A COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF THE PROVISION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION FOR SLOW LEARNING AND MENTALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN IN NORTH DAKOTA AND MANITOBA FROM 1900 TO 1940

DISSERTATION FOR THE DEGREE OF

Ph. D.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

FRED DREWE

1976

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

A Comparative Survey of the Provision of Public Education for Slow Learning and Mentally Handicapped Children in North Dakota and Manitoba from 1900 to 1940

presented by

Fred H. Drewe

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Education

Carl H. Gross

Major professor

Date 10/26/76

O-7639

ABSTRACT

A COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF THE
EDUCATION OF SLOW LEARNING AND
MENTALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN IN
NORTH DAKOTA AND MANITOBA FROM 1900 to 1940

By

Fred Harold Drewe

Little research has been done on the education of slow learning and mentally handicapped children from 1900 to 1940 in rural areas. This dissertation is a study of how such children were educated in comparable rural areas, North Dakota and Manitoba, based primarily upon existing public school records and the reports made at the state institution for the mentally handicapped at Grafton in North Dakota and the provincial institution at Portage la Prairie in Manitoba. Such primary documents were supplemented by appropriate journals, newspaper articles, and by personal interviews.

It was found in this study that the one major city in the region, Winnipeg, developed special education services for its children in a manner similar to the major cities of the eastern seaboard in the United States, and Ontario in Canada. That is, special classes were begun not long after the turn of the century, were increased with the use of IQ tests in the 1920's and were extended to secondary schools in the 1930's.

However, the remainder of North Dakota and Manitoba was primarily rural prior to 1940 dominated by small and one-room schools. Here it was found that slow learning and mentally handicapped children seemed to be integrated quite well with other students. There was no evidence that they suffered from the stigma associated with the eugenic alarm which

was present in the larger eastern cities from 1900 to about 1925. There were few special classes or special programs, although some were begun in the larger towns in the late 1920's and 1930's, and slow learning and mentally handicapped children were largely unlabelled and non-segregated throughout the period of this study. It was found that the education of these children was very similar in North Dakota and Manitoba even though there was little influence of one area upon the other.

There was a great contrast in the provision of education for the residents of the institutions for the mentally handicapped in North Dakota and Manitoba. Grafton, following the American tradition begun by Sequin, provided good education for its residents from its beginning in 1904. At the Portage institution, the mentally handicapped were not separated from the aged and infirm until the early 1930's and organized education was not provided until 1936.

A COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF THE PROVISION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION FOR SLOW LEARNING AND MENTALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN IN NORTH DAKOTA AND MANITOBA FROM 1900 TO 1940.

By

Fred Drewe

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Secondary Education and Curriculum

1976

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to express his appreciation to his advisor and committee chairman, Dr. Carl Gross, for his advice, assistance and encouragement in the preparation of this study. The writer also wishes to especially thank Dr. E. Keller, who provided expert assistance on matters related to special education. The writer would like to thank as well the other members of the doctoral committee, Dr. D. Dunham, Dr. S. Moore, and Dr. S. Wronski.

Sincere appreciation is also extended to Dave Jenkinson and Sandy Gregor who each edited several chapters for the author.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The author has chosen to do this study because of his concern for slow learning and mentally handicapped children. Considerable reading about the education of the mentally handicapped indicated that there is very little written about the early history of the education of this group,[1] particularly in regions of North America other than large eastern cities.[2]

North Dakota and Manitoba were chosen for study because of the author's familiarity with these regions, because they are relatively similar and thus comparable,[3] and because they represent largely rural areas of North America.

Purpose of the Study

The author's general purpose in this study was to survey and compare the public education of slow learning and mentally handicapped children in schools and institutions in North Dakota and Manitoba from 1900 to 1940. There are, however, a variety of questions that follow from the

---

[1] Jerome H. Rothstein, Mental Retardation, Readings and Resources (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), pp. 630-631. This is the most recent and complete listing of the limited materials available.

[2] Please see, for example, J. E. Wallace Wallin, Education of Mentally Handicapped Children (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), p. 18.

[3] The similarities and bases of comparison of North Dakota and Manitoba will be established in Chapter Two.

general purpose; for example, did North Dakota and Manitoba follow similar patterns in the education of slow learning and mentally handicapped children? Did policy decisions made in one area affect educational leaders in the other region, or were they more affected by national or international trends? Finally, was the history of the education of slow learning and mentally handicapped children in two largely rural areas different than that which occurred in more urban areas of North America?

Importance of the Study

Throughout North America in the 1950's and early 1960's, there was a substantial growth in the number of special classes for slow learning and mentally handicapped children.[4] Since the mid-1960's a number of experts have challenged the concept of segregating many of the mentally handicapped in special classes, special schools or indeed in state or provincial institutions.[5] It seems imperative that those charged with making decisions on the integration or segregation of slow learning and mentally handicapped children should have the benefit of information on how this type of children was handled in the past.

Methodology

Since the publication in 1964 of Comparative Method in Education by George Bereday there has been a controversy on methodology amongst

---

[4] Bernard Farber, Mental Retardation: Its Social Context and Social Consequences (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968), p. 225.

[5] For example, Lloyd M. Dunn, "Special Education for the Mildly Retarded - Is Much of It Justifiable?" in Mental Retardation, Readings and Resources, second edition, edited by Jerome H. Rothstein, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971) and the Commission on Emotional and Learning Disorders in Canada, One Million Children - The CELDIC Report (Toronto: Leonard Crainford, 1970).

experts in the field of Comparative Education and considerable literature has appeared on this matter.[6]

Despite the dialogue, however, there is at this time no single approved methodology in comparative education. The nature of comparison as employed in this study might best be indicated by citing from a paper[7] delivered by Robin S. Harris of the University of Toronto at the 1970 Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society of Canada:

> Some months ago I read a doctoral thesis which dealt with the historical development of one of the classical colleges of Quebec. A very detailed study and one based on a thorough examination of a considerable body of primary source material, it provided a clear picture of all aspects of life at the institution during the period in question . . . . Nothing appeared to have been overlooked, and it was difficult to imagine a more complete analysis of an institution.
>
> Nonetheless, the value of the thesis is limited. The institution is described essentially in vacuo. One knows everything there is to know about it per se rather than in relation to other institutions . . . there is no reference to the lycées of France, to the Gymnasia of Germany, to the high schools and colleges of English-speaking Quebec or to other French-speaking secondary schools in the province. Consequently it is difficult, if not impossible to judge the significance of the developments that have been described with such immaculate care. There is focus but no perspective.[8]

---

[6] For example, George Z. F. Bereday, Comparative Method in Education (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964); Brian Holmes, Problems in Education A Comparative Approach (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965); Edmund J. King, Comparative Studies and Educational Decision (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968); Harold Noah and Max Eckstein, Toward a Science of Comparative Education (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan, 1969); and numerous articles in Comparative Education Review and Comparative Education in recent years, in particular the October, 1970, issue of Comparative Education Review.

[7] Robin S. Harris, "Higher Education in Australia and Canada," The Comparative and International Education Society of Canada, Papers, 1970 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 13-32).

[8] Ibid., p. 13.

Thus the researcher's purpose in this study was not comparison per se. This dissertation is a survey of the education of slow learning and mentally handicapped children in two similar areas with comparison used as a means of providing an important perspective for the better understanding of changes in educational policy in both North Dakota and Manitoba.

Parameters of the Study

The year 1900 was chosen to begin the study because the educational systems in Manitoba and North Dakota were still very rudimentary. Beginning at 1900 made it possible to review the general situation for the mentally handicapped prior to any specific action being taken for provision of educational services.

The date, 1940, was chosen to end the study for several reasons: there is a natural division in the whole of society at this point in both the United States and Canada due to the beginning of World War II; it is possible to view the provision of educational services for the mentally handicapped and slow learning prior to any organization and action on the part of parental groups concerned with the mentally handicapped;[9] and, 1940 represents the end of the "dark ages" on the education of the mentally handicapped for there are a variety of theses at the University of North Dakota and the University of Manitoba as well as studies in the State Office of Education of North Dakota and the Department of Education in Manitoba that usually begin in the 1940's.

---

[9] A few parental groups concerned with the mentally retarded had been formed in North America by 1940 but no such groups had been organized in Manitoba or North Dakota.

Secondly, the author has focused on the provision of educational services within the public school systems and the public institutions for the mentally handicapped and has not concerned himself with any private agencies or institutions.

Finally, the author concentrated on the education of slow learning and mentally handicapped children, that is, children below the normal intelligence range whose primary difficulty in learning is due to limited intelligence. A variety of other "exceptional children" such as the deaf, blind, or emotionally disturbed was not considered in this study. The actual terms used to describe children of below normal intelligence during the period of study were usually imprecise and changed somewhat from 1900 to 1940; the terms used and the gradual changes in the use of terms will, however, be described as far as is possible throughout the dissertation.

Sources

The primary source material used to discover how slow learning and mentally handicapped children were handled in the public schools of North Dakota were the Annual Report(s) of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Annual Report(s) of the State Inspector, studies done by special commissions on education, unpublished master's theses and doctoral dissertations related to the education of mentally handicapped children, primarily from the University of North Dakota and North Dakota State University, miscellaneous unpublished papers, interviews with persons directly involved in education during the period under study, and newspaper articles.

The primary source materials used to discover how mentally handicapped children were educated in the state institution in North Dakota

were the Annual Report(s) of the Institution for the Feeble-minded in North Dakota.

The primary source materials used to discover how slow learning and mentally handicapped children were educated in the public schools of Manitoba were the annual reports of both Superintendents and Inspectors in the Manitoba Department of Education Annual Report(s), studies done by special commissions on education, a few unpublished theses and doctoral dissertations related to the education of mentally handicapped children, (University of Manitoba Library), miscellaneous unpublished papers, interviews with persons directly involved in education during the period under study, and newspaper articles.

The primary source materials used to discover how mentally handicapped children were educated at the provincial school at Portage la Prairie were the Annual Report(s) of the Manitoba School for Mental Defectives, and interviews with persons connected with the school familiar with the period under study.

This primary material has been supplemented by a variety of other items such as: books and articles on the education of the mentally handicapped, and general books on the history, geography, economics and social development of Manitoba and North Dakota.

Organization of the Study

The background of the study has been provided in Chapter Two. The validity of comparing North Dakota and Manitoba was established in Part A by examining the similarity of the two areas in terms of such factors as history, geography, demography, economics, and education. In Part B of the background, the general history of the mentally handicapped in the nineteenth century was reviewed, the social history and prevailing

attitudes to the mentally handicapped from 1900 to 1940, and, a review of the education of the mentally handicapped in the school systems of North America from 1900 to 1940 was provided.

In chapters three, four and five, comparisons of the public education of slow learning and mentally handicapped children have been made. The first two decades of the twentieth century in both regions were considered in chapter three, the 1920's in chapter four, and the 1930's in chapter five.

The provision of educational services at the State School at Grafton, North Dakota and the provision of educational services at the Manitoba School at Portage la Prairie were compared in Chapter Six.

Finally, Chapter Seven contains the author's conclusions.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND

This chapter is divided into two parts: part A the validity of comparing North Dakota and Manitoba will be established; part B comprises the general history of the mentally handicapped in the nineteenth century, the social history and prevailing attitudes to the mentally handicapped from 1900 to 1940, and, a review of the education of the mentally handicapped within school systems in North America from 1900 to 1940.

A. Comparability of North Dakota and Manitoba

It is reasonable to compare North Dakota and Manitoba in the period 1900 to 1940 because they had a similar history during that period and were similar on a variety of other factors such as geography, demography, economic base, and, of course, education.

History

North Dakota was largely unsettled until the arrival of the railways that spurred national development. The Northern Pacific first touched North Dakota at Fargo in 1871 and was continued westward through the state.[1] This one great railroad dominated many aspects of the state economy and at one time owned one-quarter of all the land in North Dakota.[2]

Much of the next fifty years of state history was a struggle between immigrant farmers and the eastern ownership of the Northern Pacific

---

[1] Bernt Lloyd Wills, North Dakota, The Northern Prairie State (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, 1963), p. 110.

[2] Ibid.

Railway. Although political uprisings had occurred before the turn of the century, the unhappy farmers did not finally succeed in gaining control of the state government until 1915 when the Non-partisan League came to power. A variety of reforms was introduced, but the feeling of antagonism towards strange forces of the east remained. The eastern interests were often blamed for the great depression of the 1930's, although clearly international factors and the unfortunate drought were more at the heart of the problem. Nevertheless, North Dakota suffered greatly during the depression and the population of the state declined by 3,000 a year as residents fled in search of more stable living conditions.

Manitoba's history is remarkably similar. The Canadian Pacific Railway built under the auspices of John A. Macdonald to unite the nation on an east-west axis, reached Manitoba in 1881. From this point on the flourishing north-south links of ox-cart and steamboat of the previous decade or two were severed and were never revived to any large degree. The Canadian Pacific Railroad dominated the new province. Not only did it have a "monopoly clause," which ensured that no railroad could be built south of the C. P. R. line to the border, and thus prevented competition from U.S. railways,[3] but also, like the Northern Pacific in North Dakota, the Canadian Pacific was given vast land holdings, twenty-five million acres of the most productive land in western Canada,[4] with Manitoba yielding its fair share.

---

[3] W. L. Morton, Manitoba, A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 215.

[4] John C. Ricker and John T. Saywell, Nation and Province, the History and Government of Canada and Manitoba Since Confederation (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1963), p. 128.

Immigrant farmers did not take long to discover that eastern interests dominated too much of their economy and there were cries against the C. P. R. monopoly and the high tariff protecting eastern manufactured goods. This discontent led to the formation of grain co-operatives soon after the turn of the century and found political expression in the Progressive Party, which first rose to national importance in 1921. When the Progressive movement lost its momentum, prairie discontent found new outlets in the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), the socialist party formed in 1932, and, the Social Credit Party, a right wing protest party which was formed three years later. Although Manitoba was not the centre of these political parties, many Manitobans were part of these new organizations and used them as vehicles to express their discontent.

The 1930's brought the depression and disaster to Manitoba. Drought covered much of the province, and for those few who managed to grow wheat, the price fell to record low levels.[5] Thousands of unemployed men took to boxcars in hopes that the situation was better in other parts of the country. It was not until the onset of war preparation at the end of the decade that the situation began to normalize.

Geography

One glance at an atlas suggests that North Dakota and Manitoba are not comparable geographically. They both owe their topography to continental glaciation, but North Dakota is only 71,000 square miles[6] whereas

---

[5] Ibid., p. 214.

[6] Wills, North Dakota, p. 2.

Manitoba is a vast region of 251,000 square miles.[7] With the exception of a few Indian communities and mining settlements, however, the vast majority of Manitoba's north was unsettled between 1900 and 1940. In fact, the northern boundary of the province was not extended beyond the southern region, or approximately the middle of Lake Winnipeg, until 1912. The population of Manitoba resides almost entirely on the Manitoba Lowland and Western Upland regions, a total area of 78,000 square miles.[8] Thus, North Dakota and Manitoba are more comparable geographically than they at first appear.

Demography

North Dakota had a population of 320,000 in 1900 which doubled to 640,000 in 1940.[9] The bulk of that increase, however, occurred between 1900 to 1910 with the state population in 1910 reaching 577,000.[10] Manitoba had a population of 255,000 in 1901[11] which rose to 727,000 by 1941.[12] Manitoba also experienced its greatest increase in population in the first decade of the twentieth century, with the population reaching 461,000 by 1911.[13] Thus it can be seen that the total population in each area was remarkably similar.

The makeup of the population, however, was different.

---

[7] Thomas R. Weir, ed., Economic Atlas of Manitoba (Winnipeg: Department of Industry and Commerce, Province of Manitoba), p. 6.

[8] Ibid., p. 6 and p. 25.

[9] Melvin E. Kazeck, North Dakota, A Human and Economic Geography (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1956), p. 35.

[10] Ibid., p. 35.

[11] Ricker and Saywell, Nation and Province, p. 128.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Kazeck, North Dakota, p. 35.

North Dakota's population at about the middle of the period under study was diverse with 29 percent having emigrated from Norway, 23 percent from the Soviet Union, 12 percent from Canada (many of this latter group had originated in Europe and stopped over in Canada for a year or two before moving south of the border), 9 percent from Germany, 8 percent from Sweden, 3 percent from Denmark, 2 percent from Rumania, and a variety at less than 2 percent from Czechoslavakia, Poland, Austria, Great Britain, Hungary and elsewhere.[14]

As might be expected with Canada's being part of the British Empire, Manitoba's population in 1921[15] was 57 percent British. The next largest ethnic group was Ukrainian at 7 percent, the French at just slightly under 7 percent, all Scandinavian groups at 4 percent, followed by German, Polish, and Jewish with each making up 3 percent of the population, leaving 16 percent unclassified.[16]

Economic Base

Both North Dakota and Manitoba have made considerable efforts to diversify their economies in recent years, but, in the period under study, both areas were highly dependent on grain production, particularly wheat. Northern prairie soils and climate are especially conducive to wheat. The growing season is short and thus precarious, but hardy strains, with maturation periods of but 110 days, were introduced at the turn of the century[17] and thrived on the black prairie topsoil. Because the soil is

---

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ricker and Saywell, Nation and Province, p. 264.

[16] Weir, ed., Economic Atlas of Manitoba, p. 36.

[17] Wills, North Dakota, p. 145.

good and the rain is at a minimum, the wheat kernel is hard and high in protein. Number one northern wheat grown in both North Dakota and Manitoba is the most desired wheat in the world.

The century began with an economic boom in both North Dakota and Manitoba. Canadian historians describe the period from 1896 to 1914 as "the wheat boom" or "the great boom,"[18] whereas American historians describe the period from 1898 to 1914 as the "second boom."[19] Whatever the label, the characteristics of this boom period were almost identical in the two regions. In each case there was a flood of settlers who filled all productive unoccupied lands in an attempt to satisfy a world-wide demand for food. Wheat was king, with 160,000,000 bushels produced in North Dakota in 1915[20] and 60,000,000 bushels produced in Manitoba in 1911.[21] In each region there was tremendous railway expansion as optimists saw nothing but a continuing boom ahead. Although both regions became major transportation links in an east-west pattern of trade, each was left at the end of the boom with an excess of railway track which had to be combined into some kind of coherent national system.

The war period in both North Dakota and Manitoba brought labor unrest, financial difficulties and little economic expansion.

The beginning of the 1920's was little better. Many farmers had gone into heavy debt in an effort to expand but wheat prices were low until 1923 and most farmers simply struggled to hang on to the gains

---

[18] Morton, Manitoba, A History, p. 273.

[19] Elwyn B. Robinson, History of North Dakota (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), p. 235.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Morton, Manitoba, A History, p. 297.

of the boom years. North Dakota diversified slightly into sheep, hogs, and dairy cattle but still two-thirds of farm income came from grain crops.[22] Manitoba farmers also shifted into livestock but prices of both wheat and livestock remained low until 1924 when the bottom of the depression was reached.[23]

In the latter part of the 1920's Manitoba made its first real attempt to open the north and diversify its economy by developing the mining and pulp and paper industries. In turn those industries spurred the development of hydro-electric power, and so within the space of a few years the basis for three new industries was established.

The depression of the 1930's has been considered from several angles and little more can be done than to provide the basic economic facts that underlay the crumbling of a society. Both North Dakota and Manitoba were dependent on the production of raw materials, and they had little or no control over world markets and world prices. The price of wheat, the backbone of the economy, fell to 36 cents a bushel in North Dakota[24] and 34 cents a bushel that same year in Manitoba,[25] and rose to but 53 cents a bushel in 1938.[26] With such prices, it scarcely paid to seed a crop. Mercilessly, drought and dust storms hit at the same time, and with drought came hordes of pests. The situation gradually improved in the latter years of the 1930's. The drought subsided, grasshoppers were controlled, wheat crops and prices both improved; but the people of the

---

[22]Robinson, History of North Dakota, p. 373.

