, later periodicals were more concerned about moral instruction in the schools. Reformers appear to have been dissatisfied with the amount and nature of the religious instruction given in the home.

Education

Parents' obligations were not entirely fulfilled after they had imparted to their children an adequate measure of religious truths. No expense should be spared to provide one's children with a good education. "The parent that procures his child a good mind, well principled and tempered, makes a better purchase for him than to lay out the money to enlarge a farm. Spare the child in toys, in silks and ribbons, as much as you please, but be not sparing in his education.[84] Storing up money for one's child was not adequate either.[85] Education, on the other hand, should be viewed by parents as a resource on which the child could

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[84]"Education is Wealth", Journal of Education, XIV (1861), p. 102.

[85]"Self Dependence", Journal of Education, XIV (1861), p. 124.

always fall back when he became an adult.

Before state-supported common schools became prevalent, duty entailed spending money to ensure the provision of a well-fitted and comfortable school environment for one's children. Parents should see to it that the school had a floor space large enough to accommodate the whole class in such a manner that children were not continually interrupting one another.[86] Each child should have adequate seating accommodations as well as enough books and school supplies. The appearance of the building should serve to attract rather than repel its pupils. Another means of fulfilling one's responsibility was by acquiring a suitable teacher. This would never be achieved by offering a small salary. Directions were given to parents on what qualities a good teacher should possess.

Parents also had to see that their children went to school and that they were punctual. This responsibility was of prime importance and obviously neglected. Absence from school was "an evil to be deplored" because it prevented schooling from leaving "any deep or permanent impression" on a child's personality or career prospects.[87]

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[86]"How Parents Can Have a Good School", Journal of Education, VIII (1855), p. 2.

[87]"The Early Withdrawal of Children From School", Journal of Education, XI (1858), p. 115.

Parents who failed to keep their children at school after a short while could be categorized into four classes--"the indifferent, the necessitous, the selfish, and the dissatisfied."[88] "Indifferent" parents formed a small group which was continuing to diminish in number; of these, some viewed the school "simply as a convenience", designed to keep their children from danger, while others considered it enough if their children could read and write, but saw little reason why their offspring should have access to more information than what they themselves had acquired. The "necessitous" were dependent on the wages derived from their children's labour in order to stay alive. The "selfish" were described as "those who take advantage of the demand for juvenile labour to promote their own sordid interests, sacrificing their children at the shrine of Mammon."[89] Most of such negligent parents, however, fell into the "dissatisfied" group; that is, they were "dissatisfied with what the school in many cases does for the child."[90] Their child's progress at school seemed to them too slow.

In the Journal of Education, Hodgins also had

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[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid.

occasion to comment on the negligence of parents in this regard--a fact which demonstrates that school absence was an active concern in Upper Canada. He noted: "were it not that selfishness and avarice influence some parents to sanction the absence of their children from school, on the slightest pretext or pressure of business-to starve their intellect so as to enrich their pocket--the reproach which now exists would cease for ever."[91] Similarly, the tables included in Ryerson's report demonstrated, he claimed, "those . . . who have never themselves enjoyed the advantages of education are instinctively opposed to placing it within the reach of their children."[92]

As formal education practised in the confines of a school-room became the more common as well as preferred method of transmitting knowledge, parents were urged to recognize and fulfill their obligations in relation to this institution. The parents' most important duty in this regard consisted of visiting their children's school regularly. Articles promoting the idea that parents had an obligation to visit schools appeared during the entire run of the Journal of Education.

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[91]"Educational Progress in Upper Canada, 1853", Journal of Education, VII (1854), p.

[92]Ibid.

The idea was advanced that it should be a natural thing for parents to be interested in an institution which prepared their children for the future because, "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."[93] Parents should make the effort required to visit the school and to arrange a meeting with their children's teachers so that they might thereby discover their children's "conduct and progress". Parents could not excuse themselves from visiting schools by stating that they had not the time because, after all, a child's future character and prospects were directly affected by childhood education.

Students would gain by the frequent school visitation of parents because they would receive a "powerful stimulus to study."[94] School management would become more effective since the presence of parents would "delay disorders and prevent dissatisfaction."[95] This particular commentator appeared to be more concerned with the effect that school visitation had on the welfare of children than on the efficiency of the school and the happiness of the teacher, although the effects it produced on the teacher were not ignored. Another commentator devoted much time

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[93]"Address to Parents", Journal of Education, I (1848), p. 239.

[94]"Duty of Parents in Visiting the School", Journal of Education, II (1849), p. 6.

[95]Ibid.

to explaining how parents by visiting the school could aid the teacher's influence and position. For example, parents were urged to acquaint themselves with their schools' disciplinary methods so that they would not believe too literally all the complaints lodged by children against their teacher.

It was not advisable for parents to challenge the teacher's authority or to criticize school policy or discipline. They were warned never to utter a derogatory remark to their children about the teacher because their teacher would be encouraged in their misdemeanors.[96] If the parent thought that an infraction had been committed by the teacher, he was to notify the school officers, but he was not to take direct action. Any other course would only serve to "weaken the authority of the teacher, and encourage imprudence and idleness."[97]

School visitation was also regarded as important because it would result in parent-teacher co-operation. They "should work together as one", recognizing each other's desires and aims and co-operating in their accomplishment.[98]

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[96] Mann, "Duties of Parents", op. cit., p. 166.

[97] Ibid.

[98] "Parents Should Visit the School", Journal of Education, II (1849), p. 50.

Furthermore, it was undesirable that home atmosphere and discipline should be different from that of the school. Teachers and parents should be "one in their interests . . . feelings . . . aims . . . efforts."[99] Evidently reformers desired that the child's socialization should be consistent to be most effective. Such an arrangement prepared the way for the growing authority of the teacher and the further helplessness of the child.

Some attention was given to education in the home. Parents should see to it that informative discussion and the reading of library books were part of family life.[100] In fact, reading material "should be angels in every household."[101] It was also a parent's responsibility to promote the practice of reading aloud before the family circle; thereby, "they would soon see the levity and giddiness that make up the conversation of too many circles giving way to refinement and chaste dignity."[102] Intelligent conversation often made intelligent children out of those who had few other educational advantages. Lively

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[99] "Address to Parents", op. cit., p. 239.

[100] "Family Conversation", Journal of Education, VII (1854), pp. 192-193.

[101] "Reading Aloud in the Family", Journal of Education, XVII (1864), p. 89.

[102] Ibid.

dialogue was also encouraged because children would seek to escape the boredom induced by a silent house. Parents should also recognize that children "will learn with pleasure from the lips of parents what they deem it drudgery to study in books."[103]

In 1870 parents were still being urged to visit the schools. By this time, however, it had become evident that parents were not fulfilling their educational responsibilities as defined in the Journal of Education, even though adequate provisions for the establishment and internal fittings at school-houses had been made. Reformers continued to be concerned about the absence of children from school, and their discontent found expression in compulsory measures the following year. It was difficult even for contemporary educators to gauge the extent to which parents were fulfilling the duties of home education.

Upon the proper performance of parental responsibilities depended present safety and future civilization. The focus of all these efforts was the child. So important was he that other family interests had to be sacrificed. This is evident, for example, in the directive that parents should see to the religious instruction of their children before they

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[103]"Conversation at Home", Journal of Education, XXV (1872), p. 109.

concerned themselves about their daily bread. It was evident that the majority of people were not aware of these responsibilities, and if they were, they were not fulfilling them. Indeed, it is difficult to see how many, especially of the working-class, could have found the time for such solicitude towards their children. However, it was continually professed that the ideal parent would fulfill these responsibilities.