[23]Morton, Manitoba, A History, p. 380.

[24]Robinson, History of North Dakota, p. 399.

[25]Morton, Manitoba, A History, p. 422.

[26]Robinson, History of North Dakota, p. 399.

prairies had lived through a disaster which affected their outlook on life for many years.

School Systems

In much of the next four chapters the author will deal with various aspects of the development of the school systems of North Dakota and Manitoba between 1900 and 1940, a few brief comments here will outline some of the major similarities and differences.

The constitution of North Dakota as adopted in 1889 provided for a system of public schools "free from sectarian control"[27] with an elected superintendent of public instruction and elected county superintendents. By 1900 some 78,000 children were enrolled in schools,[28] but there were serious problems.

The system was dominated by rural one-room schools and despite constant attempts at consolidation there were still to be many one-room schools at the end of the period of the study. For example, even as late as 1926, 72,000 of the 174,000 pupils enrolled in North Dakota schools were in rural one-room schools.[29]

Teachers were poorly trained and poorly paid and often did not stay on the job for a full teaching year before moving to other more attractive jobs in the developing west. State Superintendent Stockwell stated in his annual report for 1910 that:

---

[27] Ibid., p. 299.

[28] Seventh Biennial Report of The Superintendent of Public Instruction for school years ending June 30, 1902, State of North Dakota, p. 26.

[29] Ibid., 1924, p. 11.

> Our records show that we are compelled to depend upon the transient for the bulk of our teachers; they also show an almost entire change in the personnel of the teaching force of a county takes place about every three years.[30]

The school year through the first decade of the twentieth century was extremely short and varied from district to district. In 1911-1912 the average pupil in a rural one-room school was present for only 84 days.[31] Most children, especially in rural areas, went to school only in the elementary grades in the first years of the twentieth century, although there was a rapid increase in secondary enrollment in the 1920's and 1930's.

A major problem throughout the period of this study was the role of the county superintendent. These county officials were elected and often ill-qualified to be the professional leaders of education in their counties. State Superintendent Stockwell constantly pointed out the inadequacies of county superintendents and each year he called for appointed professionals. For example, in his annual report for 1908, he emphasized in the section entitled "Needs of the rural school," the need for "Removal of the office of county superintendent from partisan politics and his selection preferably by a county board of education."[32]

The state superintendents of education varied greatly in ability, but generally the more talented served between 1900 and 1918. Walter Stockwell, Edwin Taylor and Neil Macdonald were outspoken about the

---

[30] Ibid., 1910, p. 19.

[31] Robinson, History of North Dakota, p. 300.

[32] Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Dakota, 1905, p. 22.

weaknesses of education and worked for a variety of reforms such as consolidation of schools and longer school terms. In 1918, however, "in a campaign of slander and smear"[33] the state replaced Neil Macdonald, "a dynamic leader and nationally recognized authority on rural education"[34] with the fiery but non-talented Minnie Nielsen. Miss Nielsen was followed in 1927 by the equally incompetent, Bertha Palmer, who served through the majority of the depression.[35] The carefully written superintendent's biennial reports of the earlier years gradually dwindled in size and deteriorated in quality to the point where the report became simply a compilation of statistics.

By the school year of 1919-20 the school population of North Dakota had increased to 168,000 pupils.[36] Half of these students, however, were still in one-room schools; the school year was still only eight months long, and the average daily attendance was only two-thirds of enrollment. Rural teachers were still poorly trained and poorly paid; many made less than cooks and farm laborers.[37] Education was generally somewhat better in the towns which had larger schools and more qualified teachers. The state spent enough money on education to rank eighth nationally,[38] but because of poorly qualified teachers and poor leadership the school system did not undertake significant changes in the 1920's.

---

[33] Robinson, History of North Dakota, p. 306.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Dakota, 1932, p. 52.

[36] Ibid., 1920, p. 17.

[37] Robinson, History of North Dakota, p. 477.

[38] Ibid., p. 479.

The plight of North Dakota schools in the 1930's became desperate. "Years of drought, depression, and tax delinquency brought many school districts to insolvency."[39] Teachers bore the brunt of the hardship as many school boards simply fired their certified teachers and hired unqualified people at lesser salaries. Those who retained jobs often went unpaid for months or had their salaries cut to a level below $500 a year. The school population declined from 169,000 in 1930 to 140,000 in 1940, largely because the state population as a whole declined as people left for economically more stable areas. The only positive feature was a 38 percent increase in high school graduates during the decade,[40] an indication that the trend of staying in school longer was continuing.

In 1900 Manitoba schools were still recovering from the effects of the Manitoba Schools Question, the struggle between French and English elements in the schools which saw a nationally imposed compromise allowing the teaching of some French and religion in public schools.[41] Although the issue recurs throughout the twentieth century in Manitoba, the domination of English over French had been largely established in 1896 and only minor concessions have been gained by the French-speaking minority since. Although the Manitoba School Question has attracted the attention of historians to the point of exclusion of most other educational problems, Manitoba was in fact struggling to develop a comprehensive system of education in a prairie society in much the same manner as North Dakota.

---

[39] Ibid., p. 480.

[40] Ibid., p. 482.

[41] Please see Keith Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1967), pp. 244-246.

There were 63,000 pupils in Manitoba schools in 1900,[42] the majority of the children being in elementary one-room schools. Consolidation was a continuing theme and appears in the reports of rural inspectors constantly. For example, Inspector W. R. Beveridge of the Virden Division reported in 1920 that:

> Possibly the greatest progress in this division has been along lines of consolidations, five of which have been put into effect during the year . . . . There are now eleven consolidated schools in the division which are running smoothly and doing good work.[43]

Attendance was a major problem throughout the province, with daily average attendance being but 57.3 percent of enrolment in 1905.[44] Attendance did not improve significantly until a provincial truancy officer was appointed in 1910 as a follow-up of a clause in the Children's Protection Act passed in 1907. The work of the truancy officer can first be seen statistically in the school year 1913-14 when the daily average attendance for the entire province increased by 5.2 percent to reach 62.5 percent overall.[45]

Manitoba teachers were also poorly qualified, poorly paid and did not stay long in one job, a comment of Inspector R. Goulet in 1905 is revealing on this point:

---

[42] Report of the Department of Education for the Province of Manitoba for the year ending December, 1905, p. 364.

[43] Report of the Department of Education for the Province of Manitoba for the school year of 1919-20, p. 24.

[44] Ibid., 1913-14, p. 171.

[45] Ibid., 1913-14, p. 215.

> It would be gratifying to be assured that those whose diligence and intelligence give a promise for usefullness could be induced to continue for a reasonable length of time in the work of teaching . . . . Male teachers are constantly adopting other modes of livelihood and their places are in a great part supplied by new inexperienced teachers.[46]

The organizational structure of Manitoba education was somewhat different from that in North Dakota. Under the parliamentary governmental system there was a cabinet minister in the provincial government responsible for education, although in fact the real head was the deputy minister who was a full-time civil servant. Deputy ministers as career civil servants tended to be less prominent than the elected state superintendents in North Dakota, but did provide a consistency of steady leadership which North Dakota did not have.

During the period 1900 to 1940 there were few divisional superintendents in Manitoba and only the largest divisions such as Winnipeg could afford this luxury. Winnipeg School Division was fortunate to have a very able educational leader, Dr. Daniel McIntyre, through much of the period of this study. Later in the dissertation, an attempt will be made to explain the vast discrepancies between the Winnipeg division and rural areas as a result, at least in part, of this strong superintendent. Through most of the provinces, however, the educational leaders were the government inspectors, with each assigned to a region of the country and responsible for seeing that standards were upheld and that government policy was carried out. North Dakota had few inspectors and the real leaders at the county level were the county superintendents. As stated earlier, there were vast discrepancies in the ability of the county superintendents, presumably because of the elective character of the office.

---

[46] Ibid., 1905, p. 396.

By 1920-21 the school population in Manitoba was 129,000,[47] still somewhat below the level of North Dakota. But both school systems had grown at about the same rate through the first two decades of the twentieth century. Manitoba, however, with fewer one-room schools, stronger truancy measures, and a longer school year, had somewhat greater attendance each year from each pupil. Yet, like North Dakota, Manitoba had great difficulty in retaining children beyond the elementary grades. Inspector Willows reported in 1919-20 that "Less than 7% of the enrollment remain at school until they reach grades VII and VIII."[48] Then, too, like North Dakota, Manitoba suffered from low teacher salaries and frequent change of teachers. Nevertheless, some advances were made in the 1920's. A new province-wide program of studies was issued in 1927-28, and, with secondary attendance increasing, Winnipeg School Division confidently adopted a 6-3-3 plan of education which resulted in the construction of many institutions that are now junior high schools.

The 1930's brought disaster to all segments of Manitoba society, including education. As in North Dakota, Manitoba teachers did not fare well. Inspector A. J. Manning reported in the year 1932-33 that "salaries have again been sharply reduced . . . . The general decline for the two years just past is 32 percent."[49] So many divisions were threatened with financial disaster that the Legislative Assembly set up a select committee in 1934 to inquire into administering and financing public education. New programs other than the university entrance course were desperately

---

[47] Ibid., 1924-25, p. 79.

[48] Ibid., 1919-20, p. 77.

[49] Ibid., 1932-33, p. 23.

needed for a growing secondary population, but few changes were made because of the cost involved. Probably worst of all, disparities between urban and rural education increased during this period of inactivity and decline. Inspector A. A. Herriot in his report of 1935-36 wrote passionately of the problem:

> The weakest link in our Educational chain is the rural school. This is due to the narrow basis of taxation for tax purposes and the primitive monetary system of administration which should have been reformed years ago. It is impossible under the units in cities and towns. In pioneer days in Manitoba the disparity was not so great, but under modern conditions it has become intolerable injustice.[50]

Attendance in Manitoba schools declined by over 16,000 in the depression years, not quite so dramatic a drop as the 29,000 loss in North Dakota schools, but important nevertheless. The drop in school attendance in Manitoba in the 1930's was not due to a drop in overall population as in North Dakota, for the population of Manitoba stayed approximately level during the depression.[51] But in difficult times children were often kept at home to help out as best they could, especially in the rural areas. In some cases, students could not attend because they did not have proper winter wearing apparel.[52] In the school year 1939-40 Manitoba had 137,000 students enrolled,[53] only 3000 less than North Dakota, and parallel to the situation in North Dakota, attendance figures were increasing in the senior high grades despite the overall drop.

---

[50] Ibid., 1935-36, p. 73.

[51] Ricker and Saywell, Nation and Province, p. 264.

[52] Ibid., 1938-39, p. 35.

[53] Ibid., 1939-40, p. 20.

The prairie economy and the prairie schools survived largely as a result of the determination and sacrifices of a hardy and stubborn people, not the least important of whom were the teachers.

All in all, North Dakota and Manitoba were very similar between 1900 and 1940 and thus highly comparable.

Despite this similarity, however, North Dakota and Manitoba had very little effect on each other from 1900 to 1940. The North Dakota Teacher had only one substantial article relating to Manitoba which appeared in September of 1939 concerning an exchange visit of junior high school students from Grand Forks and Winnipeg.[54] On the other side, The Manitoba Teacher did not have any items of significance relating to North Dakota prior to 1940. Official documents from the North Dakota and Manitoba Departments of Education made occasional references to attendance figures in the alternate region but nothing more. This is hardly an indication of close contact or major concern about the bordering region.

North Dakota and Manitoba were affected by national trends in their own countries. Manitoba was affected by general trends in the United States as well, but there is no indication that either North Dakota or Manitoba had any significant influence one upon the other. Thus in making comparisons throughout the study, it may be found that the two areas were similar in the education of the mentally handicapped not because one was being influenced by the other, but because they are so much alike that they would react in the same manner to similar problems, or, because they were affected by the same North American trends.

---

[54]"Winnipeg Students Visit Grand Forks," The North Dakota Teacher, Vol. XVIII, Sept., 1939, p. 15.

B. Background History of the Mentally Handicapped

This section will have three parts: 1) the general history of the mentally handicapped in the nineteenth century; 2) the social history and the prevailing attitudes to the mentally handicapped from 1900 to 1940; and, 3) a review of the education of the mentally handicapped within the school systems in North America from 1900 to 1940.

The General History of the Mentally Handicapped in the Nineteenth Century

Interest in mental defectives took hold in the first part of the nineteenth century in France and Switzerland and then spread to the remainder of Europe and North America. The work of Jean Itard with the "savage of Aveyron" caught the interest of many followers.

Itard worked with a boy found living in the woods, and attempted to bring him "from savagery to civilization, from natural life to social life."[55] Itard proved to the world that even a severe mental defective could be improved to some degree by appropriate training. Ironically, Itard considered his work a failure for the boy did not reach the level to which Itard had hoped. Nevertheless, he had learned to recognize objects, identify letters of the alphabet and comprehend the meaning of many words.

Johann Guggenbuhl of Switzerland devoted much of his life to the cure of cretinism and attracted much attention throughout Europe in the middle nineteenth century. He made exaggerated claims about his success, however, and as more and more visitors recognized that his cretins were not cured, Guggenbuhl fell into disrepute.

---

[55] J. M. Itard, The Wild Boy of Aveyron quoted in Leo Kanner, A History of the Care and Study of the Mentally Retarded (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1964), p. 14.

The link of sensory training of mental defectives from Europe to North America lies with Edouard Seguin. Seguin used many of Itard's techniques on children in an institution outside Paris in the 1840's and attracted much attention. With the 1848 uprisings in Europe, Seguin moved to the United States where he continued his procedures in Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York for another thirty years.

Seguin's work and writings influenced a variety of leaders such as Samuel G. Howe and led to the establishment of separate institutions for the care and education of the feeble-minded in several states on the east coast of the United States. All of these schools were organized with the hope of largely overcoming and quite possibly curing idiocy through the application of sensory teaching methods. Again, hopes and expectations were raised beyond the level of possible success and disillusionment set in. By the end of the century many of these schools had been converted to homes for custodial care of the feeble-minded.

Much of the United States had already gone through the period of euphoria, with schools being developed for the sensory-training of the feeble-minded, and were well into the stage of disillusionment when it became clear that most of the feeble-minded would not be cured, before any attempt was made in Canada to make separate provision for the mentally handicapped. In 1873 a separate wing was added to the London, Ontario Asylum known as the London Idiot Branch.[56] Pressure from concerned officials who stressed the successes of training schools in the United States and Europe then led in 1876 to the establishment of the Orillia Custodial Institution for Idiots, with over a hundred inmates.

---

[56] G. Thomas Hackett, "The History of Public Education For Mentally Retarded Children in Ontario 1867-1964" (Unpublished Ed.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1969), p. 34.

Because of shortage of space, no attempt was made to establish a school at Orillia until 1888. After that year, the school grew and was evidently highly successful in its attempts to provide some form of training for all patients. Some of Seguin's methods were used but by this time no one expected cures. Unfortunately, a good beginning ended in 1902 when the problem of space re-emerged, with beds being put into the classrooms. The school ended for a period of years.

There is no clear explanation why the most developed part of Canada was so far behind parts of the United States in the provision of care and treatment of the mentally handicapped. It may be as Hackett states in his thesis,[57] that Ontario was simply a developing region lacking "in all custodial services - jails, hospitals and asylums." In any case the rest of Canada was much further behind and no other separate institution for the mentally handicapped existed in Canada prior to 1900.

The Social History and Prevailing Attitudes to the Mentally Handicapped from 1900 to 1940

E. R. Johnstone, President of the Association of Medical Officers of American Institutions for Idiotic and Feeble-minded Persons, stated in his president's address in 1904 that:

> Our great aim is to eliminate this class (the feeble-minded), and in order to do this we must of necessity consider the elimination of the neurotic, blind, deaf, and consumptives, tramps, paupers, petty criminals, prostitutes, etc., as well as the hereditary insane, epileptics and imbeciles. . . .
>
> Nature is kind to this class. They really survive conditions which we should expect to cause a quick wiping out of the stock, but many have physical powers out of all proportion to their mental conditions. The power and desire for procreation is strong . . . for families of this class are notoriously large.

---

[57] Ibid., p. 36.

> Many plans for elimination have been proposed. About a year ago one of the large dailies of New York printed serious editorials and communications advocating a painless death. But who was to decide where to stop? How was the plan to be reconciled to present day ideas of humanity and Christianity? The whole thing caused but a temporary flutter and died out.
>
> Unsexing has been suggested and many strong arguments brought in its favor, but as yet the public knows too little of the advantages of the operation and of the social dangers from this class, and so will not agree to the idea.
>
> There is, however, one method of elimination upon which we may all agree. It is easier for people to understand, - and - even only partially understanding it, - they will agree to it. It is permanent custodial care . . . .
>
> Every effort must be made to get these defectives out of society, where they are a constant burden; from the families they are constantly dragging down and whose stock they are weakening; from the almshouses from which most of which they go out when they please, spreading the taint, and often bringing back newborn or soon-to-be-born babies worse than themselves . . . . Indeed, they must be removed from every place from which they might at any time return to society . . . .
>
> This is our problem - to be solved by persuasion if possible, by law, if necessary . . . . Therefore, for society as a whole, if they will but let us we shall . . . rid them of this class. We shall lessen crime and the costs of courts and prisons - we shall decrease pauperism . . . we shall diminish inebriety, too often the result of weakened will and judgement, as well as the cause of it. Our houses of refuge, hospitals for the insane, villages for the epileptics, and almshouses, will no longer be crowded because of the ignorance and inability of the incapables, and the stock of humanity shall grow stronger and healthier.[58]

President Johnstone's remarks sum up the prevailing attitude to the mentally retarded in the early twentieth century. Mental defectiveness was linked to a host of social problems and the way to rid the world of these problems was to stop mental defectives from reproducing.

The eugenic alarm had been sounded by Sir Francis Galton as early as 1865. However it was not until Galton wrote an article entitled

---

[58] E. R. Johnstone, "President's Address," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. VIII, 1904, p. 65.

"Possible Improvement of the Human Breed" which appeared in Nature in 1901[59] that the majority began to listen to his theory of systematically attempting to improve the human breed by checking the birth rate of the unfit and furthering the productivity of the fit.

Several studies were made of the family histories of supposedly defective stocks which were widely accepted as concrete evidence that mental deficiency is largely hereditary. Dugdale's study of "The Jukes" done in 1877 and largely ignored at the time was revived in the early 1900's to show that five supposedly mentally deficient sisters had brought forth offspring which were predominently social offenders and law-breakers. Dr. Henry Goddard, the internationally known director of the Vineland Training School, followed in 1911 with his history of "The Kallikak Family." This study showed how a revolutionary war figure had a family of good stock through his wife, and through a mentally defective, another family tree that was largely made up of prostitutes, alcoholics, epileptics, criminals and the like.[60]

The feeling that there was a strong link between feeble-mindedness and numerous social problems was best summed up by Helen MacMurchy, Inspector of Feeble-Minded in Ontario, in an address to the American Association for the Study of the Feeble-Minded in 1916.[61]

---

[59] Francis Galton, "Possible Improvement of the Human Breed," Nature, 1901, as quoted in Stanley Powell Davies, Social Control of the Mentally Deficient (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1930), p. 59.

[60] H. H. Goddard, The Kallikak Family as quoted in Stanley Powell Davies, Social Control of the Mentally Deficient (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1930), p. 65.

[61] Helen MacMurchy, "The Relation of Feeble-Mindedness to Other Social Problems," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XXI, 1916, p. 60.

The address contained the following statements:

> Do you seek a focus of contagious disease? Are you wondering where the 'carriers' are? Have you a Register of the Feeble-minded of the city in the office of the Medical Officer of Health? You will seldom miss your mark if you begin there.
>
> And, Alcoholism, as is now well known, is another effect of feeble-mindedness. This temptation, too, the feeble-minded are unable to resist.
>
> And, Have you ever, anywhere, and under any circumstances, in a house where normal people live, smelt anything to compare with the indescribable compressed, complex, horrible odor of the air in one of these abodes of the feeble-minded? They complicate the housing problem and they cannot help making slums.
>
> Further, as for the problems of public safety, in other words, crimes . . . . What is the relation of the feeble-minded to these problems? Cause and effect once more. Dr. Fernald says, and we all agree, that every feeble-minded person is a potential criminal. On the whole, at least from 10 percent to 20 percent of all inmates of penal institutions are feeble-minded.
>
> Finally, as for public morality . . . a large proportion of the victims of the White Slave Trade are mentally defective . . . . Mental defectives with little sense of decency, with no control of their passions, with no appreciation of the sacredness of the person and the higher references of life, become a centre of evil in the community, and inevitably lower the moral tone.[62]

A new system of measuring intelligence was established early in the twentieth century. Alfred Binet, as Minister of Public Instruction of Paris, was assigned in 1904 to transfer children suspected of retardation from regular to special schools. In order to accomplish this task Binet along with Thomas Simon devised a test of intelligence to be given to all children.

These revolutionary tests were first brought to the United States by Dr. Henry Goddard. Dr. Goddard tried the tests on the children at Vineland and found that they corresponded quite well to the sorting of children according to institutional experience which had been done in

---

[62] Ibid.

the past. Dr. Goddard and Dr. F. Kuhlmann of the Minnesota School for the Feebleminded then translated the Binet-Simon scale for American children. Soon after, Dr. L. Terman made a further revision, the Stanford scale, which was easily usable throughout the country.

The first use of the intelligence tests by Dr. Goddard and Dr. Terman on public school children revealed that only about one or two percent of the school children were mentally deficient.[63] The refinements of the tests, however, eventually brought to light a very large group of persons of borderline intelligence and in a paper presented to the American Association for the Study of the Feebleminded, Dr. Goddard discovered the "moron" group:

> One of the most helpful things we can do would be to distinctly mark out the limits of this class (high grade feebleminded) and help the general public to understand that they are a special group and require special treatment, - in institutions where possible, in special classes in public schools, when institutions are out of reach . . . . The . . . word proposed is a Greek word meaning foolish, 'moronia,' and these children might be called 'morons' fool or foolish in the English sense exactly describes the group of children."[64]

Although Goddard had extended the boundary of mental defectiveness upward with the clear delineation of morons, it was the use of intelligence tests in the First World War that was to raise fears as to the large number of mental defectives in the community at large. This fear led to a cry for a national registration of the feeble-minded[65] and pressure for more areas to adopt sterilization laws.

---

[63] H. H. Goddard, School Training of Defective Children, as quoted in Stanley Powell Davies, Social Control of the Mentally Deficient (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1930), p. 54.

[64] H. H. Goddard, "Four Hundred Feeble-Minded Children Classified By The Binet Method," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XV, 1910, p. 27.

[65] Please see George Hastings, "Registration of the Feeble-Minded," in Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XXII, 1917, p. 136.

The first series of articles advocating sterilization of the feeble-minded appeared in the Journal of Psycho-Asthenics in June 1905. The first state to pass legislation on the subject was Indiana in 1907,[66] but others quickly followed and by 1925 twelve states had passed such legislation.[67] By 1935 twenty-eight states and British Columbia and Alberta in Canada had passed laws[68] which resulted in the sterilization of 23,000 persons by that year.

While there was much disagreement over sterilization of the unfit, there was a general consensus on segregation and this was really the main approach taken to prevent defectives from reproducing. Every area produced institutions for the feeble-minded rapidly in the early twentieth century and these were constantly being enlarged as the number of residents increased from 6,009 in 1893 to 39,655 in 1923.[69]

There was only a gradual realization in the 1920's and 1930's that the attitudes and policies towards the mentally deficient, that were so widely accepted in the first two decades of the twentieth century, were either incorrect or ineffective.

Walter Fernald, the widely respected Superintendent of the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-Minded, revealed many of the hopeful changes in a remarkable presidential address to the American Association

---

[66]Paul Popenoe and Norman Fenton, "Sterilization As a Social Measure," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XLI, 1936, p. 60.

[67]Harry H. Laughlin, "The Eugenical Sterilization of the Feebleminded," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XXXI, 1926, p. 214.

[68]Paul Popenoe and Norman Fenton, "Sterilization As a Social Measure," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XLI, 1936, p. 60.

[69]Walter E. Fernald, "Thirty Years Progress In The Care Of The Feeble-Minded," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XXIX, 1924, p. 207.

for the study of the Feeble-Minded in May of 1924. Fernald had been president of the same organization thirty years earlier, so appropriately his address was entitled "Thirty Years Progress in the Care of the Feeble-Minded."[70] Several quotations to indicate changes in approach follow:

> For nearly two decades all our knowledge of the feeble-minded indicated that the obvious and logical remedy was lifelong segregation and this became the policy in nearly every state.
>
> The "legend of the feebleminded" was based on a study of the only known large group of defectives of that period and they were those who had got into trouble and were in institutions, who were largely of the hereditary class and had behaved badly and were shiftless and lazy. As a group they were neglected and untrained and uncared for defectives. It was entirely logical to assume that all defectives had similar history and tendencies. The legend ignored the defectives from good homes with no troublesome traits of character and behaviour . . . .
>
> But much water has run over the dam since that period of pessimism of 1911 and 1912.
>
> Since that time many things have happened to make us believe that we have been far too sweeping in some of our generalizations and deductions concerning the feeble-minded . . . .
>
> No extensive studies have been made of the hereditary (sic) of unselected defectives as they appear in school and out-patient mental clinics. Many of these children seem to come from average American homes, from the homes of the poor and of the middle-class, and of the well-to-do, with industrious, well behaved parents. The clinical history of many of these pupils suggests that infective, inflammatory or other destructive brain disease in infancy was the cause of the mental defect . . . .
>
> Our newer knowledge on unselected defectives verifies our belief that there are good defectives and bad defectives but seems to show that the good vastly outnumber the bad . . . .
>
> We are beginning to realize the vastness of the problem of the feeble-minded. We now know that all of the feebleminded cannot be permanently segregated in institutions. We believe that the vast majority will never need such supervision but will adjust themselves at home as they have always done in the past.[71]

---

[70] Ibid., p. 206.

[71] Ibid., p. 213.

The view towards mental defectives was undoubtedly changing; but at this time, 1924, the members of the American Association for the Feeble-minded were divided. Several papers at the conference still expressed the old fears of mental defectives[72] whereas others, such as one presented by J. M. Murdoch,[73] agreed with Fernald. Murdoch pointed out to the delegates that:

> The feeble-minded are just like other individuals, some are good and some are bad, largely dependent upon the environment. Virtue or vice does not depend upon the degree of intelligence of the individual.[74]

In 1929 President Hoover called for a conference on the status of the health and well-being of children. A sub-committee on the handicapped made several break-throughs, such as replacing the terms "feeble-mindedness" and "intellectual subnormality" with the term "mental deficiency," and calling for greater use of special education classes. The report, however, perpetuated many of the legends of the feeble-minded, as Fernald had called them, by a reaffirmation of the idea that the "mentally deficient are more like to be delinquent or criminal than are those of normal intelligence,"[75] and by a continuation of the emphasis on the need to prevent reproduction through the traditional means of segregation and sterilization. Nevertheless, the general tone of the report was

---

[72] Please see for example Mary M. Wolf, "The Relation of Feeble-Mindedness to Education, Citizenship and Culture," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XXX, 1925, p. 124.

[73] J. M. Murdoch, "The Relation of Mental Deficiency to Morals, Religion and Ethics," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XXX, 1925, p. 149.

[74] Ibid.

[75] E. R. Johnstone, "Report of the Committee on Mental Deficiency of the White House Conference," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XXXVI, 1931, p. 343.

less frenzied than language of earlier years and there was now a tendency to express doubts about parts of the legend that were previously accepted as fact.

Intelligence tests had been used in North America since 1911 with supreme confidence in classifying and labelling the mentally retarded.[76] At the beginning of the depression, however, some experts began raising serious questions about their efficiency. Z. Pauline Hoakley of the Wayne County Training School in Michigan showed in a carefully constructed study[77] that the IQ of individuals can vary markedly from test to test, particularly for children under 16. Another of the basic tenets from the early part of the century was beginning to waver. Despite continued controversy over the years, however, the IQ test remains a widely used procedure even today.

Sterilization of mental defectives still continues to be practised, but on this matter, too, the general attitude changed drastically in the 1930's. Dr. Edgar Doll in the President's Address to the American Association on Mental Deficiency delivered in 1936 stated that:

> There was a time when much faith was placed in sterilization as a basic measure for control. . . . Whereas formerly the opposition came from the poorly informed, while the advocates were among the well-informed, today the situation is reversed, with much of our best professional thought gravely opposed to this measure.[78]

In chapter Six of this dissertation the author will demonstrate that Manitoba reflected the new attitude by defeating in 1932 a proposed

---

[76] H. H. Goddard. "Four Hundred Feeble-Minded Children Classified by The Binet Method," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XV, 1910, p. 17.

[77] Z. Pauline Hoakley, "The Variability of Intelligency Quotients," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XXXVII, 1932, p. 119.

[78] Edgar Doll, "Current Thoughts on Mental Deficiency," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XLI, 1936, p. 33.

law on sterilization of high grade mental defectives. North Dakota on the other hand continued on and in fact increased the rate of sterilization of mental defectives in the 1930's.

The period under study ended with leaders on mental deficiency advocating more programs to help the handicapped in the community or through colonies[79] outside the state institutions. Because of the depression, however, little funds were available for such endeavors.

The Dalton theory on eugenics and the Binet-Simon intelligence tests had combined in the early twentieth century to create a general concern about control of mental defectives through segregation and sterilization. By 1940, however, many of the earlier theories had been challenged, amended or discarded so that the period under study ended with a calm and systematic approach to the care and assistance of the mentally deficient.

Education of the Mentally Handicapped in the School Systems of North America from 1900 to 1940

Public school classes for the mentally handicapped began in North America at about the turn of the century. Providence, Rhode Island, is generally given credit for establishing in 1896 the first class for the feebleminded,[80] but in fact the first such class was in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1875.[81] This first class had a tragic ending as the 14 children classified as imbeciles were sent back home and the teacher, who suffered

---

[79] F. Kuhlman, "One Hundred Years of Special Care and Training," American Journal of Mental Deficiency, Vol. XLV, 1940-41, p. 21.

[80] Rhoda A. Esten, "Backward Children in the Public Schools," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. V, 1900, p. 10.

[81] Charlotte Steinbach, "Report of the Special Class Department, Cleveland, Ohio," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XXIII, 1918, p. 104.

a mental collapse, went off to the State Hospital. But, a quarter of a century later the time seemed to be right and Springfield, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, and Worcester all established classes by 1901,[82] with most other big cities in the eastern United States following within the next decade or so.

Many of the first special classes established were for children who were discipline problems. Classes for mental defectives were to develop first as a related and later as a separate entity. This was the case in Providence and in New York. For example, Miss E. Farrell, Inspector of Ungraded Classes in New York City Schools, wrote that their first class "was not the result of any theory. It grew out of conditions in a neighborhood which furnished many and serious problems in truancy and discipline."[83]

One wonders what exactly were the forces that combined to produce so many special classes in such a short period of time. J. E. Wallace Wallin speculated[84] in Problems of Subnormality, 1921, that the enactment of compulsory attendance laws at about the turn of the century forced feeble-minded off the streets and into schools where school officials soon found it necessary to organize special classes for this group. A link between the introduction of compulsory attendance and the establishment of special classes in Winnipeg will be explored later in the dissertation.

---

[82]Elizabeth Daniels Nash, "Special Schools for Defective Children," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. VI, 1901, p. 42.

[83]E. E. Farrell, "Special Classes in the New York City Schools," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XIII, 1908, p. 91.

[84]J. E. Wallace Wallin, Problems of Subnormality (New York: World Book, 1921), p. 46.

Classes for the feeble-minded seem also to be related to the eugenic scare linking mental defectiveness with social ills. Many educators at the turn of the century evidently believed that there were "dullards" or "borderline defectives" who might easily fall into the defective category if not provided with a proper education. For example, E. R. Johnstone states of this group:

> The backward child in the public school, - the child who with individual training, sanitary surroundings and proper environment will advance to take his proper place among normal children, but who neglected subjected to disease and ignorance will fall an easy prey to degenerative influences and become in fact feeble-minded.[85]

Finally, comparative education had a great deal to do with the influx of special classes for the feeble-minded. Many of the articles in the Journal of Psycho-Asthenics[86] concerning plans for special classes in North America at the turn of the century reviewed developments in other countries, cited successes and advocated a similar approach. Special classes had been opened in several German cities in 1867 and by 1896, 27 cities had classes containing over 2000 pupils.[87] In addition, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, France and Switzerland had all made similar provisions.[88] The single most important foreign impetus, however, was the 1898 report to the British parliament of the "Committee on Defective and Epileptic Children." This report extolled the benefits of the education of feeble-minded children in special classes or special schools and provided funds

---

[85] E. R. Johnston, "President's Address," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. VIII, 1904, p. 65.

[86] See, for example, Samuel J. Fort, "Special School for Special Children," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. 5, 1900, p. 28, and Walter E. Fernald, "Mentally Defective Children in the Public Schools," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. VIII, 1903, p. 25.

[87] Samuel J. Fort, "Special School for Special Children," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. V, 1900, p. 29.

[88] Walter E. Fernald, "Mentally Defective Children in the Public Schools," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. VIII, 1903, p. 25.

for the creation of such classes according to carefully established regulations. Walter Fernald of the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-minded visited these newly established schools in 1903 and reported very positively on his return to the United States.[89]

The selection of children for special classes seems to have been made primarily on the basis of observation and school performance until about 1912. After that time many schools used a combination of the Binet-Simon tests and studies of "retardation" as the basis for selection.[90] School retardation studies were used extensively throughout North America, after 1910 to discover those children who were behind the grade level appropriate for their age but who were not necessarily feeble-minded. Once those who were school retarded were found they were subjected to the new IQ tests to determine those who were sub-normal and who should thus be assigned to special classes.

At the height of the eugenic scare special schools were usually favored over special classes for mentally defective children. As Miss Erminie Loiselle of Oklahoma stated in 1921:[91]

> Our pupils have been removed from regular classes because educators throughout our land have recognized the fact that the backbone of our country, the normal child, must no longer be burdened with the sub-normal child.

Cordelia Creswell of Grand Rapids, Michigan, also made the case for special schools before the American Association for the Study of the Feeble-Minded,

---

[89] Ibid.

[90] Grace M. Boehne, "Regarding Special Classes for Sub-Normal Children," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XVII, 1912, p. 20

[91] Erminie Loiselle, "The Special Class Child," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XXVII, 1921, p. 240.

> The child is happier in a special school than he is in the ordinary special class because he is associated in the departmental or special school only with his own kind, he is free from the contact, teasing and other annoyances which he receives from normal children whom he must meet more or less on the school grounds while in the special classes. It should be remembered, also, that his absence is much more beneficial than his presence to the normal child.[92]

In the 1920's there was the realization that although special classes had been created in most of the major cities in the eastern United States, too little concern was given to differentiating the types of children in these classes and to providing a meaningful curriculum. J. E. Wallace Wallin led the criticism on both issues. In his Problems of Subnormality published in 1924 he stated:

> In some cities the special classes are made the dumping ground for all kinds of pedagogical misfits and social ne'er-do-wells; mentally normal children who are pedagogically retarded, mentally or pedagogically backward pupils, morons, imbeciles, high-grade idiots, moral imbeciles, truant or unruly children, children of good mentality, but suffering from sensory deprivation (semi-blind, semi-deaf and word blind), crippled or paralytic or speech-defective children who are not feeble-minded, foreign children of good mentality whose defect is primarily linguistic.[93]

As a matter of curriculum, Wallin stated:

> The contribution of the modern testing movement has thus far been of much less significance so far as concerns the elaboration of educational schemes, plans and devices, and the modification of curricula and of educative processes to meet more completely the individual requirement of the pupil material in the schools.[94]

The change in curriculum for special education classes resulted in less emphasis on a watered-down version of the three R's and more emphasis on vocational and industrial training in line with individual

---

[92] Cordelia Creswell, "Special Schools Versus Special Classes," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XIX, 1914, p. 68.

[93] Wallin, Problems of Subnormality, p. 64.

[94] J. E. Wallace Wallin, "Classification of Mentally Deficient and Retarded Children for Instruction," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XXIX, 1924, p. 167.

needs. In the very best of the programs there was also career counselling, some on-the-job training, and a follow-up for a year or two after the end of school to assist students in finding employment.

This change in emphasis in curriculum was in part due to the diminishing fear of mental defectives and also because of the growth of progressive education.[95] Progressive education was not yet at its zenith but some of its features such as emphasizing the value of the individual, individual choices on curriculum matters, and practical and life training were gradually adopted in the approach to special education. The changeover was slow, however, for a survey in 1931 reported that only 27 of 631 special classes in major U. S. cities had activity programs rather than programs resembling the regular course of studies.[96]

Despite the general acceptance of the idea of special classes for subnormal and backward children, it is startling to realize how few such classes were indicated by national surveys. Surveys done by the U. S. Office of Education revealed the following:

SPECIAL CLASSES FOR THE MENTALLY HANDICAPPED IN THE UNITED STATES[97]

Year	No. of States	No. of Cities	Pupils Enrolled
1922	23	133	23,252
1927	32	218	51,814
1932	39	483	75,099
1936	43	643	99,621
1940	42	565	98,416

---

[95] Florence N. Beaman, "Progressive Education for the Mentally Retarded Child," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XLIII, 1938, p. 87.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Wallin, Problems of Subnormality, p. 20.

It is true that these surveys were conducted only in cities with a population of 2,500 or more and not all cities replied to every survey. One might think that restricting the survey to cities would pass over many special education classes; probably, however, this is not so. Dr. Edgar Doll who was constantly proclaiming the necessity of more classroom facilities for the feeble-minded made the following points:

> Yet very few municipalities, and almost no rural communities, provide for as many as 1 percent of the elementary school population in special classes.[98]

Further:

> The rather scattered character of the population, and the generally limited financial resources of the rural districts, make the problem of care for the rural feeble-minded especially difficult.[99]

This study on the rural area of North Dakota and Manitoba supports the thesis that special education classes were established almost entirely in cities. The table above does reveal that the number of pupils enrolled in special classes went up considerably during the depression, but it is not unreasonable to think that there would have been a further increase had more monies been available. Again, specific evidence in North Dakota and Manitoba will reveal the truth of this latter statement.

The approach to special education in Ontario was not very different from that in the United States, but most other parts of Canada were far behind the pattern established by the leaders in the major cities of the eastern United States.

Helen MacMurchy, Inspector of the Feeble-minded in Ontario until 1920, and an internationally known expert in her field, provided the

---

[98]Edgar A. Doll, "Education and Training of the Feebleminded," Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. XXXVII, 1932, p. 102.