VI

MOTHERHOOD

Mothers had a special importance and influence and performed a particular role in the home and in relation to children. As already noted, parents as a unit had a myriad of obligations towards their children; however, the Journal of Education ran as many articles written about and addressed to mothers solely as to parents in general.

This special attention given to mothers can be partly explained by the suggestion made in a number of articles that the mother's influence far out-weighed that of the father, and was so powerful that it could counteract her husband's.[1] The idea was expressed that "From a mother's character is a child formed, . . . The virtues and vices of a mother are most generally developed and lived over again in the child. . . ."[2]

Some suggestions were volunteered as to why a mother's authority was so extensive. Mothers were sweet and gentle in their manner and they were ever watchful and caring towards

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[1]"The Mother Moulds the Man", Journal of Education, XII (1859), pp. 186-187.

[2]"Maternal Influence", Journal of Education, IX (1850), p. 185.

their children.[3] It was felt that women possessed a certain "combination of qualities" which played a vital role in the successful management of children. What were these qualities? It was "that combination of tenderness with firmness, which while it enlists the sympathies and wins the affections, at the same time, commands the respect of all . . ."[4] Parents, as has been shown, were being advised that gentleness and firmness were the two attributes which they must develop and exercise if they sought to enforce discipline successfully and fairly. Now there appeared a source which claimed that women more generally commanded these same qualities. It followed that mothers could therefore wield much greater influence and accomplish what was desirable with a greater measure of success.

Other reasons advanced for the unrivalled influence of mothers were more dependent on environmental circumstances than the claim to any special innate or developed qualities. Because the young children were by necessity dependent on the mother, the "first impressions (and they never die) are derived only from her. The intellectual and the moral shadow of the mother are insensibly impressed upon the

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[3]"The True Principle of Government, Both in Families and Schools", Journal of Education, IV (1851), p. 118.

[4]Ibid.

child."[5] A mother was always there; " . . . the daily, hourly influence of a mother is like the undercurrent, the existence and power of which are no less actual though less observed."[6] Mothers possessed a special knowledge of their children's character.

> In the first place, who so well as the mother can understand the disposition and temperament of her child? Who can know so well the strength or weakness of its physical constitution, the acuteness or dullness of its senses, the rapidity or slowness of its mental action, its confidence, or diffidence.[7]

Similarly, mothers were considered the most effective teachers because "they have control in the days of a child's infancy; from mothers alone will children learn as if by instinct."[8]

The mother and child relationship was, in every case, depicted as an exceedingly intimate one. In contrast, fathers were never portrayed as the constant companions of their children. It was complained that "Hundreds of men

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[5]"The Formation of Character the Work of Mothers", Journal of Education, IX (1856), p. 124.

[6]"Maternal Influence", op. cit., p. 185.

[7]"Fireside Teaching in Winter", Journal of Education, (1870), p. 183.

[8]George Victor Le Vaux, "The Principles and Practice of Education", Journal of Education, XIII (1870), p. 179.

have no time to get acquainted with their children."[9] There was between father and children an utter lack of that intense involvement which characterized the mother-child relationship. Although necessary, of course, this was, ideally, an undesirable situation; fathers were urged to befriend their children. However, it was generally recognized that circumstances being what they were a mother's constant presence and interaction with her children determined that her influence would be more effective and enduring.

Some evidence as to how much authority a mother wielded has already been mentioned; she could, for example, counteract the influence of her husband. Numerous other articles detailed the extent of a mother's authority and an examination of some of these will further illustrate why mothers were singled out for special attention and advice. It was noted how extensive was this belief in the exceptional power of mothers; "The power of maternal influence is everywhere acknowledged, from the palace down to the meanest

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[9]Know Your Children", Journal of Education, XXVII (1874), p. 103. The same point was made by Wishy, The Child and the Republic, op. cit., p. 26. In Anne Louise Kuhn The Mother's Role in Childhood Education: New England Concepts 1830-1860 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), p. 4, it is noted that increased urban and industrial growth caused the father to be away from home much of the time; as a result, mothers were impelled to assume more responsibilities.

dwelling."[10] It was in a mother's power to surround her child with "the most genial of all influences."[11] Throughout the child's life "her smile, her word, her wish, is an inspiring force."[12] It was professed that children were immensely impressed by the great love their mothers express constantly; "Such things sink deep into their spirits, and all the experiences of after life will not efface them."[13]

That the latter statement represented the general opinion of most observers is demonstrated by the large number of articles which, in the form of anecdotes, described this very situation. The memory of a mother's love kindles feelings of remorse and causes a significant transformation in the son or daughter. In one case, for example, a man whose mother had continually pleaded that her son come to know God before she died was converted.[14] In another, a youth is reminded of his "angel mother" and leaves his life of drunkenness.[15] And in still another a

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[10] "Maternal Influence", op. cit., p. 185.

[11] Rev. W. T. Tweedie, "The Mother the Divinity of Childhood", Journal of Education, X (1857), p. 139.

[12] Ibid.

[13] "A Mother's Love", Journal of Education, III (1850), p. 37.

[14] "The Answered Prayer", Journal of Education, IX (1856), p. 173.

[15] "I Thought It was My Mother's Voice", Journal of

convict is brought to repentence by the mere sound of the word "mother".[16] The language and imagery used in the latter account illustrate how effective a mother's remembered love was considered to be:

> Had a thunderbolt struck him (the convict) he could not have fallen more suddenly than he did when the name "mother" fell on his ear. He sank into a chair -- a torrent of tears gushed from his eyes -- the very fountain of his heart seemed to have burst on the instant.[17]

Because a mother was capable of exercising such unlimited control over her children, it was argued that her influence extended beyond the home. Woman's "powerful influence" in the area of both "social and home education" was stressed: "In fact, it is she who holds all the power in this sphere; it is she who really, but silently, directs, controls, leads, and governs the whole social machine in the country."[18] Every mother was reminded that "she is working for society as well as herself."[19] She is "a highly

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Education, XIV (1861), p. 106.

[16]"Mother's Love," Journal of Education, XII (1859), p. 186.

[17]Ibid.

[18]"Home Education", Journal of Education, IX (1856), p. 125.

[19]"The Formation of Character the Work of Mothers", op. cit., p. 124.

important and deeply-responsible agent in the moral advancement and regeneration of the nation."[20] Furthermore, there was no alternative for a mother; "No schoolmaster, no minister of the Gospel, no legislature, can perform the beneficent work of the mother."[21]

Contained in the numerous articles which appeared in the Journal of Education is a description of all those qualities which characterized the ideal mother. A study of these attributes demonstrates that her role was above all, one of sacrifice, albeit willing sacrifice. Such self-denial was expected and was, indeed, viewed as synonymous with motherhood. The ideal mother was depicted as one who was unceasingly pre-occupied with their physical and moral well-being.

The foremost quality of the ideal mother was a loving nature. God had created their hearts "foundations of endless affection."[22] A mother's love was depicted as being so deep that it was "like the love of the old-fashioned mother, who followed the child she had plucked from her heart, all over the world."[23] No matter what

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] "Mother's Love", op. cit., p. 108.

ill the child had done, "yet that mother was with him, a Ruth through all his life, and a Rachel at his death."[24]

A mother's love was considered "almost independent of cold reason, and wholly removed from all selfish hope of reward."[25] She is led to care for her child by the fact that it is "a fraction of her own nature."[26] This reaction on the part of mothers was a universal phenomenon. There was portrayed the sacredness of a mother's love;

> There is so divine a holiness in the love of a mother, that . . . she becomes, as it were, concentrated and sacred; and the past is forgotten, and the world and its harsh verdicts, swept away when that love alone is visible; . . .[27]

Mother, as God's "human deputy" bestowed that solicitude which He Himself felt for young children.

Ideal mothers demonstrated their love by being sympathetic. Mothers who were being advised on how to manage their sons were told, "Take an interest in your

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[24] Ibid.