[99]Ibid., p. 103.

leadership which led to the development of special education classes in Ontario. The first classes for the mentally defective were established in 1910, with two in Toronto and one in Hamilton. One year later Mrs. MacMurchy encouraged the government to pass an Act Respecting Special Classes for the Mentally Defective.[100] Not many districts followed up on this lead and by 1920 only a handful of special classes existed in Ontario, these being in Brantford, Toronto, Hamilton and Ottawa. In the period from 1920 to 1928, however, there was a steady growth in "Auxiliary Classes" as they were now called, although as Hackett states:[101]

> Growth occurred exclusively in cities or in urban areas; Toronto, the largest city, led the rest of the province in the number of its classes.

The rest of Canada had made little provision for auxiliary classes as a survey of Ministers of Education in 1924 revealed:[102]

SURVEY OF AUXILIARY CLASSES IN CANADA

Province	Number of Classes
Nova Scotia	5
New Brunswick	"several"
Quebec	none
Manitoba	some in Winnipeg, number not known
Saskatchewan	1 public school
Alberta	4
British Columbia	some in Vancouver
Ontario	96

It shall be seen later in this dissertation that Winnipeg introduced a special education class in 1913 and followed with several others over

---

[100] G. Thomas Hackett, "The History of Public Education for Mentally Retarded Children in Ontario 1867-1964," (Unpublished Ed.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1969), p. 88.

[101] Ibid., p. 132.

[102] Ibid., p. 155.

the years but this was a local phenomenon unrelated to provincial leadership or to events in the rest of the province.

In Ontario the growth of special classes subsided with the great depression and as Hackett states,[103] "from 1933 to 1935 the growth of Auxiliary Classes was reduced almost to a standstill." Later in the dissertation, we will see that some special education classes begun in North Dakota and Manitoba in the late 1920's were eliminated during the depression years.

All in all, it is clear that Ontario followed a pattern of development in special education classes similar to the leading states in the eastern United States but that developments in the rest of Canada were limited.

It has been indicated that special education classes for the feebleminded began in the cities of the eastern seaboard of the United States at about the turn of the century. The first classes were often in special buildings, as it was thought wise to keep the defectives from having a harmful influence on normal children. With the end of the eugenic alarm in the 1920's there was more emphasis on providing education suited to the needs of these children, particularly manual and vocational training. The number of special classes rose steadily in North America through the 1920's and 1930's although expansion was limited somewhat during the depression of the 1930's, because of lack of funds. Special classes were, however, almost exclusively an urban phenomenon and most prominent in the large cities of the eastern United States and Ontario.

---

[103] Ibid., p. 186.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION OF MENTALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF NORTH DAKOTA AND MANITOBA FROM 1900 TO 1920

First Decade

The developing school systems of North Dakota and Manitoba gave little special consideration to the education of mentally handicapped children prior to 1920.

There was no effective compulsory attendance law in either North Dakota or Manitoba in the first decade of the twentieth century and education was a random process for many children. There were large numbers of children who did not attend school at all but even for those who did the school year was very short as the Superintendent of Public Instruction in North Dakota reported in 1906:

> The most lamentable thing in the statistics of the present school year is that of the 113,378 children who were enrolled in the public schools, only 80,395 attended sixty days or more.[1]

Manitoba faced similar problems. In most Inspectors' reports from the turn of the century on there was some comment on the difficulty of operating schools when attendance was so unreliable. E. E. Best, Inspector for the North-Eastern Division, stated in his annual report in 1905 that:

> The problem of attendance shows little change from year to year and varies from two to fifty pupils under one teacher, the smaller and more irregular attendance often being found in those districts containing the greatest number of children. As far as I can learn considerable numbers of children are growing up in a state of deplorable ignorance within easy range of good and efficient schools.[2]

---

[1] Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Dakota, 1906, p. 21.

[2] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1905, p. 387.

Attendance was scarcely better in even the major urban centres for in the same year, 1905, the daily average attendance in the city of Winnipeg was but 64 percent.[3]

The majority of children were still primarily in the lower grades as only 3,200 of 73,512 students went beyond grade eight in Manitoba in 1905.[4] In fact over one third of all children in school were in grades one or two.[5] There are no exactly comparable figures available for North Dakota, but it is clear that the same problem existed, for as late as 1912 the State Superintendent reported that, "Less than 30 per cent of country boys complete the sixth grade, less than five per cent the eighth grade."[6]

The school systems of North Dakota and Manitoba also had major problems with teachers. The Superintendent of Public Instruction in North Dakota reported in 1910 that:

> Our record shows that we are compelled to depend upon the transient for the bulk of our teachers; they also show that an almost entire change in the personnel of a teaching force of a county takes place about every three years.[7]

The Superintendent went on to decry the fact that so few men made teaching their life work unlike law, medicine or theology and thus "the large majority of our teachers are young women to whom matrimony proves a greater attraction than the school room."[8]

---

[3] Ibid., p. 374.

[4] Ibid., p. 364

[5] Ibid.

[6] Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Dakota, 1912, p.274.

[7] Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Dakota, 1910, p. 19.

[8] Ibid.

In Manitoba, Inspectors constantly commented on the low teacher salaries and, in their minds at least, the related doubtful quality of teaching provided. R. Goulet, Inspector of the South Eastern Division commented in his annual report of 1905:

> It would be gratifying to be assured that those whose diligence and intelligence give a promise for usefulness could be induced to continue for a reasonable length of time in the work of teaching. . . . Male teachers are constantly adopting other modes of livelihood and their places are in great part supplied by new, inexperienced teachers . . . permits are too easily obtained . . . . How can one reasonably expect young girls of sixteen years of age to undertake a task which requires the full activity of experienced and tried teachers?[9]

In two very rudimentary prairie school systems struggling with basic problems of attendance and quality of instruction, it is no surprise that no consideration was given to making provisions for those of below average ability. One can only speculate[10] as to how many mentally handicapped children may have visited a school for a few days each year and what benefit they may have derived, but given the nature of the school system and the lack of compulsory attendance laws, it would seem natural to keep such children at home assisting with the many tasks in a rapidly developing prairie economy. In the rural farm environment that predominated in North Dakota and Manitoba in the early twentieth century,

---

[9] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1905, p. 396.

[10] The only mention in all Inspectors and Superintendents reports of possible mentally handicapped children in the first decade of the twentieth century in Manitoba came on page 390 of the Report of the Department of Education for 1905 where Inspector T. M. Maguire stated that: "It is a rare thing to see a weak or deformed child." This is scanty evidence to go on, but it is in line with our assumption that mentally handicapped children would simply be kept at home when there were no compulsory attendance laws of any significance. There were several references in both regions to the inability of children to read after several years of infrequent attendance, but the assumption seems to have been that it was poor teaching and inadequate attendance that were the problems and not the inability of the children to learn.

those who today might be labelled as "mildly retarded," because of their inability to cope in schools or in a highly technological society, could then simply be kept at home and serve in a useful capacity on the farm.

Manitoba did not pass a compulsory school attendance act until 1917; however, under a clause of the Children's Protection Act of Manitoba[11] passed in 1907, there was in fact effective control of truancy in the province at a much earlier date. The original section of the act dating to 1902 read: "Any Officer, Constable or Policeman may apprehend without warrant, and bring before a Judge as neglected, any child under the age of sixteen years,"[12] and the new clause added in 1907 continued on, who "is a habitual truant from school or habitually wanders about the streets or public places during school hours, without any lawful occupation or employment."[13] Superintendent of Neglected Children, Mr. Billiarde, used this law to appoint truancy officers who began to patrol the streets of Winnipeg in 1910.

The work of these truancy officers was evidently most effective. Billiarde in his report of 1915 revealed how one of the officers, a Mr. Campbell:

> visits the bowling alleys, pool-rooms and moving picture theatres to see that boys do not frequent those places - especially the moving picture theatres - during school hours.[14]

Billiarde also quoted several Winnipeg school principals in his report of 1914, for example, Mr. T. E. Argue, Dufferin School:

---

[11] Statutes of Manitoba, 1907, clause (h), p. 193.

[12] Statutes of Manitoba, 1902, p. 166.

[13] Statutes of Manitoba, 1907, p. 195.

[14] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1913-14, p. 356.

> We have had a few cases of truancy during the year. In such instances, and in securing more regular attendance of pupils from homes where parents seem indifferent about the matter, the work of Captain Barnham, of your Department, has been of material assistance to us.[15]

and, Mr. Ferguson, Principal of Lord Selkirk School were the first special education class began in 1913, "The work of the Probation Officer has been of great assistance to us, and has been the means of practically eliminating truancy in this school."[16]

Once the truancy situation in Winnipeg was well under control Billiarde turned his attention to the rural areas and appointed nine officers in the country districts in 1913.[17] Again, their work was evidently immediately effective for the Inspector for Division 11 reported[18] at the end of the 1913-14 school year that the truancy officer was having a positive effect on attendance in his area.

The work of these truancy officers was also revealed in an increase in the daily average attendance figures in the province. In the school year 1913-14 the daily average attendance increased 5.2 percent to 62.5 percent[19] and rose another 5 percent in 1914-15 reaching 67.5 percent overall.[20]

The problems of attendance in North Dakota schools were much greater than in Manitoba. A compulsory attendance law had existed in the state since before 1910, but little was done to enforce the law until the

---

[15] Ibid., p. 286.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid., p. 357.

[18] Ibid., p. 298.

[19] Ibid., p. 215

[20] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1914-15, p. 211.

school year ending in June of 1916. That year a number of county superintendents reported a marked improvement in attendance. For example, Clara N. Flemington of Dickey County reported:

> The school attendance of the county shows a marked change. Through the co-operation of teachers and school officers the compulsory educational law has been conscientiously enforced. Twenty-three convictions are recorded from September 1914 to June 1916. As a result the general attitude of the county in regard to school attendance is changing.[21]

Further, John L. Laemmle, Superintendent of McIntosh County reported[22] that same year:

> A vigorous and aggressive campaign was conducted to enforce the attendance law. An investigation showed that hundreds of children of school age were either not attending school at all or were lamentably irregular in their attendance, for no legal or otherwise good excuse. In order to set an example, several cases were prosecuted, and this seemed to have a good moral effect all over the county.

Nevertheless, North Dakota was still somewhat behind Manitoba on this matter of attendance as State Superintendent for Public Instruction, Neil McDonald, revealed in his report for the school year ending June, 1918:

> Table IV gives some items of special interest, especially in the length of term in North Dakota and the United States when compared with the length of term in the province of Manitoba, It is very evident that we have a long way to go yet before we have developed an efficient school system. It is a most interesting matter to consider that the province of Manitoba has now 210 days in the school term, which also applies to the one-room rural schools, when the United States has only 159 and North Dakota 169. It is only fair to say, however, that while our system makes a very poor showing in this matter, still there has been a great improvement within recent years in this and similar items.[23]

---

[21] Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Dakota, 1916, p. 95.

[22] Ibid., p. 111.

[23] Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1918, p. 40.

Superintendent McDonald's table IV in the above quotation was as follows:

A COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF ATTENDANCE AND SCHOOL TERMS[24]

	North Dakota 1916-17	North Central States 1914-15	United States 1914-15	Province Manitoba 1916-17
1. Actual percent of attendance on nine month basis	66	75	67	75
2. Average no. of days attended per pupil enrolled	119	136	121	135
3. Length of school term in days	169	167	159	210

First Special Education Class

It was only three years after Superintendent of Neglected Children, Mr. Billiarde, appointed truancy officers in the City of Winnipeg and the establishment of the first special education class. Superintendent for the City of Winnipeg, Dr. Daniel McIntyre, reported[25] for the year ending 1914, that:

> No radical departure has been made from the course of studies, but it was found necessary to vary the emphasis laid on the several subjects according to the special needs of certain classes of students in some of the schools. To illustrate, there is a class of children who, on account of mental ineptitude or physical effect cannot keep pace in their educational progress with the ordinary child. An attempt to meet the needs of these children has been made in the establishment of a special preparatory class in one of the schools. This class has made excellent progress, and it is expected that the results will lead to the organization of similar classes in other schools.

Dr. Doris Baker attempted to gain further information on this first class in her doctoral thesis[26] but could find little specific information

---

[24] Ibid., p. 42.

[25] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1913-14, p. 259.

[26] Laura Doris Baker, "The Development of Special Educational Provisions for Exceptional Children in the City of Winnipeg" (unpublished Ed.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1967), p. 47.

other than that it was located in the Lord Selkirk School. However, she did discover that the Winnipeg School Board was sufficiently interested in the question of special classes for backward children to send a member of the supervisory staff on a tour of American centres in 1915[27] to discover the latest trends in this field. Evidently some of the information gained, such as that these classes should be kept small and that the teachers should have additional training and additional remuneration,[28] were implemented in succeeding years in the Winnipeg School Division. Nevertheless, growth of special classes was anything but rapid for there were still only three such classes by the end of 1918.[29]

The development of special classes in the Winnipeg School Division seems to be related to effective truancy laws and effective leadership. As soon as all children were forced to attend school, backward or handicapped children would be distinguished, especially in large urban schools where there might be a large number in one school. These children still might be left to sit for years in one grade except in relatively sophisticated school systems which were beginning to create special classes as we saw in Chapter Two. The Winnipeg School Division was both large with over 23,000 pupils in 1915[30] and advanced. Dr. Daniel McIntyre, the Superintendent, had held his position since 1885 and was a remarkable educational leader. Reading his annual reports one can see that the

---

[27] Ibid., p. 50.

[28] Ibid., p. 51.

[29] Ibid., p. 56.

[30] Ibid., p. 38.

Winnipeg School Division was familiar with educational trends in the leading centres of the world and willing to attempt a variety of new programmes. The contrast between developments in Winnipeg and those in other parts of rural Manitoba or North Dakota as revealed by these annual reports was great. Often it seems that the provincial Department of Education followed the Winnipeg School Division and attempted to bring education in the rest of the province somewhere near the level established by Daniel McIntyre in the Winnipeg School Division. The establishment of special education classes in Winnipeg almost a decade prior to any other centre in North Dakota and Manitoba was undoubtedly related to effective truancy enforcement and progressive leadership.

The second largest city in Manitoba, Brandon, did flirt briefly in 1918 with the idea of special classes,[31] but the plans did not reach fruition. Brandon Superintendent, Alfred White, stated in his annual report of 1918 that:

> If conditions warrant it, the Board has also approved the organization of one or more small ungraded classes of pupils who are misfits in the grade to which they belong. This organization will be proceeded with if necessary at the opening of the Fall term.

However, the next year Superintendent White reported:[32]

> Not within the memory of any of our staff is there any recollection of such a broken year as the one just completed. The actual closing of the schools by order of the health officer extended to twelve weeks . . . . As a result it was impossible to accomplish as much as we usually do during the year.

Evidently the ungraded classes were lost in the confusion for no mention was made of the earlier plans and no mention of such classes would be made again for another decade.

---

[31] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1917-18, p. 112.

[32] Ibid., 1918-19, p. 99.

Curriculum

Both North Dakota and Manitoba were attempting to standardize their basic curricula in the first twenty years of the twentieth century, and little consideration was given to providing courses which might have appealed to less academically oriented students. There were isolated incidents, however. In 1913 Portage la Prairie introduced handwork consisting of such things as "paper folding, plasticine, sewing, and basketry."[33] One might well ask whether this was simply busywork or something of benefit, but O. T. Gamey, Superintendent of Schools for Portage reported[34] in 1914 that:

> Elementary handwork has, in the lower grades, received a fair share of time and attention, and with good results . . . . It has helped some pupils of a practical turn of mind to discover themselves.

Pembina County in North Dakota also reported some indications of a move to practical subjects in 1910:

> Vocational education is gaining in recognition while manual training is taking an established place in our graded schools, elementary agriculture and domestic art have come to stay in our rural schools.[35]

All in all, the attempts to provide a variation in curriculum away from the straight academic courses were limited, and the criticisms of John Morris Gillette of the University of North Dakota in 1912 might apply equally well to both prairie regions:

> The result is that likely pupils are driven from the schools early in life because they do not secure the practical training their estate in life requires. Others who are slow or backward are kept in the same grade for years, repeating the same academic subjects which mean so little for them, while being deprived of the privilege of manual

---

[33] Ibid., 1913-14, p. 270.

[34] Ibid., 1913-14, p. 270.

[35] Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Dakota, 1910, p. 207.

> and practical work which in progressive cities does so much to redeem pupils. Certain of the larger cities offer pitiable examples of such pupils. I have a case in mind of a boy who is slow mentally but "handy" with tools. He spends two or three years in a grade in exclusively academic studies, and has stopped his education in the fourth grade. There is no opportunity given him in the lower grades to develop his manual ability and as a consequence his youth is being largely wasted and his maturity will be rendered ineffectual. The school system, by reason of its inertness, is condemning this and other pupils to fruitless, if not anti-social, careers.
>
> The rural schools are even more backward than the city schools. They are located in agricultural regions yet, estimating them according to the pertinency of their course of study and subject matter, they might be located in the greatest industrial and commercial cities of the earth.[36]

Gillette originates or perpetuates, as the case may be, the myth that those who are not suited for academic subjects are suited to practical training, but, in the main, he is correct; more options should have been made available to students in both North Dakota and Manitoba and, as a consequence the backward child might have benefitted.

Institution For Feebleminded Children

North Dakota established a state home for the feeble-minded in 1904 which provided both residential and educational facilities for the feeble-minded of all ages. Manitoba had no similar facility and a number of public officials called on the provincial government to remedy this situation.

Dr. Daniel McIntyre, Superintendent of Winnipeg schools, ended his annual report in 1915 with a call for help for mentally deficient children and ended each annual report with a similar appeal until his retirement in 1928. The 1915 statement is as follows:[37]

---

[36] John Morris Gillette, "The Educational System in North Dakota in the Light of Present Needs," Quarterly Journal of North Dakota, Vol. III, July, 1912, p. 379.

[37] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1915-16, p. 251.

> Before closing this report, I wish to lay before your Department the great necessity that exists for a special school for the training of mentally deficient children. The needs of retarded and subnormal children can be met by re-arrangements and adjustments in the ordinary school. But there is a large and growing class of children that can be cared for only in an institution where constant care and supervision can be given by experts. Without this, these helpless children will grow up to be a burden to the community and a menace to society. Not only because their helplessness appeals to our sympathies, but because society requires protection, some provision should be made to meet their needs. I regard this matter as one of the most pressing of our educational requirements.

It is interesting to note that Dr. McIntyre expressed some of the fears of the mentally deficient that predominated amongst experts in North America in 1915.

Mr. Billiarde, Superintendent of Neglected Children, expressed similar sentiments in 1917,[38] but he had his own view as to the root cause of mental defectiveness:

> I have no hesitation whatever in saying that I am sure the majority of mental defectives in this and other parts of the world owe their terrible handicaps to the immoderate use of alcohol . . . . I understand that provision is to be made for the proper care of mentally defective children. This is a crying need of the hour and I have, year after year, pointed this out in my reports. These children require a very special type of institution and very skillful care. All Children's Aid Societies should be most careful in having their wards medically examined with a view to ascertaining if they are in any way subnormal; for, to place a sub-normal child in a foster home is unfair not only to the child and to the foster parents, but also to the whole community. Such societies should take special care that all children of this type over whom they exercise wardship should receive institutional care. On no account should they be placed in foster homes . . . . Such children should receive whatever education it (sic) can assimilate and be trained up to the highest point that it is possible to reach.

F. W. McKinnon, Principal of the Industrial Training School at Portage la Prairie, added his support to the idea of an institution for mental defectives:

---

[38] Ibid., p. 386.

> I should like to recommend that something be done to help the mental defectives of this Province. This is one of the problems that our Government will have to deal with in the near future. I regret to state that we have a good many in our school and we are not properly equipped to cope with their condition.[39]

It is interesting, however, to see that mentally handicapped children were evident and a problem for the Superintendent of Winnipeg Schools, the Superintendent of Neglected Children, and the Principal of a Boys Industrial Training School. Each was trying to cope with these children and educate them as best they could but each hoped for a provincial institution to relieve him of his burden.

School Retardation

School retardation studies were popular in North America after 1910 and on this matter North Dakota and Manitoba were quick to follow general trends. The term "retardation" was used to indicate those behind the grade level appropriate for their age, although studies varied as to whether they would include all those behind the appropriate grade level, or only those one year behind or in some cases two years behind. These retardation studies were primarily a statistical venture by some enterprising administrative official, and there is no indication that any major educational policy decisions followed the release of these studies. Their major use in both North Dakota and Manitoba prior to 1920 was to indicate the extent of retardation in rural areas as compared with urban areas. These studies, however, reveal that in the early years mentally deficient children were allowed to repeat the lower grades over and over again until they reached school leaving age.

---

[39] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1916-17, p. 258.

In North Dakota the first such study was done in Sheridan County by Superintendent C. F. Eberly in 1912.[40] Without going into the detail of all the figures, let us consider some of the facts that might indicate that mentally deficient children were kept in the lower grades. For example, there were 18 students between the ages of 15 and 20 in grade one. In addition, there were ten of 14 years of age, 12 of 13 years of age, 32 of 12 years of age, 21 of 11 years of age, and 52 of ten years of age of a total of 818 in grade one. Also, in grade two there were 20 students between the ages of 15 and 20, 11 of 14 years of age, 31 of 13 years of age, 37 of 12 years of age, 41 of 11 years of age and 71 of ten years of age of 410 pupils in grade two. Finally, in grade three there were 36 between 15 and 20 years of age, 34 of fourteen years of age, 39 of 13 years of age, 53 of 12 years of age, 54 of eleven years of age and 52 of ten years of age of 359 in grade three. No indication was given in this study of the possible reasons for school retardation.

In Manitoba there were more of these detailed retardation studies giving essentially the same kind of information although the age-grade discrepancies do not appear quite as great as in the Sheridan County study, possibly because the studies in Manitoba were all of urban rather than rural areas and because they were done a few years later. In any case even in the relatively advanced Winnipeg School Division in 1916[41] in grade one there were still six students between 15 and 18 years of age, one of 14 years of age, five of 13 years of age, four of 12 years of age, 12 of 11 years of age and 19 of 10 years of age of a total of 5,172 grade

---

[40] Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Dakota, 1912,

[41] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1915-16, p. 267.

one pupils. In grade two there were five students over 18 years of age, nine between 15 and 18 years of age, five of 14 years of age, 19 of 13 years of age, 43 of 12 years of age, 105 of 11 years of age, and 291 of ten years of age of a total of 5,550 grade two students. In grade three there were five over 18 years of age, 13 between 15 and 18 years of age, 35 of 14 years of age, 83 of 13 years of age, 185 of 12 years of age and 354 of 11 years of age of a total of 3,692 grade three pupils. Again, the figures provide some evidence here that many children of low ability were simply kept in the lower grades for their entire school stay. One cautionary note in interpreting these figures is that there were many immigrants arriving in both North Dakota and Manitoba during this era and some of these without the proper language facility were probably put into lower grades until their ability in the use of English developed.

Those who gathered the statistics on school retardation at the time gave little information on the causes of school retardation, although the provincial government stated in 1917 that the three most likely causes were "irregular attendance, incapacity on the part of the pupil, or defects in the course of study."[42] A major article in 1919 on the subject indicated that the outstanding causes of retardation were:

> (1) Irregularity of attendance, (2) Physical imperfections, (3) Over-crowded conditions in urban schools and (4) Failure or slowness to grasp the subject matter as presented by the teacher.[43]

The school systems of North Dakota and Manitoba were so bogged down with basic problems such as attendance, competent teachers, standardized curriculum, and in particular, the inequalities between urban and rural education, that the question of educating mentally deficient children

---

[42] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1917, p. 191.

[43] E. D. Parker, "Retardation," Western School Journal, Vol. XIV, 1919, p. 187.

was not a major issue in the first two decades of the twentieth century. It was only in the Winnipeg School Division where carefully enforced truancy laws and strong leadership resulted in the formation of a few special education classes.

No evidence was found that the public at large had any great concern about the mentally handicapped. The residents of North Dakota seemed to be satisfied that the mentally handicapped were cared for at the institution at Grafton, and the residents of Manitoba seemed satisfied that the mentally handicapped were safely housed at the institution at Portage la Prairie,[44] although a few leaders were calling for a new improved institution. In any case, North Dakota and Manitoba largely avoided the panic of the eugenic scare that affected the mentally handicapped in the large cities of the eastern United States and of Ontario. In retrospect, the mentally deficient child may well have been better off simply fitting into his society and school as best he could without the special focus that the eugenic alarm created.

---

[44]Please see Chapter Six of this dissertation for more information on the Grafton and Portage la Prairie institutions.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION OF MENTALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF NORTH DAKOTA AND MANITOBA FROM 1920 TO 1930

In this chapter the education of the mentally handicapped in the 1920's will be considered at a time when both regions registered several major advances.

IQ Testing

In North Dakota official documents such as Inspectors' reports and Superintendents' reports do not mention intelligence testing, but there were two theses[1] done on the subject in the 1920's. The Alpha IQ tests were first used in the American army during the First World War and later were made public and "used in a great number of schools throughout the country."[2] Both theses deal more with the theories of IQ testing and teaching for individual differences, than with the realities of the situation in North Dakota schools; these theses do not provide detailed statistics on the number of feele-minded children that were discovered through the use of the tests.

Nevertheless, both theses do reveal that although IQ testing was done throughout many North Dakota schools, the importance placed on the results was not so great as in much of the rest of the country. The Sweetland thesis done in 1923 and based on a questionnaire sent to a

---

[1] Tracy A. Sweetland, "The Diagnosis And Treatment of Individual Differences in School Children" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of North Dakota, 1923), and, Walter J. Swensen, "Intelligence Tests As An Aid In School Administration" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of North Dakota, 1925).

[2] Swensen, "Intelligence Tests," p. 8.

wide variety of schools in North Dakota determined that teachers' estimates were first in importance in determining individual differences, pupils' records were second in importance, and intelligence tests were third, only slightly ahead of regular standardized tests.

In Manitoba, intelligence testing was used extensively. The first move in this direction was the appointment of Dr. Alvin T. Mathers to head the Psychopathic Department of the Juvenile Court.[3] Dr. Mathers seems to have been hired primarily to do intelligence testing, and he did not take long to begin his work for F. W. McKinnon, the head of the Industrial Training School at Portage la Prairie, reported in 1919 that:

> Dr. Mathers . . . visited the school and examined all our boys. He reports that we have five cases that are suitable for a school for feeble-minded, 29 subnormal, 40 normal and 9 supernormal boys in our school.[4]

By June of 1920 over 200 delinquent youth had been examined by Dr. Mathers and of these:

> 97 were found to be subnormal; 14 morons; 5 borderline cases; 70 mentally normal and 14 supernormal - 35 of the 111 constituting the subnormal and moron group require care in an Institution for the Feeble-minded.[5]

There is no indication that this sorting process was used to any benefit in the reform and education of these youths and the result may only have been to give the officials an interesting toy and the children a hurtful label.

The Winnipeg School Division also began intelligence testing in 1920, Superintendent McIntyre reported:

---

[3] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1918-19, p. 118.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1919-20, p. 123.

Towards the close of the second term steps were taken to systemize and place on a scientific basis the organization of the special classes for subnormal pupils and for this purpose Miss M. Bere was appointed to the Department of Superintendence as Specialist in Intelligence Tests and Educational Measurements.[6]

During her first year Miss Bere tested 556 children whose progress in school was not satisfactory. The results were:

Grades of Intelligence[7]

I.Q. Below 25	0
I.Q. 25-50	17
I.Q. 50-70 Moron	119
I.Q. 70-80 Borderline	172
I.Q. 80-90 Normal - of poor ability	171
I.Q. 90-100 Normal - of good ability	68
I.Q. Above 100 Super-normal	9
Total	556

In the school year 1921-22 a further 327 intelligence tests were given with the following results:

Psychologists Report[8]

Grades of Intelligence

25-50	9
50-69 Moron	94
70-79 Borderline	114
80-89 Normal of poor ability	83
90-100 Normal of good ability	24
Above 100 Super-normal	3

Largely because of this testing, the number of special classes for subnormal children was expanded to 16 in the Winnipeg School Division in the school year 1921-22.[9]

---

[6] Ibid., p. 110.

[7] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1920-21, p. 11.

[8] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1921-22, p. 111.

[9] Ibid., 1921-22, p. 113.

Intelligence testing was also given a boost throughout the rest of the province when the recently formed (1919) Manitoba Teachers' Federation sponsored lectures by a Dr. Haggerty in the summer of 1923 on Measurements and Organization emphasizing intelligence testing.[10] An article on the course in the June 1923 Teachers' Federation Bulletin stated that:

> Dr. Haggerty's course will doubtless give an impetus to testing in Manitoba and it is hoped that his lectures will be preserved (for) . . . all members of the Federation.[11]

Children's Code Commission, North Dakota

The legislature of North Dakota established a Children's Code Commission in 1921 to study the social conditions touching upon all aspects of the welfare of children and to recommend changes in existing laws and conditions. The farsighted and enlightened Report was released in 1922.

Several aspects of the Report dealt with the feeble-minded. The philosophy towards the feeble-minded revealed in the Report was much as exists today and far ahead of the national prevailing attitudes of the early 1920's.[12] In contrast the Children's Code Commission Report stated that:

> Custodial care in institutions for feeble-minded children should not be resorted to until after due consideration of the possibility of adjustment within the community.[13]

---

[10] Manitoba Teachers' Federation Bulletin, Vol. V, June, 1923, p. 404.

[11] P.G.P., "The Use of Standard Tests," Manitoba Teachers' Federation Bulletin," Vol. V, June, 1923, p. 402.

[12] Please see pp. 27-36 of chapter two for detailed discussion of the prevailing national attitude towards the feeble-minded.

[13] Report of Children's Code Commission, State of North Dakota, 1922, p. 34.

And further:

> Emphasis is placed now upon the care of handicapped children outside of institutions where possible. Hence the need for effort to adjust the child to his environment.[14]

As to the education of the feeble-minded the Report stated:

> Great stress is laid upon the provision for special classes in schools with properly trained teachers and adequate equipment for the handicapped children.[15]

The Commission discovered only three ungraded rooms[16] in the whole state provided for those seriously behind in their grades. However, they did feel, "that there is considerable sentiment in the state for special classes"[17] and they left this matter to each county to handle as the Commission felt no special legislation on this matter was necessary.

It is difficult to judge just how influential this report was in the education of feeble-minded children, but later in this chapter it will be seen that several special classes were begun throughout the state in the next few years.

School Retardation

There were three major retardation studies done in the 1920's in North Dakota and Manitoba, one by the Winnipeg School Division in 1921, a thesis by Marie Jacobson[18] based on three townships in Richmond County

---

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., p. 36.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Marie Josephine Jacobson, "Intelligence and Achievement Test Survey of Grades Four to Eight Inclusive of Three Townships in Richmond County" (unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1928).

of North Dakota in 1928, and a thesis by David Tingum[19] based on eight counties in North Dakota in 1930.

The Winnipeg School Division study of 1921 revealed primarily that there were fewer children of a high age in the lower grades than in the retardation study of 1916.[20] The figures are: in grade one of a total of 3,882 pupils, there were two students of 15 years of age, two of 14 years of age, 13 of 13 years of age, and three of 12 years of age; in grade two of 4,377 pupils there were two of 15 years of age, five of 14 years of age, 14 of 13 years of age, and 29 of 12 years of age; and in grade three of 4,030 pupils there were one of 17 years of age, one of 15 years of age, 20 of 14 years of age. The decrease of grossly average pupils in the lower grades can only in part be accounted for by special classes for it was not until 1922 that there was a major increase in special classes,[21] and may best be explained by a more relaxed attitude to passing children from one grade level to another. In any case, it might have been beneficial for the slow student to be moved along through the grades even if he had difficulty learning, rather than sitting each year in the same grade becoming more and more embarrassed about the discrepancy in age and size between himself and the others in the class.

---

[19]David Olaf Tingum, "A Study of Age Grade Distribution In North Dakota to Determine Acceleration and Retardation" (unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1930).

[20]Please see p. 63 of Chapter Three for information on the retardation study done in the Winnipeg School Division in 1916.

[21]Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1921-22, p. 113.

Three important features concerning the education of the mantally handicapped in North Dakota are revealed in the Jacobson and Tingum theses. Firstly, both theses showed that there were very few children more than two years school retarded, that is, more than two years behind their normal grade level.[22] Thus the practice of passing children from one grade to the next, even if they did not meet all the academic requirements, was well established by 1930.

Secondly, both theses also agreed that there was much more school retardation in one-room schools than in larger consolidated schools.[23] Jacobson suggested that the reasons for this discrepancy may well have been:

> irregular attendance due to distance from school, or demands of farm work . . . . Also, most one-room schools have a shorter school year than the larger schools.[24]

Thirdly, Jacobson went into each school and spent one-half day administering national IQ tests to all children, and the results were amazing. Jacobson found that there were 26 children out of a total of 294 of below 50 IQ in grades four to eight.[25] Further, there were a total of seven children in grades four and five of below 30 IQ.[26] Normally, today, children of below 30 IQ on any reputable national intelligence test would be suffering from serious injury or defect such

---

[22]Jacobson, "Intelligence and Achievement," p. 11, and Tingum, "Acceleration and Retardation," p. 30.

[23]Jacobson, "Intelligence and Achievement," p. 14, and Tingum, "Acceleration and Retardation, p. 62.

[24]Jacobson, "Intelligence and Achievement,", p. 13.

[25]Ibid., p. 18.

[26]Ibid.

as microenchephaly, Down's syndrome, hydroencephaly, or combination problems such as cerebral palsy and visual or hearing difficulties, and such children can only be in special classes in school and certainly not in a regular grade four or five. There were also 13 children between 50 and 60 IQ and 27 children between 60 and 70 IQ spread over the five grades from four to eight.[27] Although some of the children may have scored below the level of their potential intelligence, particularly if they could not read at the level of the test being administered, the figures nevertheless give us an indication that a considerable number of mentally handicapped children were being accommodated in school despite the lack of special classes or specially trained teachers.

Ability Grouping

The trend of intelligence testing led to ability groupings in the classroom. The first official statement on the subject in North Dakota came in the 1928 revisions to the Elementary Course of Study: "For most of this work, the pupils should be divided into three groups, A, B, and C based on ability."[28] However, whatever the official version, the thesis on individual differences by Tracy Sweetland revealed that some teachers had been dividing their classes into A and B Groups since the early 1920's.[29] The Swenson thesis revealed that 28 schools reported sectioning grades in 1925[30] although it was not clear how many sections were being used in each class.[31]

---

[27] Ibid.

[28] North Dakota, Elementary Course of Study, With Suggested Daily Programs and Organization For Rural Schools, published by the Department of Public Instruction, State of North Dakota.

[29] Sweetland, "Individual Differences," p. 31.

[30] Swensen, "Intelligence Tests," p. 39.

[31] Ibid.

In Manitoba the Superintendents of both the Winnipeg and Brandon school divisions, officially commented on grouping in 1926. Brandon Superintendent T. A. Neelin stated in his annual report that, "The grading and grouping of our pupils into 'Speed Groups' or classes in which the individuals were reasonably uniform in ability"[32] was one of the major objectives during the year.

Dr. McIntyre of the Winnipeg School Division supported the theory of grouping because he felt that:

> brighter students working together are not retarded by the rate of progress of their lower class-mates, (and) the backward student is cared for and not overlooked in the demands made on the teachers by the keener student who wishes to hurry forward.[33]

In fact, he stated:

> the practice has now become fairly well established of classifying pupils into approximately homogeneous groups. In schools where the number of pupils in the same grade is sufficiently large, whole classes are made up of pupils of about the same ability, in other cases two or three groups of pupils may be made with one class.[34]

An article in the Manitoba Teacher in May 1927[35] further indicated that grouping of children may have been occurring for some time even in rural centres. Emma Whitmore, a grade one teacher in Dauphin, Manitoba, wrote that:

> For the past three and a half years I have been using mental tests for grouping my beginners, and have found them a great help.[36]

---

[32] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1925-26, p. 72.

[33] Ibid., p. 80.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Emma Whitmore, "Mental Tests For Grouping Beginners," The Manitoba Teacher, Vol. IX, May 1927, p. 31.

[36] Ibid.

It is interesting that teacher Whitmore thought there was no doubt about the value of this grouping procedure:

> I think all who have ever taught beginners will agree that the sooner a child is placed in his or her right group the better for the child. If not the bright child is not given enough interesting work to do, and the slow child is asked to do work beyond his ability, and both are apt to become discouraged and dislike school.[37]

Despite the fact that it was the Detroit Kindergarten test which she used to "divide the class into three groups, above average, average, and below average,"[38] a test that might well be inappropriate for rural Manitoba children, there seemed to be no doubt in teacher Whitmore's mind about the efficacy of the test in dividing children.

In 1928 the Department of Education in the province of Manitoba made its first formal statement on the grouping of pupils in the long awaited revision of the School Curriculum and Teachers' Guide Grades I-VI. Although the curriculum guide supported ability grouping where that was feasible, the primary concern seemed to be that "There is a temptation when this practice (grouping of pupils) is followed for the teacher to ignore individual differences."[39] The commentary went on to emphasize that the groups should be flexible and change according to the work to be done and that considerable time should be left for pupils to pursue individual pursuits. The suggestions made in the curriculum guide appear modern and would seem to benefit the slow child for he would not be stuck in his slow group for all activities in school.

---

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] School Curriculum and Teachers' Guide Grades I-VI, Province of Manitoba, 1928, published by the Department of Education, Province of Manitoba.

In conclusion, although ability grouping was in general use in the urban areas of North Dakota and Manitoba by 1930, it should not be forgotten that most of North Dakota and much of Manitoba were still dominated by rural one-room or small schools where ability grouping was not feasible.

Special Classes

Pressures were building for special classes in the early 1930's in North Dakota in the urban centres. Compulsory attendance laws had been reasonably effective since 1916;[40] intelligence testing and the sorting of children according to ability was beginning to be practised;[41] the Children's Code Commission had recommended the introduction of special classes,[42] and there was a state wide enumeration of the number of feeble-minded of school age present in society.

The enumeration of the feeble-minded was first presented in 1922 in the Seventeenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. The enumeration revealed that 198 feeble-minded children were present in the various counties of North Dakota.[43] Allowing for the fact that many feeble-minded children were in residence at the State School at Grafton, this figure still seems very low. There is no explanation in the report as to how these feeble-minded were discovered and

---

[40] Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Dakota, 1916, p. 95.

[41] Please see the section on intelligence testing in this chapter.

[42] Report of Children's Code Commission, State of North Dakota, 1922, p. 34.