[25] "A Mother's Love", Journal of Education, III (1850), p. 6.

[26] Ibid. According to Kuhn, The Mother's Role in Childhood Education: New England Concepts 1830-1860, op. cit., p. 153. This idea was often expressed in New England as well. It was also claimed that all mothers possessed this maternal instinct.

[27] "A Mother's Love", Journal of Education, II (1849), p. 171.

children's enjoyment. A pleasant word, an encouraging smile from a sympathizing mother, rewards an affectionate boy for many an hour of weary work."[28] What would such a sympathetic attitude accomplish? "By sympathizing in the enjoyment of your children, by manifesting the interest you feel in the innocent pleasures they can find at home, you thus shield them from countless temptations."[29]

Ideal mothers were ever-watchful. Children needed constant care and mothers were expected to provide it. However, mothers were urged to be watchful for another reason; they were to see to it that temptations did not cause their children to succumb to evil. "Watch, Mother, Watch" instructed a poem which appeared in the Journal;

. . . . . .

Never count the moments lost,
Never mind the time it costs,
Little feet will go astray,
Guide them, mother, while you may!

. . . . . .

Wholesome lessons now impart;
Keep, O keep that young heart true.
Extricating every weed,
Sowing good and precious seed;[30]

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[28]Rev. John S. C. Abbott, "The Management of Boys by Mothers", Journal of Education, II (1849), p. 66.

[29]Ibid.

[30]"Watch, Mother, Watch", Journal of Education, IX (1856), p. 43.

Such love and sacrifice played an important role in helping mothers to influence their children. Mothers, in their love, sympathy, and solicitude, had paramount functions to perform. Their great influence and power were matched only by their responsibilities. A mother was accountable for her child's physical health, proper discipline, moral principles and manners, as well as his "temper and disposition."[31] Still further, she was responsible for providing her offspring with an adequate intellectual and religious education.

The one responsibility which was dealt with by the largest number of articles was that of religious instruction. It has already been noted that both parents were advised to see to this important task; however, in anecdotes recounting a religious conversion, it was always the memory of a mother's teaching or praying which accounted for the change. One article described the experience of Willie whose mother taught him an unquestioning belief in God; Willie's prayers were, as a result, always answered.[32] Another anecdote concerned a young man who was being examined by learned

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[31]"For What is a Mother Responsible?", Journal of Education (1850), p. 39.

[32]"Willie's Faith", Journal of Education, VII (1864), p. 108.

clergymen in order that he could become a preacher; although he had had only his mother as a religious instructor, his examination results proved excellent, demonstrating "that mothers may be good teachers of theology."[33]

Similarly, mothers were expected to provide their children with an early education. "The work of Education belongs peculiarly to women";[34] such was the theme of a lengthy article which, because it appeared in the editorial section of the Journal of Education, can be considered as representative of the opinion of its editors on this subject. It was God, the author claimed, who "has endowed her with faculties admirably adapted to it (religious instruction). Many may be the better teacher, the better instructor, but woman is the better educator."[35] This could not be doubted when one considered the definition of education; education the author defined as "the drawing out,--the development of the human faculties--the moral, mental, and physical faculties with which man is endowed by the Creator."[36] Woman was primarily responsible for the growth

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[33]"A Mother's Influence", Journal of Education, VII (1854), p. 183. Phillida Bunkle, "Sentimental Womanhood and Domestic Education", History of Education Quarterly, XIV, 1974, p. 19 notes how both American and Canadian mothers were encouraged to assume the role of religious instructor.

[34]"Female Education and Female Educators", Journal of Education, VIII (1855), p. 72.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid.

of these faculties. In contrast, what was a father's role in relation to the education of children considered to be?

> Ah! a father may instruct, he may give "line upon line" and "precept upon precept": he may exhort, he may threaten, he may control, he may awe;--it is the mother who educates. . . . We do not say that a man cannot be an educator, or that he cannot be an excellent and most efficient educator. Man may become an educator, but it is necessary that he first become an educationist. Woman, without ever becoming an educationist, or even without receiving the benefit of elementary school instruction, must, unless she lived in solitude, become an educator.[37]

Considering that a mother's influence superseded all others, that she possessed, as many claimed, all those attributes which made her the natural master and teacher of her children, and that she was ever-watchful and loving, then why was it that the world was not the virtuous place that reformers felt it could and should be. The explanation was simple; obviously not all mothers were virtuous or corresponded to the ideal that was being promoted.

> There are mothers who seem to possess so holy and happy an influence, that the sunshine of peace and joy gladdens their happy dwelling. There are others, who, like the upas tree, poison the atmosphere around them, so that no virtue or excellency can come within their shadow and live.[38]

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[37] Ibid.

[38] "Maternal Influence", op. cit., p. 183. Historians researching the role of mothers in the United States found this to be a common complaint; for example, see Joan N. Burstyn, "Catherine Beecher and the Education of American

Similarly, another commentator confirmed the fact that many mothers were far less than ideal;

> We complain of cruel husbands, they complain of uncomfortable homes, and the courts of justice adjudicate, and today is as fertile of suffering and wrong as yesterday was, and no hope can we find for to-morrow, or for any future time, but in ransomed motherhood-- . . .[39]

From such statements developed arguments for the better education of women. The fact that there appeared numerous articles whose main purpose was to advise mothers and parents on what their duties were and what were the ideal methods to be used to fulfill them is more evidence that mothers were failing their responsibilities.

The Education of Mothers

The question of woman's education further revealed how prevalent and how entrenched was this ideal of motherhood. The entire education given to women was to be determined by the concept.

The Journal of Education disseminated some information regarding the contemporary view of the capacity, position,

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Women", New England Quarterly, XLVII, 1974, p. 389 and Wishy, The Child and the Republic, op. cit., p. 29.

[39] "The Formation of Character The Work of Mothers", op. cit., p. 124.

and education of girls, between 1850 and 1875. It was very early agreed that girls would benefit by being educated. It was contended that an intelligent woman was more "refined and sensible" and therefore a better "companion" to a man.[40] An educated woman would never be idle, for she could fill her spare time with "reading, conversation, and thought."[41]

However, by far the most important reason advanced for the education of girls was that of making them better wives and mothers; an educated woman would become a better "wife, mother and domestic manager."[42] Because women ruled men through the moulding influence, women should be made "perfect"; when this was accomplished men would also be perfected.[43] Furthermore, a woman who had gone to school herself would recognize her duties in relation to the school and her children's education. One source noted that

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[40]"Society of Women", Journal of Education, IX (1856), p. 28.

[41]"Female Culture", Journal of Education, II (1849), p. 91.

[42]"The Education of Woman", Journal of Education, IX (1856), p. 103. The Mother's Role in Childhood Education: New England Concepts 1830-1860, op. cit., p. 33 noted that this was a common attitude among conservatives in New England.

[43]"Female Education and Female Educators", op. cit., p. 72.

the "ignorance of the mother has much to do with the bad attendance of which teachers everywhere complain."[44] Uneducated girls grow into wives and mothers who "perpetuate their own ignorance to another generation."[45]

There was some controversy over the proper content of a scheme of education for females. Some felt that it was more useful to train girls in the domestic arts. There appeared a number of articles depicting the advantages of this kind of education to girls in other countries. German girls, for example, received the kind of education that would make them better cooks and housewives,[46] and girls in the Sandwich Islands were taught to garden, wash, iron, and crochet.[47] However, others complained that girls' contemporary education was not one which would make them satisfactory wives and mothers, and that a proper education should aim "to raise their feelings above the useful and necessary, but not very intellectual duties of a house-

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[44]"Irregular School Attendance", Journal of Education, XXVII (1874), p.

[45]Ibid.