[43] Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Dakota, 1922, p. 33.

what criteria were used to distinguish this group, but it is possible that in the survey parents were left to declare whether their child was feeble-minded and thus many children who might have been declared feeble-minded as a result of IQ tests would be left unregistered. In any case, of a total of 125 deaf and dumb, 21 blind, and 198 feeble-minded, 140 of these handicapped children were present in school.[44]

Information on special classes for the feeble-minded was difficult to obtain. The Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction in North Dakota deteriorated to a compilation of statistics after 1920 with no statements of any consequence by either the State Superintendent or any of the county superintendents. Inspectors' reports were always meagre documents in North Dakota, and thus there are no official educational documents indicating the beginning of special classes in North Dakota. However, the Report of the Children's Code Commission of 1922 did indicate the beginning of separate classrooms for slow learners:

> In only three cities of the state was an ungraded room provided in the public school system for children seriously behind in their grades, but there has been no appropriation for this class of work.[45]

The Report gave no indication of which three cities are referred to in their statement.

In a thesis by David Williams on "Slow-Learners In The Grand Forks Elementary Schools"[46] done in 1938, further information on the development of special classes was provided. In arguing for special

---

[44] Ibid.

[45] Children's Code Commission, 1922, p. 36.

[46] David A. Williams, "Slow Learners In The Grand Forks Elementary Schools" (unpublished M. S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1938).

classes in Grand Forks elementary schools, Williams stated that Bismarck, Fargo, and Jamestown had made such provisions by 1938. An inquiry to the Director of Special Education for North Dakota revealed only that "I do not have any information in print relative to education of slow-learning children prior to 1951."[47]

However, letters to officials and retired teachers in Bismarck, Fargo and Jamestown were more productive.

Robert P. Miller, Superintendent of Bismarck Public Schools, stated that "Our records show that the first 'Opportunity Room' was set up in the 1926-27 school year,"[48] with another class added in 1930. Mr. Miller added that one of the teachers associated with special education in the 1930's, a Miss Rita Rene, stated that the children in these rooms ranged in age from 7 to 14 with the main emphasis in teaching "on remedial reading, math and crafts."[49]

James Tronsgard, Director of Special Services, for Fargo Public Schools reviewed the development of special classes in Fargo. The school board voted to establish special classes on each side of town on May 6, 1926. Subsequently, one classroom was opened in September of 1926 with two more following in September of 1927. Unfortunately, however, all three classes were dissolved with the beginning of the depression in 1929. Mr. Tronsgard stated that there are no records on file that would describe the content of these early special education classes but:

> I would speculate that these classes were self-contained programs designed for some educable retarded, but more likely consisted of slow learners and students whose behaviours were disrupted [sic] in the regular classrooms.[50]

---

[47]Janet M. Smaltz, in a letter to the author on December 9, 1974.

[48]Robert P. Miller, in a letter to the author on January 29, 1975.

[49]Ibid.

[50]James Tronsgard, in a letter to the author on January 15, 1975.

Mr. William Gussner, a former Superintendent of Schools in Jamestown, indicated that the Jamestown School Board discussed the needs of mentally handicapped children in 1925-26 and established the first special classroom one year later. Further, "It was continued until the time of the depression when a lack of funds caused it to be closed."[51] Mr. Gussner stated that:

> It was known as the special room. The purpose was to help students who were being retained from 2 to 4 years in the same grade. The room also provided a more sympathetic atmosphere for pupils with learning difficulties.[52]

It appears that these special classrooms contained a variety of children, and possibly a variety of age levels. The teachers must have designed their own curriculum for the program of studies released by State Superintendent, Minnie Nielsen, in 1921, contained no provisions for slow learning children.[53]

In Manitoba, the Winnipeg School Division had had special classes since 1913, but a major expansion of classes did not occur until 1922 as a direct result of the intelligence testing of Psychologist, Miss M. Bere:[54]

> Under the classification made on the basis of the Psychologist's examination of this and the preceding years, sixteen special classes were conducted for subnormal children. The work in these classes is almost entirely individual and a very earnest attempt has been made to adapt the instruction to the varying capacities of the children.

---

[51] William Gussner, in a letter to the author on January 18, 1975.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Course of Study For The Common and Graded Schools of North Dakota, published by North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, 1921 edition.

[54] Please see the section on intelligence testing in this chapter.

> There is at present no supply of specially trained teachers for this work. For the most part they are chosen from the ordinary grades on the ground of sympathy with children of this class and interest in the effort to adapt the school to their requirements. They are all earnest women who are endeavoring in every way to qualify themselves for the difficult work they have undertaken.[55]

By the 1925-26 school year the Winnipeg School Division had 293 children grouped in special classes.[56] Of these children 94 had a mental co-efficient of under 60, 84 a co-efficient under 70 and 124 under 80, while 31 ranged from 80 to 85.[57] The Winnipeg Division was still complaining that there were feeble-minded children in school who should clearly have been in institutions, and in the school year 1927-28 they received "a special grant for transportation and instruction of these children"[58] so that they might be brought together and given some occupational training but primarily "supervision and suitable environment during their early years so that they may in later life become fairly useful inmates of institutions."[59]

Although Brandon considered the idea of special classes before 1920, Brandon School Division did not actually create such a class until the school year 1927-28. There is no mention of this backward class in official school records but the first teacher of this class, Amy E. Johnston, wrote an article on the subject in the Manitoba Teacher[60]

---

[55] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1921-22, p. 113.

[56] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1925-26, p. 79.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1927-28, p. 109.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Amy E. Johnston, "The Teaching of Mentally-Retarded Children," The Manitoba Teacher, Vol. X, Nov. 1927.

in November of 1927. Teacher Johnston stated that there were 21 pupils in the class:

> chosen because of their low standing in former grades. The idea of organizing this class is to see if by taking these pupils away from the normal pupils of their age and grade and giving them special attention, they will make better progress.[61]

Thus oral work had to be stressed more than in average class with "great care being taken to pronunciation and articulation."[62]

Teacher Johnston attempted to teach the regular subjects but stated some of the variations necessary in the regular classroom. She had only taught this class for a couple of months so much of what she wrote was evidently not from practical experience but rather from ideas acquired at a session of the World Education Conference held in Toronto in August of 1927.[63] As to reading:

> The majority of these backward children are poor readers; most of them do not get the meaning of the printed word. In this subject the work is very slow, and much time has to be given to the grouping of phrases and punctuation.[64]

As to arithmetic:

> The solving of problems is beyond them, and as we are trying to teach these children things that will be of some use to them in later life, mechanical arithmetic has to be stressed. This work includes the tables, multiplication, and commercial forms.[65]

Spelling was restricted to "The simple words needed in every day life."[66] History and geography were taught but very largely done orally, "Stories

---

[61] Ibid., p. 7.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

of peoples and occupations will be eagerly received, and pictures will be a great help."[67] As to handwork, teacher Johnston felt that:

> As a rule these backward or mentally handicapped children did handwork just about the same as they did anything else.[68]

However, for those who express an interest:

> We must try to give work which is interesting as well as helpful. For example, the making of the class scrap book and the designing of the cover might be one project.[69]

Finally, teacher Johnston did not see this class as a terminal placement and expected that these children will be promoted even if they are somewhat behind for:

> He will certainly get something from the grade and with extra help may make progress, whereas, if he is kept back he becomes discouraged and loses interest.[70]

The next centre in Manitoba to create a special class for slow children was the small railway city of Transcona. Inspector R. Goulet reported that during the 1929-30 school year:

> In the Central School in Transcona a teacher has charge of a class of subnormal pupils who require special and individual attention. Miss M. Hurst, who teaches in this room, is doing very good work with boys and girls whose ages range from seven to thirteen and who are in grades I to III.[71]

The author contacted Miss Edith Nevens who taught in Central School with Miss Hurst, and she reported that originally there were 28 children in the class. Also, regular classes at that time were as high as 40 to 45

---

[67] Ibid., p. 8.

[68] Ibid., p. 7.

[69] Ibid., p. 8.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1929-30, p. 85.

children and there were some children teachers could simply not cope with; thus the creation of the special class. She stated that "you couldn't explain how bad they were,"[72] meaning how difficult they were to work with because of low intelligence. Miss Nevens also stated that some parents did not approve of this special class because of the stigma attached to being in a classroom for slow learning pupils.

The Department of Education in Manitoba did not get around to commenting on special classes until the school year of 1938-39 when a few paragraphs on the subject were included in the new School Curriculum and Teacher's Guide, Grades I-VI. As no detailed curriculum was provided for special classes, a great deal was left to the teacher:

> For mentally deficients special teachers and classrooms should be provided, and suitable activities by specialists. In a rural school a teacher is often practically compelled to receive an unfortunate pupil. She should give hand-work and see that the play period is used profitably, but should expect little progress in the ordinary school studies. The regular pupils may be taught to deal kindly with the feebleminded. Their presence in school need not be wholly a misfortune.[73]

This paragraph does not really provide much guidance for the teacher of slow children, and is particularly limited in advice for teachers of slow children in rural areas. The only further guidelines were not much more helpful:

> Even at best she (the teacher) will find some minds that move slowly. She must allow for this (1) by proceeding slowly (2) by having repetitions (3) by encouraging competitions (4) by introducing permissible devices to secure interest (5) by encouraging self-expression.[74]

---

[72]Edith Nevens, telephone conversation with the author, May, 1975.

[73]"Meeting The Needs of Special Classes," School Curriculum and Teacher's Guide, Grades I-IV, Province of Manitoba, 1928, p. 13.

[74]Ibid.

One might wonder particularly about the advice encouraging competitions for surely slow children face enough failures in life without organized events to further downgrade their self-image. The curriculum guide did encourage the use of projects for slow children and if all else fails the concluding thought that, "Study is not everything in life."[75]

The trend towards special classes in North Dakota and Manitoba in the 1920's was not without controversy. Henry J. Humpstone, a professor of psychology at the University of North Dakota was generally in favor of special classes:

> This separation should be made as general as possible and as early in the school life as it is possible in order that the bright and the average children may not be handicapt (sic) by having the feebleminded and the different in the classes with them.[76]

However, he insisted that these children do not have:

> the kind of ability to do intellectual work, we need a revision of our school curriculum. We should provide . . . instruction that would be within the range of their ability. Thus it would become useful instead of useless, interesting instead of boresome, successful instead of a miserable failure.[77]

Humpstone was expressing the predominant national attitude of leading educators and psychologists when he suggested that the feeble-minded should be segregated in order not to interfere with normal children. However, one can scarcely argue with his criticism of the curriculum as being ill-designed for the feeble-minded.

In Manitoba, too, there was support for special classes and again one of the main arguments was the way in which slow children were holding back the brighter when they were all in the same classroom:

---

[75] Ibid.

[76] Henry J. Humpstone, "The Care of Dependent Children," The Quarterly Journal, Vol. XIII, October, 1922, p. 8.

[78] Ibid.

> Still the lock-step controls; and not only our bright, but even our average pupils, are held back while the teacher drills the slowest, in a disheartening struggle to 'keep them up to grade' . . . . To our mind this waste and injustice is the gravest problem of education today. The hope of the nation rests on its normal children, and even more on its gifted children and these our most valuable assets are the ones neglected and wasted. If the futile attempt to keep the dull in step with the bright were abandoned, the efficiency of the school could be advanced fifty per cent.[78]

The same author expected only the minimum from these slow children:

> Such a child should be made as comfortable and happy as possible, given such work as he shows ability to master; and no suggestion of inferiority or deficiency should be allowed. This work is - well, his own work. He will delight in routine work, rule of thumb work, monotonous work which would drive a bright child into rebellion.[79]

Another article of the period objected to the emphasis being placed on developing special classes for the defective child rather than for bright children. In responses to a call by Dr. Bere, Psychologist of the Winnipeg School Division, for special classes for the abnormal, the editors of The Western School Journal responded:

> No doubt the deficient child is a thorn and detriment to the average, just as the ordinary child is a drag and a weight on the gifted child. It would therefore appear that two new types of special classes are needed and that Dr. Bere is raising the question at the wrong end. The defective child is perhaps as dear to the parent as the normal or the gifted; but no one can claim that he is equally a national asset.[80]

Whatever the disagreements, the 1920's saw the development of new special education classes in Fargo, Bismarck and Jamestown in North Dakota, the development of additional classes in Winnipeg and new special classes in Brandon and Transcona in Manitoba.

---

[78] G.W.G. "The New Program," The Western School Journal, Vol. XXII, 1927, p. 348.

[79] Ibid.

[80] "Rural School Section," The Western School Journal, Vol. XXII, 1927, p. 150.

The 1920's began with a surge of intelligence testing in the major centres of both North Dakota and Manitoba which resulted in ability grouping in regular classes and the creation of special classes for the mentally handicapped in most of the major centres by the end of the decade. However, most of North Dakota and much of Manitoba were still rural with one-room or small schools where grouping and special classes were not feasible. In these settings slow learning and mentally handicapped children continued to cope with school as best they could, unlabelled and unsegregated.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION OF MENTALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF NORTH DAKOTA AND MANITOBA IN THE 1930's

During the first part of the depression budget cutting in education was the order of the day and several special education programs begun earlier were cut back or eliminated. After 1935, however, there was some increase in special classes at the elementary level and new provisions for slow learning and mentally handicapped children at the secondary level. In any case we shall see before the end of the chapter that mentally handicapped children may well have received the best education where no special programs were provided - in the rural ungraded school.

Depression

The depression seriously threatened the continuation of good education in the state of North Dakota. In an article entitled "The Present Crisis" in the North Dakota Teacher in November of 1931 Larimore County Superintendent, W. E. Lillo, stated the gist of the problem:

> The income of the state depends absolutely upon farm income. At the present time farm income has, in many instances, practically disappeared. (There are many farmers in the State who would have been money ahead if they had never planted their fields last year.) Loss of income renders the tax burden unduly oppressive. Over one-third of that burden is school expense."[1]

By the opening of the 1933 fall school terms school districts in forty North Dakota counties had a combined deficit of over $1,300,000. As a result, some school districts either cut their school year or closed

---

[1]W. E. Lillo, "The Present Crisis," The North Dakota Teacher, Vol. X, Nov, 1931, p. 7.

schools entirely leaving many children without an opportunity to receive an education. Donald Holand writing in the North Dakota Teacher in April, 1934, stated:

> May I illustrate the tragedy? In a particular family living not far from Grand Forks there are six children of school age. Not one of them is in attendance. Because the neighboring schools have closed, theirs is over-crowded. They are permitted to remain at home. The only instruction they receive comes from the father who can scarcely name the letters of the alphabet.[2]

Financial burdens were passed on to the teacher, "salaries cut, sometimes teachers paid in script, everywhere the teacher load increased."[3] School boards were not greatly concerned with obtaining qualified teachers and in fact in one North Dakota county "the School Board put out a list of minimum requirements, advertised for bids, and auctioned off the jobs!"[4] A cartoon in the North Dakota Teacher in December of

---

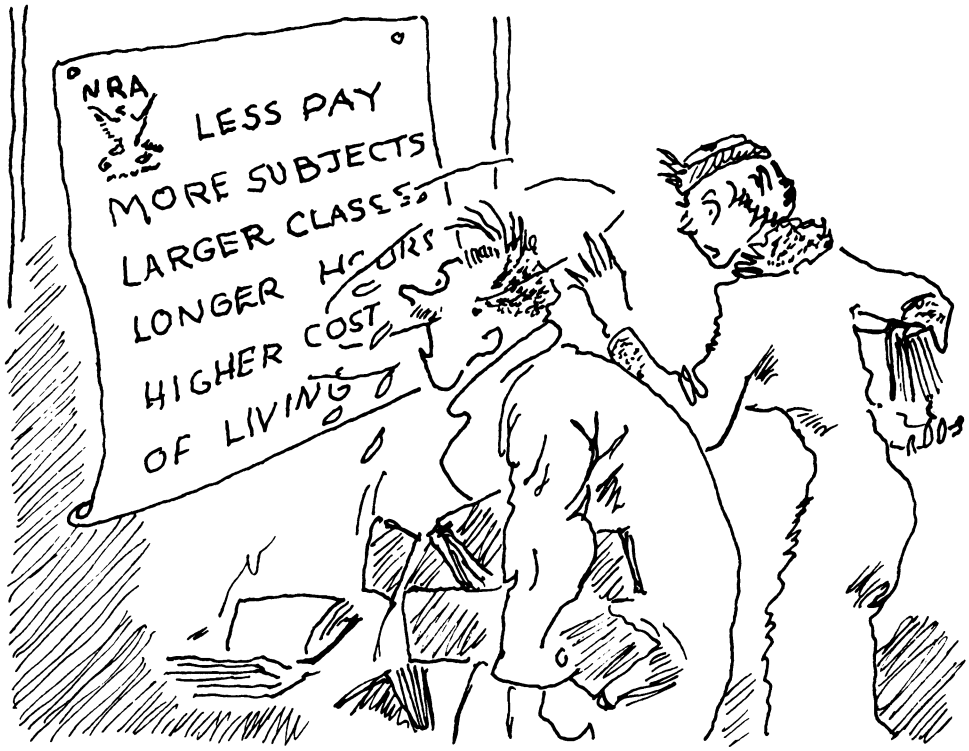
[2]Donald Holand, "The Educational Crisis," The North Dakota Teacher, Vol. XIII, Apr.-May, 1934, p. 15.

[3]J. W. Crabtree, "Where Are The Children," The North Dakota Teacher, Vol. XI, Jan., 1932, p. 18.

[4]Donald Holand, "The Educational Crisis," The North Dakota Teacher, Vol. XIII, Apr.-May, 1934, p. 16.

clearly portrayed the situation for teachers:[5]

Is This the New Deal for Teachers?



The argument "to knock the props out of education"[6] in order to save tax money, as one North Dakota senator suggested, undoubtedly had much public support, but those concerned with quality education resisted as best they could. Superintendent Lillo of Larimore county suggested that teachers meet with Principals and Superintendents in each county to make willing cuts in the budget before the school boards made the choices for them.[7] Carl Birkelo of Mayville, North Dakota, writing in the North

---

[5]Cartoon, "Is This the New Deal for Teachers?" The North Dakota Teacher, Vol. XIII, Dec., 1933-Jan., 1934, p. 8.

[6]Donald Holand, "The Educational Crisis," The North Dakota Teacher, Vol. XIII, Apr.-May, 1934, p. 16.

[7]W. E. Lillo, "The Present Crisis," The North Dakota Teacher, Vol. X, Nov., 1931, p. 7.

Dakota Teacher in February of 1933, suggested that teachers willingly increase their class sizes and make cuts in physical equipment in an attempt to avoid reductions of teacher salaries.[8] However, an unnamed rural school teacher tried a different tactic with an emotional appeal to the public portraying the real victims of cutbacks in education:

> In the suburbs of a city
> All the schools were closed today,
> So the bill of depression
> Three thousand children pay.
> They've declared a moratorium
> On these helpless childless souls,
> Other things seemed more important
> Than the future manhood goals.
> What a cloud hangs o'er a nation!
> Days lost now can ne'er return.
> And three thousand children's chances
> In the great depression burn![9]

Such resistance may have helped but inevitably better funding of schools like everything else was dependent upon an upswing in the economy.

In any case, at a time when even the national Chamber of Commerce was calling for cuts in costs by limiting education to "the select few,"[10] limited new expenditures on programs for slow learning and mentally handicapped children would be expected.

Manitoba fared little better. In the five year period from 1930 to 1935 farm income in the province had been reduced from $100,000,000 to $40,000,000 while the average income of farmers had been reduced from

---

[8]Carl P. Birkelo, "School Cuts - for Better or for Worse," The North Dakota Teacher, Vol. XII, Feb.-Mar., 1933, p. 9.

[9]Donald Holand, "The Educational Crisis," The North Dakota Teacher, Vol. XIII, Apr.-May, 1934, p. 24.

[10]Ibid., p. 16.