[46]"Female Education in Germany", Journal of Education, XIX (1866), p. 101.

[47]"Education of Girls in the Sandwich Islands", Journal of Education, XIX (1866), p. 101.

maid."[48]

There existed a general attitude that girls were not scholars in the same sense as were boys. This outlook was re-inforced by the prevalent assumptions regarding girls capabilities. As early as 1865, Inspector George Paxton Young voiced the opinion that the minds of girls were very different from those of boys; this difference meant that girls, although they had the "capacity" to learn ancient languages, should be provided with a "different course of study."[49] That this view was more widespread among influential contemporaries is evidenced by the fact that Professor Young's opinion was included as an extract in Ryerson's annual report for that year.

The findings of European medical men were also reported. Their general opinion was expressed by one noted medical doctor who, although he recognized the validity of John Stuart Mill's argument that woman's present dependent position accounted for the "mental and moral difference between the sexes", claimed that there were still "inherent and ineradic-

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[48]"Education of Girls", Journal of Education, XX, (1856), p. 7. This controversy regarding the content of female education also took place in the United States. See Roberta Wain, "Women's Colleges and Domesticity, 1875-1918", History of Education Quarterly, XIV 1974, pp. 32-33.

[49]Inspector Young, "Girls in the Grammar Schools", Journal of Education, XX (1867), p. 82.

able differences as marked and as necessary as the complementary bodily variations of structure."[50] As a result, any attempt to educate girls and boys in an identical fashion would "injure women for their maternal responsibilities" which was "the chief duty and destination of the great majority."[51]

That this controversy existed in Ontario is evidenced by the proceedings of the Ontario Teachers' Association in 1874. One teacher noted that women's intellects though not "inferior", were "different" and then ended his speech with the comment that women had never equalled men "as poets, nor painters, nor anything else worth speaking of."[52] It is worthy of note that many of his fellow teachers contested this claim.

However, it was the controversy surrounding the higher education of woman, in the 1880s, that illustrates most clearly the ascendancy of the ideal of motherhood and womanhood. It confirms the fact that the role of wife, mother, and homemaker continued to be viewed as the female's highest calling, even in the latter part of the century, and that the system of education instituted for women was

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[50]"Sex in Education", Journal of Education, XVII (1874), p. 75.

[51]Ibid.

[52]"Ontario Teachers' Association", Journal of Education, XXVII (1874), p. 136.

determined largely by this concept.

The many Canadian sources available on this topic demonstrate how prevalent was this concern. In 1885, T. M. MacIntyre, Principal of Ladies' College in Brantford, noted that in Canada the "public" concern regarding advanced female education "has been slowly maturing" and was being regarded as vital" in the true and permanent progress of the people, in our social, moral, and religious interests."[53] Another Canadian woman felt that everyone was concerned about defining woman's sphere and education.[54]

It was generally agreed that woman's education was dependent upon her role in society, and the views expressed in this regard were many and divergent.[55] There were those who wanting total equality, sought to "obliterate" the differences between male and female sex roles by calling for similar "educational and civil privileges.[56] There were those who still saw woman as "inferior" to man even though she was useful in her own sphere; these spokesmen

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[53]T. M. MacIntyre, "Our Ladies' Colleges in Relation to our Educational System", The Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, VII (1885), p. 41.

[54]Mrs. J. Harvie, "The Medical Education of Women", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, V (1883), p. 472.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Ibid.

sought to deny women the acquisition of civil and educational privileges. Still others professed woman to be man's "equal" but worried that by gaining the same advantages, woman "becomes his rival, loses womanliness of character, and the undoubted privileges which, as a woman, she now possesses."[57] Most people, however, felt that woman was destined to be married and to rule within the confines of the family; as a result, she should have an education which best fitted her for this role.

One stance resulting from this last outlook was best represented by an American source; the fact that it was published in the Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine among the opinions of Canadians on higher education demonstrates that it reflected the views of other Canadians as well. It was, according to this source, the duty of mothers "to make life worth living . . . to turn mere dwelling-houses into centres of attractive domestic life . . . to minister in all womanliness to its (the world's)

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[57] Ibid, p. 473. According to Burstyn, "Catherine Beecher and the Education of American Women", op. cit., pp. 386-387, this idea of woman as equal but different in her social function was a common one in the United States and was upheld by many female pioneers of women's higher education. See also Catherine L. Cleverdon, The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. 6.

moral, physical, and intellectual health and comfort."[58] But, more significant still, it was her duty to "bear and rear the next generation of men and women."[59] As a result, it was undesirable that women should go to universities like men. In order to prepare women for their rightful place educators must

> first care to give them good health and strong constitutions; secondly, to train them thoroughly in all domestic arts; thirdly, to cultivate the aesthetic side of their natures, in order that they may know how to minister to beauty; fourthly, to train them to right ethical principles and impulses, and cultivate in them a genuine love of home and its duties; finally, we would cultivate in every girl such sympathies and tastes as are necessary to the healthful occupation of her mind and the development of her conversational powers;[60]

Women so trained would be not only "useful" but also "happy". The differentiation between the woman and the academic is made evident here too in his claim that the "woman is of greater worth to the world than the scholar."[61] There was considered to be an incompatibility between womanhood and intellectual achievements.

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[58]George Gary Eggleston, "The Education of Women", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine V (1883), p. 383.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Ibid., pp. 385-386.

[61]Ibid., p. 386.

Not all contemporaries agreed that potential mothers should forgo advanced education. It was maintained that intelligent women would create exceptional sons and that "cultured wives and sisters" would be a "refining influence" on men and on society in general.[62] However, there seems to have been some confusion as to why women who would become mothers would want to go to university, and it is evident that some contemporaries viewed the higher education of women as a threat, for woman might feel induced to follow professional careers instead. It was noted for instance, that more vocations were open to women than ever before.[63] The education of women as doctors was argued on the grounds that women would become better mothers, for such an education would aid them in ministering to the wants of her own family.[64] As for those who believed that woman should be allowed a higher education, they advocated that women pursue vocations which were suitable to a woman's nature, like that of school teacher.[65] Women, it was

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[62]President Daniel Wilson, "Address at the Convocation of University College", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, VI (1884), p. 421.

[63]Harvie, "The Medical Education of Women", op. cit., p. 473.

[64]Ibid., p. 476.

[65]MacIntyre, "Our Ladies Colleges in Relation to our Educational System," op. cit., VII (1885), p. 44.

argued, "are specially adapted to the work of teaching," because her female nature made her more influential with children.[66] In the same vein, the education of women as doctors was also advocated on the grounds that women would devote themselves to better serving other women and children.[67]

It is evident then that girls were always viewed as future women and women were always regarded as mothers. Indeed, true womanhood was synonymous with motherhood. The satisfactions that the individual female might derive from the challenge of an academic career were rarely alluded to. Her education was always seen in terms of how it would better fit her to act out her primary social function. Woman's role was paramount, but only because the child was the focus of all attention and because his socialization was of vital importance.

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[66] Ibid.

[67] Harvie, "The Medical Education of Women", op. cit., p. 477. Jill K. Conway, "Perspectives on the History of Women's Education in the United States", History of Education Quarterly, XIV (1974), p. 9, outlined how the first generation of women college graduates perpetuated these ideas by encouraging educated women to enter "service" professions. This same point is made by Janice Acton, Penny Goldsmith, and Bonnie Shepard, ed., Women at Work, Ontario 1850-1930, (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press), 1974.

VII

THE SCHOOL

In the life of the child, the school was the second, and sometimes primary, agent of socialization. The most important agent was supposed to be the home. However, more and more the school was regarded as a corrective agency, for it became increasingly more evident that the home was not fulfilling its responsibilities.