$1,900 to $800.[11] The resulting reduction in expenditures on education by the government, municipalities, and school districts was from $13,000,000 in 1930 to $8,000,000 in 135.[12]

In Manitoba few schools actually closed, largely as a result of special grants from the Department of Education,[13] but many rural schools were forced to cut their school year from ten to eight months, particularly in 1933-34.[14] Further, many outlying schools faced serious difficulties because of a "Lack of textbooks and equipment."[15] Although schools were open many children still were not able to attend:

> Some children were out of school during the colder weather for lack of proper clothing and some could not purchase the books and supplies necessary for their work.[16]

As in North Dakota the situation became increasingly more desperate for teachers as the depression continued.[17] By 1933 there was a large surplus of teachers and school boards seemed willing to secure a teacher at the lowest possible salary irrespective of past experience or other qualifications.[18] In fact, one inspector reported in 1933 that "'I will accept any salary you are willing to offer' is becoming a frequent phrase in teachers' applications for positions."[19]

---

[11] John Bracken, "Address to the Manitoba Education Association," The Western School Journal, Vol. XXX, 1935, p. 169.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Report of the Department of Education, Province of Manitoba, 1932-33, p. 23.

[14] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1933-34, p. 63.

[15] Ibid., p. 39.

[16] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1932-33, p. 20.

[17] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1933-34, p. 25.

[18] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1931-32, p. 15.

[19] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1932-33, p. 22.

As in North Dakota when crisis prevailed the public lost its enthusiasm for education as Andrew Moore, Inspector of Secondary Schools, pointed out in his report of 1931-32:

> Perhaps the most serious aspect of this whole situation is that the attitude of mind of the average parent appears to have undergone a radical change. A generation ago in this country parents were prepared to sacrifice most anything to provide their children with the best possible in education. Today, the majority of the parents are prepared to begin with the school when economy must be practised.[20]

Teachers responded to this new attitude, to their lack of supplies and lessening of salaries, with a dedication that in retrospect seems beyond the call of duty. Inspectors reports throughout the depression are filled with such as the following: "I cannot speak too highly of the zeal and enthusiasm with which the teachers generally have faced the difficulties of the last few years;"[21] "Too much praise cannot be given to the teachers, who, though handicapped by the lowering of salaries and reduced equipment, have carried on the work of the schools so energetically and faithfully;"[22] and:

> Of my teachers I cannot report too highly. Some day when the history of this period through which we are passing is written, I hope that the work of the teachers will be properly recorded. Seldom do they complain, but on the other hand we find them bright and optimistic and rendering real service in this time of need and stress.[23]

Manitoba schools still had good teachers, but as in North Dakota few benefits for the slow learning and mentally handicapped in this period of extreme crisis can be expected.

---

[20] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1930-31, p. 86.

[21] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1932-33, p. 23.

[22] Ibid., p. 20.

[23] Report, Department of Education, 1933-34, p. 25.

School Retardation

There were fewer retardation studies in North Dakota and Manitoba done in the 1930's than in earlier years, but most of those that were done included some discussion of causes, and often recognition of the fact that the school retarded usually came from the less favored in society.

In North Dakota David A. Williams did a thesis in 1938 on slow learners in the elementary schools in Grand Forks and included a section on retardation.[24] After considering a variety of factors, Williams concluded that 48 of the school retarded children in Grand Forks elementary schools were candidates for special classes. Williams went beyond earlier studies by attempting to describe the background of the slow learners he had selected. Of the 48 children:

> It was found that the fathers of twenty-one of the children were working on P.W.A. and four others had very poor economic situations. Thirty-one of the children were considered to be living in fair or average homes and community centres. Seventeen of the children were living in homes that were considered as below average and in a poor community. Thirteen of the children had broken homes, eleven had delinquent family records, and six of the families spoke a foreign language in the home.[25]

Another thesis done in 1941[26] studied 35 average pupils in one junior high school in Grand Forks who were two or more years below their normal age grade level.[27] Trueblood, too, described the background of the students:

---

[24]David A. Williams, "Slow Learners in Grand Forks Schools" (unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1938).

[25]Ibid., p. 29.

[26]This thesis was included even though it appeared after the period of study of this dissertation because the period under study in the thesis was largely prior to 1940.

[27]Roy R. Trueblood, "Case Study of Thirty-Five Overage Pupils in South Junior High School, Grand Forks, North Dakota" (unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1941).

> Only one pupil came from a home that was well off economically; all others came from homes that, from an economic viewpoint, were average or poor. One of the pupils came from a broken home.[28]

In Manitoba as well there was for the first time an attempt to deal with the causes of school retardation. Inspector G. W. Bartlett of a rural school district in Manitoba found that a startling 40 percent[29] of the student population was behind grade level or retarded in the school year 1935-36.[30] Inspector Bartlett considered some of the major reasons to be distance from school, health or physical defect, irregular attendance, poor attitudes to school by the children, and, failure of the teachers to make the curriculum vital to the pupil.[31]

A thesis done by Ivan Hamilton in 1935 on retardation in rural schools contained somewhat different conclusions.[32] Hamilton was very selective as to which children were considered school retarded and he found that only 10 percent were retarded at the elementary level and 23 percent at the secondary level.[33] Bartlett considered these percentages not out of line with figures in urban areas either in Manitoba or in other parts of North America and concluded that "The retardation of rural schools as a whole does not seem unduly great."[34]

---

[28] Ibid., p. 106.

[29] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1935-36, p. 73.

[30] Bartlett's figure of 40 percent school retarded may have been so high because he considered all children one year or more behind the grade level indicated by their age and did not adjust for other factors such as whether the child began school at a late age.

[31] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1935-36, p. 74.

[32] Ivan L. Hamilton, "The Extent and Cause of Retardation in The Schools of Rural Manitoba," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1935).

[33] Ibid., p. 13.

[34] Ibid., p. 56.

As to the causes of retardation Hamilton found that both attendance and distance from school were of some importance. He also verified the assumption that had always been made concerning retardation that, "Low mentality is one of the major causes of retardation"[35] and that "the degree of retardation increases as the ability of the group decreases."[36] Finally, Hamilton did agree with the other studies, that poor home conditions were closely related to school retardation:

> The poorly organized home, through lack of encouragement, poor food, weak discipline, and lack of suitable social and intellectual background, may influence a child adversely.[37]

At the turn of the century it was assumed that less able and school retarded children were the offspring of feeble-minded parents, but in the 1930's there was recognition by some that such children often were the products of poor living conditions.

Individual Differences and Ability Grouping

There was considerable emphasis in North Dakota and Manitoba given to teaching for individual differences in the 1930's, evidently because intelligence testing emphasized differences in the ability of children, and, because the "New Education or Progressive Education"[38] emphasized teaching for individual differences as shown by its slogan, "Each soul has its own rhythm."[39] Teaching for individual differences had been

---

[35] Ibid., p. 58.

[36] Ibid., p. 42.

[37] Ibid., p. 44.

[38] "Individual Differences," The Western School Journal, Vol. XXVII, 1932, p. 54.

[39] Ibid.

practised out of necessity for many years in the one-room and small schools of rural North Dakota and Manitoba, however, in the urban areas teaching for individual differences was most difficult to achieve and in practice was equated with ability grouping in most situations.

Andrew Berg promoted the idea of individual activity in his M.S. thesis done in 1929[40] and in an article in the North Dakota Teacher in 1930.[41] Berg suggested that rural schools had relied for too long on curriculums and programs designed for urban areas and a new plan was needed. Berg suggested that the rural school needed curriculums designed for individual activity for "there is no school better adapted to do individual work than the one room school."[42]

Another advocate of individual activity was H. H. Kirk, Superintendent of schools in Fargo. In an article in the North Dakota Teacher in December of 1937, Kirk argued against failing children because:

> The following year they sit in classes with smaller and younger pupils. They go over work from which the zest has all gone. They are subjected to the polite ridicule and sarcasm of their classmates if not of the teacher.[43]

Kirk concluded that individual activity in school was the only alternative:

> And so, the skillful teacher will, by means of maximum and minimum assignments, or by some equally effective means, so parcel out the work to a class that each member, regardless of his intelligence, will have tasks that will challenge him and make him feel important - tasks at which he can succeed.[44]

---

[40] Andrew Berg, "A Daily Program For The One Room Schools of North Dakota," (unpublished M.S. Thesis, University of North Dakota, 1929).

[41] A. C. Berg, "The Organization of Arithmetic Work in the One Room School," The North Dakota Teacher, Vol. IX, Jan., 1930.

[42] Berg, "Daily Program For One Room Schools," p. 10.

[43] H. H. Kirk, "Should Pupils Be Failed In Their School Work," North Dakota Teacher, Vol. XVIII, Dec., 1937.

[44] Ibid., p. 8.

One of the major responses to Superintendent Kirk's article by Lloyd E. Thorson, which appeared in the North Dakota Teacher in April of 1938,[45] assumed that the only way that such individual activity could occur was through ability grouping:

> then we should group according to ability, maintain a standard in accordance with that ability, and mark accordingly . . . . Group 1 - Would contain the A and B ranking students. Group 2 - Would contain the average students. Group 3 - would contain the D and F students.[46]

Mr. Thorson went on to explain that each group would be in a class of its own and in fact teachers would have to be trained according to the group they would teach.

There is no evidence that rigid ability grouping such as Thorson suggested was attempted in North Dakota prior to 1940, in fact, as stated earlier, most of the state was still dominated by small and one room schools where ability grouping in each grade was not feasible.

In Manitoba, too, there was considerable discussion of teaching for individual differences, although in Manitoba as well, for many this meant simply ability grouping.

In an article in The Western School Journal in February of 1931, entitled "The Left-Over Pupils," it was stated that "there should be at least three divisions in a room and only a few subjects should all be instructed together."[47] In another article in the same journal in 1932 under the heading "Individual Difference" much the same viewpoint was expressed.[48]

---

[45]Lloyd E. Thorson, "Ability Grouping - The Answer!," The North Dakota Teacher, Vol. XVIII, Apr., 1938.

[46]Ibid., p. 21.

[47]"The Left-Over Pupils," The Western School Journal, Vol. XXVI, 1931.

[48]"Individual Difference," The Western School Journal, Vol. XXVII, 1932.

In order to provide for individual differences "all the best are put in class A, all the moderate in B and all the weaklings in C."[49] However, the article concluded by stating that such a plan would only work in urban areas.

Winnipeg School Division did proceed with a plan for teaching for individual differences in the 1935-36 school year through large scale mental testing of children using the results for supposedly more accurate sorting of children into ability groups.[50] However in much of the remainder of the province such ability grouping was not feasible, and encouraged by the 1935 revision of the Department of Education curriculum guide,[51] other procedures were found for providing for individual differences. The curriculum guide contained the warning concerning the grouping of pupils that:

> In a city it is easily possible to place in a classroom only those who are measurably equal as to scholarship. There is a temptation when this practice is followed for the teacher to ignore individual differences.[52]

The guide suggested several ways of allowing for individual differences such as reserving part of the day for individual instruction, providing for topical assignments according to the abilities of individual pupils and by providing special drill and assistance for the weakest students.[53]

---

[49] Ibid., p. 55.

[50] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1935-36, p. 94.

[51] School Curriculum and Teachers' Guide Grades I-VI, Province of Manitoba, 1935.

[52] Ibid., p. 15.

[53] Ibid.

The guide also recognized clearly that rural areas face the opposite problem:

> There may be twenty pupils ranging from six years to sixteen, and in point of scholarship they may be so different as to make individual instruction almost necessary. Yet if this method is adopted fully, the younger pupils particularly will suffer from lack of direction.[54]

The guide suggested that several subjects such as drama, drawing and music might be done as a unit. Further, in this situation the teacher "becomes rather a director than an expositor."[55]

There was a new curriculum guide, renamed programme of studies, issued for Manitoba schools in 1939, and although it probably did not have much practical affect on the schools prior to 1940 it did indicate several major shifts in philosophy relating to individual differences and ability grouping. For example, the heading "The Grouping of Pupils" in the old curriculum guide was dropped entirely to be replaced by the heading "Individual Differences,"[56] in the new programme of studies. Further there was much more emphasis given to providing for low intelligence pupils. Unfortunately the programme of studies accepted the idea that intelligence tests clearly indicate the limits of the performance of the child: "Our teaching of low ability pupils indicates that little more can be expected than their rating in intelligence indicates."[57]

However despite this one weakness there were several suggestions made that may well have been beneficial for low ability children. The

---

[54] Ibid., p. 16.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Interim Programme of Studies for The Elementary School, Province of Manitoba, 1939, p. 19.

[57] Ibid., p. 20.

programme of studies suggested that if groups are used children be grouped differently for different subjects. This procedure had the advantage of allowing slower children to move out of the lowest group in at least one or two subjects.

Also, the slow child would probably benefit from the abandoning of the "grade-a-year" idea.[58] The programme of studies gave several strong arguments on this point:

> Children have proceeded with varied success and at different speeds in different subjects. Sometimes the variation has been marked . . . .
>
> The Curriculum Revision Committee feels that the "grade-a-year" plan is educationally unsound for many children, and has caused disappointment, grief, and personality loss. The Committee views education as a steady, continuous, unfolding and development process in the physical, mental, moral and spiritual lives of children and feels that it ought to be regarded as a serious educational fault to carry children at such a rate of speed over improperly presented or unsuitable subject matter so that at the end of the year some have to be turned back to begin over again as failures, while others, though going on to a new grade, have dallied over work so easy for them that they lost interest.[59]

Thus continuous progress in school was advocated very early in Manitoba.

It is not possible to judge whether teaching for individual differences and ability grouping was beneficial for slow learning children in North Dakota and Manitoba in the 1930's, however, it is clear that through most of these years the accepted theory was that such procedures should be used wherever the school was large enough.

---

[58] Ibid., p. 18.

[59] Ibid.

Special Classes

Special education classes did not fare well under the budget cuts caused by the great depression. In Fargo the three special classes that were opened in 1926 and 1927 were dissolved in 1929 because of retrenchment.[60] In Bismarck the situation was somewhat better as the "Opportunity Room" established in the 1926-27 school year was continued and another was added in 1930.[61] The special class for mentally handicapped pupils established in Jamestown in the school year 1927-28 was abandoned "at the time of the depression" due to "a lack of funds."[62] However as the depression began to wane this special class was again organized in 1937, but did undergo a name change. As parents objected to the room being designated for mentally handicapped children the name was changed to "The Ungraded Room" in the school year 1938-39.[63]

In Manitoba it was still only Winnipeg, Brandon and Transcona that had special classes in the 1930's.

In the school year that ended in June of 1930, 18 classes for children who were subnormal mentally were conducted at various centres in the city of Winnipeg. All of these children were admitted after being tested by the school psychiatrist and "nearly all children who are admitted being of not more than 80 per cent average intelligence."[64] Of these 18 classes, two, with an enrollment of 34, were for children of

---

[60] James Transgard, letter to the author on January 15, 1975.

[61] Robert P. Miller, letter to the author on January 29, 1975.

[62] William S. Gussner, letter to the author on January 18, 1975.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1929-30, p. 120.

less than 50 IQ and according to Winnipeg school officials "really institutional cases."[65] The remaining sixteen classes with an enrollment of 292:

> contain children who, while not being able to profit by the instruction given in an ordinary class, can, with the individual attention possible in a small class, do some or all of the academic work up to the standard of Grades IV and V, and perhaps even of Grade VI.[66]

However, as well as some regular academic work much of the time in these special classes "is devoted to various types of handwork in addition to the regular manual training for the boys and sewing for the girls."[67]

The situation of special classes in Winnipeg had not altered much by the end of the 1934-35 school year. There was an increase of one class for mentally defective children in a five-year period, that is, a total of 19 classes,[68] and, as before, two of these 19 classes were still occupational centres for children whose IQ was below 50.[69]

However in the school year 1935-36 a major campaign of psychometric testing and classifying was begun which resulted in a reclassification of special classes and a large increase in the number of classes.[70] The two occupational classes for children of below 50 IQ remained in tact throughout the 1930's and were little affected by the reorganization.[71] The

---

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1934-35, p. 100.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid., 1935-36, p. 94.

[71] Laura Doris Baker, "The Development of Special Educational Provisions For Exceptional Children In The City of Winnipeg," (unpublished Ed.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1967), p. 93.

special classes that were conducted for those of approximately 50 to 80 IQ were now labelled "Ungraded" classes and increased in number from 17 in the 1934-35 year to 33 in the 1937-38 school year.[72] The educational aim in these classes:

> is to provide the pupils with a course of study calculated best to develop their individual capacities. Work is largely individual in character and much handwork is introduced. At the same time every effort is made to develop as far as possible a reasonable proficiency in the fundamental academic skills. It is believed in this way that many of these young people may, in spite of rather serious handicaps, be trained to be self-supporting and useful members of society. It is important that such classes be small in size, probably not exceeding 24 pupils.[73]

In addition, in the 1935-36 school year, a new category of classes was provided, the "Opportunity" classes. During the school year the number of these classes increased from 0 to 19 and further increased to 37 at the beginning of the 1937-38 school year.[74] These "Opportunity" classes were for:

> pupils who have dropped behind their age group in academic achievement. While most of these are slower mentally than the average, some may be behind because of illness, poor attendance, lack of interest or other reasons. While some of these pupils will in time be fitted to return to the regular grade classes, most will pass to similar classes in the Junior High school. "Opportunity" classes should not contain more than 30 pupils.[75]

Pupils placed in these classes were from about 80 to 95 IQ or slow learners by modern definitions. Such classes usually had grouping of children from three grades such as grades one, two and three, or, grades four, five, and six.[76] By 1939 there were ten such opportunity classes in junior high

---

[72] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1936-37, p. 109.

[73] Ibid., p. 108.

[74] Ibid., p. 109.

[75] Ibid., p. 108.

[76] Baker, "Special Education In The City of Winnipeg," p. 106.

schools as well[77] but further commentary on this aspect will be made later in the chapter.

The Brandon School Division had three "helping rooms" by the school year 1931-32.[78] Evidently these rooms served a dual purpose; some of the children were mentally retarded and became permanent residents in these rooms but another group of from "25 to 50% of these pupils were returned to their regular grades at close of the school year."[79] It was admitted that some in this latter group:

> may have to return to the helping room for additional assistance in a year or two, but in the meantime, many of these children have been encouraged and helped over some special school difficulty.[80]

The enrollment in these rooms was from 16 to 20 pupils.[81]

"For financial reasons" the School Board reduced the number of helping rooms from three to two in the school year 1932-33.[82]

By the school year 1934-35 these remaining two rooms had been divided along logical lines and a program developed consistent with the abilities of the children. One of the classes was for both girls and boys below eleven years of age. In this class about one-third of the time of the class "was given to a variety of hand work such as light quilts, dolls and doll's dresses, cloth animals, aprons, tea towels and

---

[77] Ibid.

[78] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1931-32, p. 41.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1932-33, p. 60.

handkerchiefs."[83] However work was still done in "Reading, Number, Writing and Printing" as far as possible.[84] Enrollment in the second room was confined to boys over 11 years of age and up to 16 years of age; this class spent a great deal of time doing woodwork on such items as "aeroplane models, bird houses, parts of fishing tackle, toys, boats, ships and many other articles."[85] In addition, "Reasonable progress was made in Reading, Arithmetic, Simple English, Composition, History, Civics and Geography."[86]

In the 1936-37 school year the older class was eliminated leaving only the younger class composed of 20 children at about the grades one, two or three level. The only comment made on the elimination of one class was that:

> A number of the children will be promoted to regular grades. Several will have to continue at their present occupations, learning to adapt themselves to life conditions.[87]

The special class in Transcona was continued through the 1930's. According to Miss Edith Nevens, who taught in the school during the depression, the class was at the grade one, two and three level with children from seven to 13 years of age.[88] Although the class began with

---

[83] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1934-35, p. 91.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1936-37, p. 98.