Much fault was attributed to the "prevalent inexpressibly miserable system of home training. Most children are not 'brought up' nowadays, but . . . 'tumble up'."[1] It was claimed that in the homes of most juvenile offenders "confusion, disorder, and dirt, are the reigning powers, continual brawls, mutual upbraidings, with intermingling oaths and curses, are the prevailing sights and sounds."[2] Furthermore, there was concern that neither the family nor the Sunday School were inculcating religious tenets or even moral values of any kind.[3] The Church was not fulfilling

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[1]"Teaching Children to Work", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, IV (1882), p. 276.

[2]"Vicious Children", op. cit., p. 39.

[3]"Dereligionizing the Nation", Canada Educational

its duties, partly because its influence was exerted only a few hours every week and partly because its dogma involved concepts and was expressed in language that could not be easily grasped by a child. Its influence was limited also by the fact that parents were negligent about sending their children to Sunday Schools.[4]

There existed an awareness of the fact that these deleterious conditions were often directly related to a family's poverty. Dirt, for example, was regarded as a "frequent attendant" of poverty.[5] It was also recognized that the reason many children were immoral and unmannerly was because their families occupied only one or two rooms.[6] However, few if any solutions were advanced as to how such parents could overcome their poverty. This is one instance in which scepticism about curatives directly affected the work of prevention. Actually, reformers soon realized that their belief that parental neglect was closely allied only

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Monthly and School Magazine, III (1881), p. 365; and "A Little Talk on a Great Subject", op. cit., p. 231.

[4]"Moral Education--Its Importance--The Bible", Journal of Education, I (1848), p. 363.

[5]Arnold Alcott, "Cleanliness", Educational Journal, III (1889), p. 136.

[6]Capen, "The Teaching of Morals in the Public Schools. What and How?", op. cit., p. 151.

to poverty proved a hopeful wish. They expressed concern, for example, that it was only parents "in the very lowest class" who did not recognize the importance of their children attending school.[7] However, that concern mounted to alarm when it was discovered that middle class children also committed criminal acts,[8] and that respectable Canadian adults were prone to smuggling[9] and to the use of narcotics as strong as opium.[10]

Therefore, it became vital that all the children of these thoughtless parents should be "brought under the training and educating influence" of the school,[11] where the teacher would assume the role of parent and cleric.[12] In effect, school education was designed to "augment" an ideal home influence, and to "offset" a degrading one.[13] There is evidence that the school was considered effective

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[7]Machar, "Compulsory Education", op. cit., p. 327.

[8]"Free Public School Libraries in Upper Canada", op. cit., p. 161.

[9]"Character-Forming", op. cit., p. 204.

[10]"Training the Fathers", op. cit., p. 166.

[11]Machar, "Compulsory Education", op. cit., p. 328.

[12]"A Little Talk on a Great Subject", op. cit., p. 231.

[13]"Study the Children", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, IV (1882), p. 276.

in its counteracting influence and as the supplanter of the family in the case of those children who were surrounded by the most unwholesome influences in their own homes. The school was also designed to be instrumental in accommodating the potentially criminal elements in society, the homeless waifs inhabiting the streets. Although the ideal had not yet been attained, it was still argued that "the nation may rest more hopefully in the moral patriotic product of her schools than in any other force that she commands."[14]

The superiority of the school as a socializing agent lay in two factors. It was here that all the children could be reached. For example, it was relatively simple to give instruction in a particular political philosophy: in this case, one which opposed any disposition on the part of children to adopt communistic ideas.[15] "How can an ignorant, uninstructed multitude know what ought to be done, in those bewildering crises when hunger and passion, and bold example tempt them to wild extremes?"[16] In effect, the future generation could best be taught those values and behaviours which would guarantee the safety of the state, en masse, in

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[14]"Education and Crime", op. cit., p. 631.

[15]"The Hope of the Age", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, IV (1882), p. 68.

[16]Ibid., See also Hodgins, "Canadian National Homogeneity", op. cit., p. 181.

the schools. Furthermore, there were some duties which could be "more conveniently and thoroughly discharged by a school than by a family organization."[17] These duties involved the kind of supervision that only a teacher could give in regard to providing information, teaching children how to use their intellects efficiently, and to become acceptable social beings.

Therefore, the school was designed to perform the functions of the ideal home, as well as some others. Ideally, the home and school should work together to create the kind of character that was desired.[18] However, toward the end of the century, even those parents who were not outwardly negligent were accused of abdicating their role; in effect, "it has come to pass that parental responsibility in nine homes out of ten has been and is being handed over to the Public School and High School Teacher."[19] This phenomenon was largely due to the fact that many children were now in school for ten months out of the year.

The school was a preventive institution and the teacher was "the cheapest police which any government can

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[17]"Mutual Relations of Parties Interested in a School", op. cit., p. 72.

[18]"Current Thought", Educational Journal, I (1887), p. 135. This is also made note of in Chapter II.

[19]A. H. Manning, "The Teacher and the Teaching Profession", Educational Journal, III (1889), p. 103.

employ."[20] And just as the home represented for children a safe refuge from the world, so too did the school. Even physically the school house stood apart; the school grounds should, for example, be "walled around" to exclude intruders"[21] and the school should be situated in "a pleasant location, where it will not be exposed to too much noise and dust of the highway, nor havennoisy factories, nor distilleries, nor porkhouses, as its near neighbours."[22] In the schoolroom children were carefully guarded against any adverse influences and, as already noted, even recess was viewed by some as inadvisable. Children, therefore, when they were not segregated in the family home, were isolated in the school, under the constant supervision of the teacher.

The Teacher

The teacher, like the parent, had considerable influence and an important role to play. He had a duty "to parent and posterity," for as soon as the child entered school, "the moulding of his character is, to a great extent, taken from the parent's hand and committed to the teacher's

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[20] Rev. Armour, "Concluding Lecture on Free Schools", Journal of Education, V (1852), p. 92.

[21] "The School Playground", Journal of Education, XIV (1861), p. 29.

[22] "School Architecture", Journal of Education, X (1857), p. 17. This idea was also proposed by Hodgins, Hints and Suggestions on School House Architecture, op. cit., p. 13.

care."[23] There was some dissension over how much authority a teacher could exert. One opinion claimed that his authority was "less permanent and absolute than that of the parent;"[24] another noted that it was equivalent to that of a parent or minister,[25] and still another claimed that because home training was neglected, the teacher wielded significant influence.[26] Like the mother, his influence became, towards the end of the century a "daily, hourly" one.[27]

Because a teacher was to affect the children under his care by example as much as by precept, it was important that he display as ideal a character as possible. "His life and conduct should be characterized by purity, uprightness and truth."[28] Without a good moral character, his influence could not be elevating. Because the teacher was required to improve children's minds, it was advisable that

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[23]Tromanhouser, "The Teacher and the School", op. cit., p. 386.

[24]Rev. Dr. Sears, "Errors in Respect to Schools Corrected", op. cit., p. 49.

[25]Tromanhauser, "The Teacher and the School", op. cit., p. 386.

[26]"Some Essentials", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, op. cit., p. 275.

[27]"Editorial Notes", Educational Journal, V (1891), p. 581.

[28]Tromanhauser, "The Teacher and the School", op. cit., p. 386.

he should be "thoroughly educated."[29] Because he was to influence their manners, he was to be "neat, sunny-tempered, impartial, polite, well-bred."[30] In effect, he was to be an example of all that he was trying to inculcate in children.

Because of the role of the school in relation to the home, the teacher had important functions to perform. It was he who was to assume the responsibilities of the parents in matters of health, discipline, education, and morals in order to perform these effectively, it was important that a particular atmosphere pervade the environment of the school.

School Environment

Like the home, the school "should be of a pleasing and instructive character, and not a repelling influence."[31] In order to ensure the attendance of children it was important that they should be attracted to the school; in fact, it should be "such an attractive place that children would find their greatest joy there."[32] Such an environment

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[29]Florence H. Birney, "The Best is the Cheapest", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, III (1881), p. 444.

[30]Ibid.

[31]"Planting School Grounds", Educational Journal, I (1887), p. 20.

[32]"A Plea for Beautiful School Rooms", Journal of

was especially needed for those children whose parents neglected its provision in the home.[33] Therefore, both to reinforce the atmosphere and environment of a good home and to correct the influence of that prevailing in a bad home, the school was required to be attractive as well as functioning. It was hoped that there would be inculcated in children "a perception of beauty in domestic arrangements"[34] and "a desire for comfortable homes."[35]

The architectural structure of the school-house itself was to be pleasing to the eye. By the 1860's the old concept of the school as just a "shelter" was obsolete; it had become the practice that "school architecture studies beauty as well as utility."[36] Not only was the schoolroom to be adequately fitted in regard to accommodation, heat,

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Education, XX (1867), p. 119. It is noteworthy that all the concepts of social reformers regarding the school house and the health of children as expressed in this chapter were reiterated by Hodgins, Hints and Suggestions on School House Architecture, op. cit. In the United States these concepts were first circulated by Henry Barnard, School Architecture, (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co). 1848).

[33]Alcott, "Cleanliness", op. cit., p. 136.

[34]"Aesthetics in Schools: Manners, Morals, &c.", op. cit., p. 39.

[35]Ibid.

[36]"A Plea for Beautiful School Rooms", op. cit., p. 119.

light, and ventilation,[37] but it too, should aim to be beautiful.

Part of such beauty could be attributed to neatness, cleanliness, brightness and cheerfulness.[38] Carpeting was cited as a desirable feature, as were pictures.[39] In fact, it was advisable to "buy pictures of some sort, good ones if you can, but of any degree of merit rather than none at all."[40] These alone would "without any formal instruction or expenditure of time . . . have a powerful influence in elevating the thoughts, refining the tastes, and enriching the whole natures and lives of the children to whom they will thus be continually speaking."[41]

Not only the schoolhouse, but also the school grounds warranted special attention. Beautiful grounds would have the same influence as attractive buildings. The location itself was of some priority, for the school should not be situated in a "bleak and barren place."[42]

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[37]"School-House Architecture", Journal of Education, XXIV, (1871), p. 28.

[38]Alcott, "Cleanliness, op. cit., p. 17.

[39]"A Plea for Beautiful School Rooms", op. cit., p. 120.

[40]Ibid.

[41]"Editorial Notes", Educational Journal, V (1892), p. 51.

[42]"Beautifying School Grounds", Journal of Education, XXIV (1871), p. 28.

Instead, it should occupy "the most beautiful site in the whole neighborhood."[43] Teachers were encouraged to help in "ornamenting with trees, shrubbery and flowers the school-grounds for the gratification and pleasure of the children"[44] and of the community at large.

The institution of Arbor Day in Ontario, in 1885, illustrates the extent to which this principle was held. Although forest conservation was cited as one reason for its institution,[45] educators were primarily concerned about the educational and aesthetic influences exerted by this activity. There was evidence that tree-planting had already, by 1887, had some influence on Toronto home-owners who had proceeded to decorate their own houses with trees and flowers.[46] Its institution was also advisable from a sanitary point of view because "shrubbery absorbs the poisonous gases and effuvia too often prevalent around school-houses."[47]

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[43] Ibid.

[44] "Ornamenting School Premises", Journal of Education, XVII (1864), p. 57.

[45] "Editorial", Educational Weekly, I (1885), p. 273.

[46] "Embellishment of School Grounds", Educational Journal, I (1887), p. 20.

[47] "Arbor Day", Educational Weekly, I (1885), p. 271.

More than just the physical surroundings of the child had to be regulated; the school was to possess a particular emotional environment. "The atmosphere of the school-room should be as nearly as possible, like that of a happy home where kind looks and words dispel all unhappiness and gloom, and kind actions weave an insoluble bond among its members.[48]

Health

In 1885, it was noted that the Ontario child was in the school-room an average of twelve hundred hours each year and "that every moment of this period has an important influence as regards permanent effects upon health."[49] School children were especially susceptible to contagious diseases. Canadians were aware of the fact that in England these caused the death of fifty thousand pupils every year. Similarly, nine-tenths of the instances of "diseased eyes" were a result not of heredity but of the bad lighting in schools.[50] By 1885, statistical evidence showed that near-sightedness was becoming a major health problem, in Canada

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[48]Tromanhauser, "The Teacher and the School," op. cit., p. 386.

[49]"Health Duties of School Authorities", Educational Weekly, I (1885), p. 604.

[50]"The Lighting of School-Rooms", Journal of Education, (1868), p. 170.

as well as in other countries;[51] only 2.7 percent of its victims had inherited that malady, whereas the remainder had acquired it by poring over their reading-material during their school days. As a result of such conditions, it was generally agreed, in the last half of the nineteenth century, that educators and medical specialists should combine their efforts in order to effectively safeguard the health of children.[52]

It is evident that this concern was also a natural result of the general pre-occupation with the child and his new status. The child's importance made him a more valuable asset than the adult; for example, the health of teachers, who were subject to the same environmental hazards, was alluded to only occasionally.

One topic of vital concern was ventilation. In this regard, there was a desire on the part of reformers to end one form of discrimination against children. A prevalent attitude was that children consumed less air than adults in the same area of space; reformers responded that "no deviation should be made on account of the children" because "even healthy children in proportion to their res-

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[51] A. G. Amer, "Nearsightedness", Educational Weekly, I (1885), p. 455.

[52] Dr. R. Virchow, "School-Room Diseases", Journal of Education, XXIV (1871), p. 8.

pective bodily weights, are twice as powerful as adults in deteriorating the air which they breathe", and because they are susceptible to "febrile disorders" peculiar to childhood.[53] As late as 1883, Dr. W. Oldright of Ontario, still pleaded that children needed as much fresh air as adults.[54] They should, he claimed, be provided with at least as much as adult soldiers were given according to government policy; that is, six hundred cubic feet, an amount which still fell far short of the ideal one thousand cubic feet per person.

Any new discoveries that had to do with improved methods of ventilation were published in educational journals. In 1860, for example, there appeared a refutation of the assumption that "impure air" automatically "descended to the floor."[55] It had recently been confirmed that such air circulated throughout the entire closed space.

Much attention was also given to seating arrangements and the physical characteristics of desks and chairs. Reformers worried about the "effect which ill-made seats have in producing stooping, contracted chests, and even spinal

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[53]"Perils of the School-Room", Journal of Education, XXVIII (1875), p. 34.

[54]W. Oldright, "School Hygiene", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, V (1883), p. 462.

[55]"Necessity of Upper and Lower Ventilators in a School Room", Journal of Education, XIII (1860), p. 59.

curvature."[56]

It is worthy of note that when there was a choice between the child's physical health or his moral progress, a condition which more directly affected the safety of the state, the former was relegated to a secondary position. This is evidenced by the discussion elicited over the extension of kindergarten education. J. G. Hodgins, at the Ontario Teachers' Association of 1869, expressed the sentiment that requiring children to attend school, even at the age of five, was preferable to letting them wander through the city where they would acquire a street education.[57] The delegates, he claimed, should be worrying instead about bettering conditions in and around school buildings. As late as 1893, the editor of The Educational Journal noted that those children with unsuitable homes and undesirable associates and surroundings would be better off in kindergarten and primary school; such a course of action was a matter of protection for "every Christian community."[58] Such confinement would aid not only in the moral but also

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[56]W. Oldright, "School Hygiene", op. cit., p. 462.

[57]"Annual Convention of the Ontario Teachers' Association", Journal of Education, XXII, (1869), p. 133.

[58]"Childrens' Ethical Standards", op. cit., p. 118.

in the bodily "salvation of these children of the slums."[59] "For children, at least, there is certainly profound wisdom in the English law which makes compulsory education beginning at the age of five years. We are not sure that three or four would not be still better."[60]

It was the teacher's role to ensure that a child's rights in regard to health were upheld. The parents' responsibility in this matter was assumed by the teacher as soon as the child entered school.[61] Health education was taught in the classroom[62] and every teacher was urged to be the model of a healthy individual.[63] It was hoped that through the children the teachers would influence the homes of all people who did not know the laws of health.

In spite of these measures and the constant exhortation with which teachers were deluged, the advances made by the end of the century, seemed disappointing to many contemporaries. It was noted that in Ontario improvements

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[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

[61] "The Physiology and Hygiene of the School-Room", Journal of Education, X (1857), p. 113.

[62] "Medical Opinion on the Importance of Teaching Physiology and the Laws of Health in the Common Schools", Journal of Education, XIV (1861), p. 52.

[63] Miss C. E. Reeder, "Teach Your Pupils the Laws of Health", Journal of Education, I (1848), p. 201.

had been effected in regard to seats and desks, blackboards, and lighting.[64] However, there remained inadequacies in other matters; for example, "convenient supply of wholesome drinking water is not more general, outdoor closets are not more healthful", and artificial ventilation was not all it should be.[65] In the 1890s, special emphasis was placed on the need for sanitary reform in particular, and educators were urged to concentrate their efforts in this direction.

School Discipline, Mental Culture, and Moral Training

Teachers, like parents, were expected to enlist obedience in order to render the child pliant to indoctrination. While this was generally agreed upon, there was dispute regarding what this meant and how it should be achieved. Similarly, although it was continually contended that school discipline should reinforce that practised in the home,[66] there existed differing concepts regarding what home discipline encompassed and, therefore, what the teacher should do. Above all, this reflects confusion among contemporaries regarding how the child was best managed.

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[64] J. Dearness, "School Sanitation", Educational Journal, VIII (1894), p. 260.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Mr. S. Groh, "Corporal Punishment in the Schools", Educational Journal, VI (18-2), p. 4.

Those who advocated loving discipline claimed that this was an important element of parental management. It was contended, for example, that Pestalozzi's theory of child rearing was based on the concept of "parental love".[67] The advisability of the use of corporal punishment in general and by teachers in particular was debated throughout the entire second half of the century. Its use was sanctioned by some because it was resorted to in the home.[68] There were those, however, who did not agree that its application by teachers was justified. Only parents represented "proper authority".[69] "The teacher has not the natural right to punish the child in this way, because he has not the natural relationship and the natural feeling which alone confer that right, and qualify for its exercise."[70] Children subjected to physical punishment by the teacher tended to feel "anger, hatred, a sense of injustice and a desire for revenge."[71] It is important to note that advocates of this view did not necessarily oppose corporal punishment as a principle, but only when exercised by a teacher. In

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[67] "Modern Systems of Education and Their Founders", Journal of Education, IV (1851), p. 67.

[68] "The Reason Why", Educational Journal, II (1888), p. 348.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

fact, it was claimed that "the use of the rod by a judicious and loving parent is, as a rule, necessary and salutary in early childhood."[72]

Some observers felt that the child had a right not to be subjected to physical punishment because it was a barbaric practice and could be dispensed with now that child nature was better understood.[73] It was also noted that corporal punishment affected manners rather than morals because it appealed to "the very lowest, or at least one of the lowest of motives."[74]

On the other hand, the use of corporal punishment was often promoted by teachers themselves. One advocate of the innate depravity theory claimed that physical punishment must exist as long as there were boys who committed "wanton acts of dangerous criminality."[75] The fact that this disciplinary means had to be used was often blamed on parents who did not fulfill their responsibilities in this

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[72]"Corporal Punishment", Educational Journal, VI (1892), p. 668.

[73]Mr. Spence, "Corporal Punishment", Educational Journal, VIII (1893), p. 73.

[74]"The Case of the Cane", Educational Journal, IV (1890), p. 41.

[75]"Corporal Punishment", Educational Weekly, II (1886), p. 406.

regard.[76]

Corporal punishment was sometimes justified if the teacher first asked the parent's permission.[77] Teachers forced to use this method were instructed to do so in the same manner as "an intelligent and loving parent."[78] There was one case in which the judge expressed this same idea, and charged the teacher for having dispensed discipline as a result of personal frustration and anger.[79] He also contended that before a teacher resorted to this method, he should take into account "sex, age and habits".[80]

When it was a matter of principle or order, the latter prevailed. Canadians knew that the teachers in New York in 1874 had demanded the re-institution of corporal punishment because discipline and efficiency had been sacrificed.[81] By 1893, it appeared, however, that the public had changed its opinion about corporal punishment,

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[76]"Educational Notes", Educational Journal, V (1891), p. 289.

[77]"The Case for the Cane", Educational Journal, IV (1890), p. 72.

[78]"Educational Notes", op. cit., p. 289.

[79]"Has the School-Teacher a Right to Flog a Pupil", Journal of Education, VII (1854), p. 193.

[80]Ibid.

[81]"Corporal Punishment in New York", Journal of Education, XVII (1874), p. 37.

and people no longer supported its use.[82] However, since public opinion was not often taken into consideration, the abolition or maintenance of physical punishment was dependent on school-room efficiency.

Obviously, the approach of individual teachers towards discipline differed. Some used moral suasion, while others used reward and punishment; still others were intent on breaking the child's will. All these opinions found expression in the pages of educational journals. Method was indeed important, but even more significant was making the child amenable to influence. The advisability of using a particular method seemed to be based on how this aim could best be achieved rather than on its inherent correctness.

During the second half of the century, teachers were also influenced by the two opposing viewpoints regarding the nature of the child's mind. There was, as time passed, increased reaction against the method of cramming the infant's brain with facts. In 1851 this was the prevalent method in use.[83] It was based on the belief that children did not have to understand everything they learned in order

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[82]Mr. Spence, "Corporal Punishment", op. cit., p. 73.

[83]"Laying the Foundations -- The Teacher", Journal of Education, IV (1851), p. 103.

to remember it.[84] In 1887 this still prevailing practice was described as the most "vicious educational principle".[85] It left children with "a distaste for learning, and a disgust for school life."[86] The content of the knowledge being so crammed into the child was criticized. It generally consisted of the "dry facts of arithmetic and grammar."[87]

It was increasingly believed that the training of the mind should take into account the laws of development. Knowledge had to be properly assimilated as it was being taught.[88] Similarly, emphasis was placed on teaching a child how to think rather than what to think.[89] Teachers were encouraged to use Pestalozzi's method of object teaching,[90] and to increase their use of oral instruction.[91]

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[84] "Editorial Notes", Educational Journal, I (1887), p. 182.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid., p. 250.

[88] Ibid.

[89] "Suggestions as to the Manner of Hearing Lessons, or Conducting Relations", Journal of Education, V (1852), p. 51.

[90] "The Laws of Childhood", Journal of Education, XVI (1863), p. 70.

[91] "What Should be Demanded of Teachers?" Journal of Education, XVI (1873), p. 72.

Small children especially were to be allowed to play and to manipulate toys, sing songs, and engage in games, in accordance with Froebel's theories.

The undue emphasis on methods of training the infant mind is understandable for infant study had advanced very quickly. However, this phenomenon must have left the teachers of older children in a difficult position. On the one hand, it presented a new way of looking at the mind and developed a methodology of teaching based on these principles. However, whereas there was available much detailed information regarding how these could be applied in the Kindergarten, there was much less on its application to older children. It meant that the teachers of older forms had to fend for themselves, a situation that encouraged the continued existence of older methods.

Since the home was often remiss in fulfilling its moral responsibilities, these devolved upon the school. The moral instruction of school children was a major concern throughout the entire period under review and was regarded as "the central function of education, and character the supreme test of the school."[92]

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[92]Dr. E. E. White, "Moral Training in Schools", Educational Journal, VI (1892), p. 133. See also, S. T. Dutton, "What May Justly Be Demanded of the Public Schools", Educational Weekly, I (1885), p. 294.

Therefore, moral instruction was the teacher's "first and highest duty."[93]

Included as elements of such training were all those values and behaviours which social reformers felt the child should possess; that is, "habits of order, neatness, punctuality, obedience, fair and truthful dealings, kindness and courtesy, as shall make the pupil a pleasant companion, a cheerful, self-contained, rational, human being, and a trustworthy and intelligent friend."[94]

The school was designed to be a preventative institution which would be instrumental in rescuing the waifs of the streets. It was sincerely hoped by social reformers that individual parents would follow their counsel and make theirs an ideal home. School education would then reinforce home education. However, it soon became evident to social reformers that their pleas for domestic reform were not achieving adequate results. The schools, were compelled to step into the breach and fulfill those functions which it was hoped the family would perform. The model for the ideal school became that of the ideal home, and the teacher was asked to personify the ideal parent.

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[93]"Study the Children", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, IV (1882), p. 275.

[94]Miss E. De St. Remy, "The Training of Girls", Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine, III (1881), p. 424.

VII

CONCLUSION

During the second half of the nineteenth century the Ontario child held a position of primacy and was granted an important social role. The contents of Ontario's educational journals testify to the prevailing preoccupation with children, a preoccupation which also existed in the United States and Britain.

It was social reformers like Egerton Ryerson, J. George Hodgins, and Daniel Wilson who assigned to children their significant role. These individuals considered it necessary to consolidate the gains they felt their society had already made and to guarantee that the values they admired would be perpetuated. Furthermore, their belief in the possibility of progress and confidence in their own ideas of how society could be improved caused them to feel morally responsible for helping their civilization to advance. They were also partly motivated by fear for they felt threatened by the sight of hordes of idle and homeless children populating the urban environment.

In their desire to perfect society they concentrated not on changing the environment but on influencing attitudes.

Certain that prevention was superior to and easier than cure, reformers took special interest in the child. Adults, they felt, could not be successfully rehabilitated because life-long habits could not be eradicated easily. Instead, reformers chose to concentrate their efforts on the child whose susceptible nature could be turned to account. Their objective was to protect every child from an adverse environment and to socialize him into becoming their concept of the ideal man and future citizen.

Reformers' concepts regarding the ideal man illustrate what they found most valuable about their society and what they sought to perpetuate. It also determined what generations of children would be taught in the schools. The ideal man was obedient to all those who were authority figures and revered the laws, customs, and government of his country. He was also willing to do his patriotic duty in defending these. Such an individual was self-controlled in terms of his time, his emotions, and his spending habits. He worked diligently and perseveringly at some worthwhile endeavour, thereby adding to the national wealth and his own material and psychological success. In effect, he would be so busy that he would never have time to question any of the values with which he was imbued. He was assured that he would be rewarded for his industry by the concept that he would succeed inevitably and that industrious work habits brought their own reward. Therefore, as a productive

and successful member of society he would have no cause to be discontent.

Morally, the ideal person should avoid profane language, be humane, just, kind, truthful, and honest. Good manners were important because they were the outward evidence of good morals and because they made social contact so pleasant. Although it was claimed that being mannerly was not similar to being subservient, it was recommended that one affect the kind of manners appropriate to one's status and role. This individual would read the proper books, avoid the use of tobacco and alcohol, and engage in useful recreation. In effect, such a man would maintain and perpetuate the status quo.

It was the role of the child to learn these values and to practice them. Those measures adopted in order to put him in a position of being more readily or more effectively socialized were often referred to as his rights. For these he had to pay by performing his duty, which meant being amenable to being so trained. In effect, his primary duty was to remain obedient. Children did gain some advantages, especially in terms of health; however, this was partly due to the fact that they were forced to go to school in the first place. Children certainly gained increased attention. However, their new position cost them dearly in terms of their independence.

The ideal or obedient child functioned in a restricted environment with a limited number of options. The most striking fact about the Ontario child in the last half of the nineteenth century was that every facet of his life was controlled. He was physically confined in a school-room or at home and under constant supervision. He was told continually that he should be very selective about his choice of companions, that their number should be limited and that they should be of a certain kind. He was also obligated to modify his interaction with members of the opposite sex. His choice of amusements was also restricted, for he was not allowed to indulge in smoking or drinking alcoholic beverages. If he decided to do so anyway, he was subject to legal prohibitions that were not placed on adults. As for gambling, every game of chance was forbidden him. The kinds of entertainment that were recommended were those that would further confine him to the home.

The child was also intellectually restricted. He was constantly being imbued with a limited number of values. Although theories regarding methods of discipline and teaching changed somewhat throughout this period, the concept of the end result of such training did not. The child had to remain dependent, passive to indoctrination, accepting of the opinions of his elders. To be heard rather than seen was to be a precocious child and to display too much precocity could lead to being labelled a juvenile delinquent.

He was not even allowed to read a certain kind of literature categorized as fiction.

Attitudes towards the child and his place in society had an important influence on opinions regarding women and their role. Woman's position in the home was strengthened because her influence there was regarded as paramount. As the primary socializing agent of men she was also given a vital though indirect role in the course of social progress. The more limited parental role of fathers was accepted with the knowledge that this was regrettable but necessary.

However, the fact that woman's identity was totally dependent on her role as a mother had grave disadvantages. The fact that success or failure as a woman was wholly dependent on how closely she was able to fulfill the functions prescribed to her in the current domestic reform literature meant that she had few acceptable options outside of marriage. Those individuals brave enough to venture outside of such role structure were compelled, if they desired social acceptance, to choose a service profession whose functions approximated the motherhood ideal. Ambitious women, or women who were not self-sacrificing or loving were considered exceptions and unnatural.

The prevailing concept regarding motherhood had an important influence on the issue of women's education. It was instrumental in determining the content of programs established for girls and women. Women were not denied the

right to education primarily because proper training would make them better mothers. However, the kind of education they received was restricted. As a result, women remained in the same position as children. They had gained a significant status and an important role, but they had few options and no independence.

Between 1840 and 1880 domestic reformers placed on the family the entire responsibility for properly socializing the child. Parents were advised to consider all other activities as secondary, and marriage found its justification in the parental role. As soon as the first child was born, parents should look inward and to concentrat their efforts on child rearing. The ideal family was to consist only of parents and children, and the home environment should be the opposite of that found outside the home. The family took on a private character, and family members were isolated from their neighbours as well as their enemies. As a result, the child became more dependent on his parents.

The fact that the school assumed a large share of the role that was first allotted to the home demonstrates that many parents were incapable of or unwilling to fulfill these responsibilities. The school soon provided moral and intellectual education and sought to inculcate its pupils with all values considered important. As a result, the teacher assumed the role of the parent.

The amount of information on the child which was made available to contemporaries was striking. As a result of this child study, children were categorized according to their differences and needs. Infancy was studied in detail. Youth became more clearly differentiated from childhood on the one hand and adulthood on the other. By the 1880s, childhood had been divided into the period of infancy, childhood, and early childhood. Clever and dull children were defined according to their school performance. In effect, the physical, intellectual, and moral nature of children was much more generally understood.

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