[88] Edith Nevens, telephone conversation with the author in May, 1975.

only 13 children in 1929 it had increased to 19 in 1935 and held at about that level until 1940.[89] No information is available on the curriculum used with these children.

One article appeared during this period which is worthy of note in relation to special classes. In December of 1936 in an article entitled "Dollards In The Primary Grades"[90] the efficacy of intelligence tests was challenged, evidently in response to the sorting and classifying of children that was then being done in the Winnipeg School Division as mentioned earlier. The article noted that children may sometimes not score well largely because of their social background. While there is little discussion of this point it is in line with our present knowledge that most intelligence tests are geared to and thus favor middle and upper class children. Further, "These tests are worded in English and yet to many children in this country English is but a 'step-mother tongue.'"[91] Finally the article ended with the warning that:

> the intelligence test for young pupils should be related to their experience before coming to school. A universal scale or standard, even when professing to be fair to all, never can be so.[92]

As in North Dakota the wisdom of providing special classes for mentally handicapped children, in urban areas where such a procedure was feasible, was generally accepted in Manitoba during most of the 1930's. The fact that only three school districts had special classes

---

[89] Information obtained from the attendance registers in the Central School in Transcona.

[90] "Dullards In The Primary Grades," The Western School Journal, Vol. XXXI, 1936, p. 307.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibid., p. 308.

probably had more to do with finances than philosophy. It was not until the last year of the decade that a different philosophy appeared in the new programme of studies issued by the provincial Department of Education. The programme suggested "That, except in the case of children with very low intellectual endowment, there be no segregation on the basis of type of intelligence."[93] In the 1940's this new philosophy was put into practice as shown by the following figures from the Winnipeg School Division:[94]

Year	Total Enrollment	Enrollment in Ungraded Classes	Percentage of Enrollment in Ungraded Classes
1941	19,373	828	4.3
1942	18,824	782	4.1
1943	18,067	730	4.0
1944	17,525	617	3.5
1945	17,267	676	3.9
1946	18,058	615	3.4
1947	18,131	363	2.0
1948	18,233	328	1.8
1949	19,460	252	1.3
1950	19,817	218	1.1
1951	20,794	209	1.0
1952	22,072	308	1.4

Backward Children in Rural Areas

North Dakota was almost continually in one program or another intended to upgrade rural education throughout the period of this study.

[93] Interim Programme of Studies For The Elementary School, Province of Manitoba, 1939, p. 19.

[94] Baker, "Special Education In The City of Winnipeg," p. 149.

Throughout the 1920's the emphasis was on standardization of rural schools with major emphasis on upgrading teacher qualifications, extending the school term, improving buildings, improving school grounds, and increasing school equipment.[95]

However despite a decade of emphasis on standardization there were still major problems in 1930. The Superintendent of Public Instruction reported that:

> It is tragic that almost two of three North Dakota rural schools have a new teacher each year, when the job is so difficult because it covers all grades, when supervision has to be inadequate at best, and when the teacher herself is so young.[96]

Then, too, the state had scarcely begun to urbanize for North Dakota was second among all states in rurality in 1930:

> Sixty-one per cent of its people live on farms, 56% of its boys and girls attend schools in the open country most of them in one-teacher schools, 58% of all its teachers teach in country schools, and 67% of these had less than one year of training above high school graduation.[97]

Thus the state Department of Public Instruction undertook yet another program for improving classroom teaching in rural schools.

This new plan contained several important changes. A revised program of studies had some features particularly designed for rural schools such as alteration by years of certain subjects. In addition a series of demonstration conferences were run throughout North Dakota for the experienced teaching staff to be followed by visits by supervising teachers

---

[95] Report of The Superintendent of Public Instruction, State of North Dakota, 1928, p. 30.

[96] Twentieth Biennial Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Dakota, 1930, p. 20.

[97] Ibid., p. 10.

employed by the state Department of Education. And, for the first time, the radio was used to provide educational programs throughout the state.[98] The items which would seem most to affect the slow child were a plan to assist teachers in "diagnosing problems by means of standardized tests"[99] and the provision of "ways of meeting the individual need of the pupil."[100] No detail was given on these plans but presumably the teacher would be shown what to do in the teacher conferences that were held throughout the state.

Despite these changes there is some indication that slow children in rural areas simply stayed home during the depression as they had done in the past. In a thesis done in 1936 by George Stewart[101] an attempt was made to discover why of 9,721 children enrolled in grade and high schools in Grand Forks County in 1935 only 6,956 attended school, that is 28.5 percent of those eligible were not in school. Stewart discovered that "Economic reasons ranked first in rural school districts non-enrollment, the percentage being 34.7."[102] In addition, "There is evidence of lack of enthusiasm for school work in rural areas as shown by 22.1 percent reporting 'not interested in school.'"[103] Another thesis done in 1937 in Burleigh County provided similar information on attendance:

---

[98] Ibid., p. 12.

[99] Ibid., p. 14.

[100] Ibid.

[101] George F. Stewart, "Educational Survey of Grand Forks County," (unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1936).

[102] Ibid., p. 87.

[103] Ibid.

> This study revealed that the rural children attended school on the average only 124 days a year, while the children in the other districts attended school approximately 160 days per year.[104]

One article which appeared in the North Dakota Teacher in 1930 did give an indication of how a competent teacher handled backward pupils in a one-room school.[105] Teacher Mikelson discovered before the end of the first month of school that some of her children were not performing at the level of the grade assigned. Thus, teacher Mikelson decided to give tests to determine the level of each child and discovered that "three were far below average and presented my severest problem."[106] Teacher Mikelson stated that:

> I know it would never do to put them back in a grade in which they belonged. It would discourage the children and might cause hard feelings on the part of their parents. I decided then that I would give as much time as possible to these children which is very limited in a rural school with thirteen children and all the grades.[107]

Manitoba, too, had its problems with rural schools. Inspector Dr. Andrew Moore, reported in 1935 that:

> Several schools formerly in charge of progressive School Boards are now in the hands of skinflint elements, who think almost exclusively of curtailing school expenditures irrespective of the effects on the lives of the young folk concerned.[108]

---

[104] Arnold C. Van Wyk, "Educational Survey of Burleigh County, North Dakota, With Special Reference To Inequalities In Program Work, Ability and Effect," (unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1937).

[105] Ethel M. Mikelson, "How A Beginning Teacher Brought Backward Pupils Up To Grade," The North Dakota Teacher, Vol. IX, May, 1930.

[106] Ibid., p. 22.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1934-35, p. 33.

And, Inspector A. A. Herriot added in 1936 that:

> The weakest link in our Educational chain is the rural school. This is due to the narrow basis of taxation for school purposes and the primitive monetary system of administration which should have been reformed years ago. It is impossible under the system for the rural school to keep pace with the stronger units in cities and towns.[109]

A teacher, David Heinricks, writing in The Western School Journal in 1930 looked at rural school problems from a different perspective.[110] Heinricks thought that much of the problem stemmed from the fact that rural elementary teachers were trained primarily by secondary teachers, inspected primarily by graduates of high school teaching staffs, and given a curriculum "compiled and drawn up by men and women who are experts in graded school work, it meets the needs of the graded school but not the rural school."[111]

Despite these problems the rural school somehow functioned and did provide an education for many slow learning children. Of course, as in North Dakota, it was easy for the mentally handicapped to simply stay home and provide a useful service on the farm if that is what the family desired. Children were not usually questioned when they missed school for fall harvest or for spring seeding and after the child reached 12 years of age the parent could upon application be given special permission to keep the child home.[112]

---

[109] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1935-36, p. 73.

[110] David Heinricks, "The Rural School Problem," The Western School Journal, Vol. XXV, 1930.

[111] Ibid., p. 95.

[112] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1938-39, p. 35.

Two descriptions of the teaching situation in rural schools provided in The Western School Journal give an indication of the situation for slow learning and mentally handicapped children. The first, written in 1936, described what might have been a fairly typical situation in the one-room school:

> During the class teaching I had to provide for work in eight grades. I did my best by combining grades whenever I could. I found great help in the project method, for here each pupil makes his own contribution to a general scheme and no two need be doing actually the same thing. Yet I had to neglect music and art and physical training and other studies, and I had to take individual classes after four. Nor could I go out to recess because I had to fill the blackboard with work.[113]

We can only speculate on how a slow learning or mentally handicapped child would fit into this situation. He would have missed such subjects as art along with the rest of his classmates, but, he might well have benefitted from the project method where he could work at his own speed, and, he might well have been one of those receiving extra help at recess and at four o'clock when school ended.

However, the second description of an actual classroom situation in The Western School Journal in 1935 was not very positive. A teacher in considering her many problems for the year discussed her concern for a mentally deficient boy in the class:

> He was always moving around, interrupting others or tossing things upside down. I tried to teach the children that he was sick and that they were to put up with him and be kind to him rather than laugh at him. Then I had a box of blocks brought to school, and some picture books and some string. He amused himself for part of each day, but he never got far in his studies, for his presence there did not help him very much, and he hindered the progress of the other children.[114]

---

[113]Mary Alice, "My School Problem," The Western School Journal, Vol. XXXI, 1936, p. 112.

[114]"My School Problem," The Western School Journal, Vol. XXX, 1935, p. 258.

The article provides no further information as to the age of the boy, the level of the class, the number of grades in class or other information that might help us to better understand this situation.

It has been stated throughout this dissertation that North Dakota and Manitoba were constantly attempting to upgrade their rural schools. It was often stated by educational leaders in both regions that the rural school child may not have been receiving as high quality an education as his urban counterparts. However, one study done in 1940 suggested that mentally handicapped children may in fact have been better off in small rural schools than in town graded schools. The study done by Dr. Emma Layman entitled "A Comparison Of The Effectiveness of Rural and Graded School Systems in Meeting the Needs of the Mentally Retarded Child"[115] was based on 510 school children ranging in age from 6 to 17 years with from 50 to 70 IQ and was done in Iowa, a prairie state not unlike North Dakota or Manitoba. Of the 510 children studied, 360 were attending graded schools in towns and 150 were attending one-room rural schools. Researcher Layman posed questions of the teachers involved with these children, tested the children and subjected the data to statistical analysis. The conclusions reached from this study are so important that extensive quotations have been included.

The following findings have been reported:

1. The social and economic status of both groups tended to be low, with this tendency being slightly more marked for town children than for rural children.

2. Overt behavior problems were found to occur more frequently among mentally retarded children in the town schools than in those attending rural schools. Problems of this type included stealing, lying, cruelty, destructiveness, truancy, home discipline, and school discipline.

---

[115]Emma Layman, "A Comparison Of the Effectivness Of Rural And Graded School Systems In Meeting The Needs Of The Mentally Retarded Child," The American Journal of Mental Deficiency, Vol. XLV, 1940.

3. There was found a tendency for behavior problems to occur more frequently among older than younger children, this tendency being more marked for retarded children in the town schools than for those in rural schools.

4. The mentally retarded child in the rural school was found to be more readily accepted as a member of the social group than the retarded child in the town school.

5. It was found that retarded children in town schools show more evidence of feelings of inferiority than those in rural schools.

6. Educational achievement tests showed that mentally retarded children in rural schools tended to approach or exceed their mental age in oral reading and arithmetic computation to a greater extent than did those attending town schools.

These findings point to one conclusion - namely, that in the state of Iowa, those feebleminded and borderline children attending the rural schools are better adjusted, socially and educationally, than mentally retarded children attending small town graded schools. There seem to be a number of factors accounting for this difference between the two groups. Some of these are as follows:

1. The demands of rural life are simpler than those of town existence, and are more readily adaptable to the needs of the retarded child. Thus, the rural child does not come to school with a feeling of defeat or rejection resulting from unsuccessful community experiences.

2. The lack of organized delinquency among juveniles in rural areas provides less chance for the retarded child in the rural school to be led into depredations or anti-social activities, or to find cronies who will participate in these activities with him.

3. The rural environment provides fewer incentives and opportunities for delinquent behavior.

4. Because the rural school usually includes several grades, and children of all ages, it is frequently possible to permit the retarded child to be in a grade by himself, progressing consistently at his natural rate, competing only with himself, and not being particularly conspicuous in the group because of his retardation. This is in marked contrast to the situation in the town schools, where the common practice is to keep the child in each grade for two years, and then pass him on to the next grade. In such a situation, he is always over-age and over-size for the group, is competing unsuccessfully with younger children, and has little opportunity for normal social contacts. He feels inferior, and is intensely conscious of being different from other children.

5. In the rural school situation, where several grades are in one room, the retarded child repeatedly hears first and second grade recitations, and has his own instruction reinforced by what he picks up incidentally.[116]

[116] Ibid., pp. 95, 96.

Of course one study does not prove the case for the superiority of rural schools over town schools in the education of the mentally handicapped, but, the results of this study nevertheless make one wonder if educational authorities were entirely correct in constantly pressing for consolidation and the special classes that could be achieved in a consolidated school.

Secondary Education

In both North Dakota[117] and Manitoba[118] there was an overall drop in school attendance in the 1930's but ironically an increase in both junior and senior high enrollment. The disruptions of the prairie economy caused many people to leave the area entirely, others to stay home from school and help out as best they could, and some few were forced to stay home because of closed schools. However, those who were in school tended to follow the national pattern of remaining in school longer, some to grade eight or nine and many pushing on to the completion of high school.

The question that must be considered here is, were provisions made in the expanding secondary education to accommodate slow learning and mentally handicapped children?

Several theses done in North Dakota in the 1930's revealed the courses available in North Dakota secondary schools. Commercial courses,[119]

---

[117]Elwyn B. Robinson, History of North Dakota (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 199), p. 235.

[118]Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1938-39, p. 20.

[119]Gena S. Ostby, "Commercial Education in the Secondary Schools Of The United States," (unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1937).

home economics courses,[120] industrial arts courses,[121] and some agricultural courses,[122] were available in addition to the regular academic stream but these variations were primarily alternatives for the able students, they were not programs designed for the less able.

Several educational leaders in North Dakota argued for expanded educational opportunities through varied curricula in the 1930's. In an article in The North Dakota Teacher in April-May of 1933, E. W. Butterfield said that education had "an unprecedented opportunity" to provide a curricula "fit for the varieties of human intelligence."[123] Further in the article Butterfield put the problem in more specific terms:

> Recently I went to a great and splendid city high school and said to the principals, "Imagine a father who makes this statement, 'I have a son and daughter to enter this school. Their I.Q.'s are 85 and 88. They vary in school marks from the third to the fourth quartile; i.e., they are poor but passable. Neither will go to college; neither will fill a secretarial position. They will go to your school four years. Then, the girl will clerk in a store until her marriage. The boy will run a machine next to mine in the factory. What subjects will they take?'" The principal replied, "I shall put them in an academic curriculum but not in a college preparatory division. They will have no languages but they will have history, English, science, and mathematics, as do the college preparatory pupils. The subjects will be identical but the subject matter of the courses will be reduced to the ability of children like yours."
>
> This is our new high school problem. One-fourth of our secondary pupils are now of the excellent type represented by those two children. They do not need algebra diluted and Macauley's Essays reduced. They need courses entirely different from those formalized subjects.[124]

---

[120] Peter A. Egge, "A Survey of Work Programs In Nelson County Schools (unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1938), p. 64.

[121] Stanley L. Mythaler, "Industrial Arts Teaching In North Dakota Classified High Schools, With Particular Reference To Woodwork and Mechanical Drawing In The Ninth Grade," (unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1927).

[122] Harold O. McCoy, "A Survey of the Program of Work Offered in the Public Schools of Statesman County," (Unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1938).

[123] E. W. Butterfield, "An Unprecedented Opportunity," The North Dakota Teacher, Vol. XXII, Apr.-May, 1933.

[124] Ibid., p. 6.

In the ensuing years more educational leaders called for reform of the secondary curriculum. In May of 1935 Superintendent O. C. Meyer wrote an article in The North Dakota Teacher calling for a curriculum which would allow rural children several options in secondary schools located in the rural areas.[125] In November of 1936, W. L. Neff, a Principal in Mandon Public Schools, wrote an article entitled "Our Secondary Curriculum" in The North Dakota Teacher calling for the reform of a curriculum suited only for "the intellectually elite."[126] By February of 1939 A. W. Johnson, a Principal in a junior high school in Minot, wrote an article in The North Dakota Teacher entitled "The Program of Curriculum Improvement in North Dakota"[127] revealing how the Department of Public Instruction was attempting to mobilize teachers in various regions of the state to make their desires on curriculum revision known. Again it was admitted that "The school population, particularly in the secondary school is undergoing a change; not only are more pupils enrolling, but the attitude towards life-problems and the mental ability of these pupils are different."[128] The issues were defined, the questions formulated, the regions organized, but the changes were not effected before the end of this study in 1940.

---

[125] O. C. Meyer, "Curriculum Needs," The North Dakota Teacher, Vol. XIV, May, 1935.

[126] W. L. Neff, "Our Secondary Curriculum," The North Dakota Teacher,

[127] A. L. Johnson, "The Program of Curriculum Improvement in North Dakota," The North Dakota Teacher, Vol. XIX, Feb., 1939.

[128] Ibid., p. 7.

In Manitoba the first criticisms of the limitations of the secondary curriculum came from the Superintendent of Winnipeg Schools, D. M. Duncan, and provincial Secondary School Inspectors E. Knapp and Andrew Moore. In his annual report of 1931-32 Superintendent Duncan called for more practical courses in the secondary school curriculum for the less able students.[129]

In the school year 1934-35 Secondary School Inspectors Moore and Knapp made their case for providing for non-academic students in the secondary schools. Andrew Moore wrote:

> It is noticeable that many young people like to use their hands as well as their heads. For these we make little or no provision. One of the reasons that we have so many "parkers" in our secondary schools is due to the fact that a considerable number of the pupils are not adapted to the academic and intellectual types of courses offered. Outside of the urban areas, whatever little formerly was provided in the way of manual training or domestic science has been eliminated, people have looked upon these as the "frills."[130]

That same school year, 1934-35, Superintendent Knapp reported:

> In recent years the problem of retardation has become acute in secondary education. Not so long ago, if pupils in the high schools did not measure up to our examinations, they dropped out of school to be absorbed by industry. But under conditions as that obtain today, unfortunately there is for such boys and girls no employment. As a consequence they remain in school, and it is the continued presence of this type of pupil that creates one of the most difficult problems in the modern school system. The problem is, "how best can we deal with these pupils and make them into useful citizens?" Formerly the pupils were forced to conform to an inflexible curriculum; today we are obliged to make a curriculum that will conform to the abilities of the pupils.[131]

Winnipeg School Division did make a serious attempt to provide for slow learning non-academic children in their secondary schools in the mid 1930's. An Industrial Arts Program was instituted in September of

---

[129] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1931-32, p. 49.

[130] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1934-35, p. 130.

[131] Ibid., p. 123.

1933 for students who "require a medium of education quite different from the regular academic courses."[132] Ten senior classes were begun housed in the City's two technical high schools, and seven junior classes were located in various junior high schools. Many of the students enrolled were overage in the regular grade system and thus the junior and senior division was established unrelated to the regular grade structure; after a successful two years at the junior level pupils could proceed to the senior division.[133] The annual report of the Winnipeg School Division for 1936-37 attempted to explain the progress of the Industrial classes up to that point:

> The number of pupils enrolled in them in the Intermediate Schools in November, 1936, was 515. The organization of these classes and the development of an effective curriculum for them is the most difficult problem the Intermediate schools have to deal with. Many of the pupils in these classes have throughout the grades had difficulty with the normal academic work. Most of them were over-age at the time of their admission to the Intermediate schools. In these classes an attempt is made to adapt the academic work to their abilities in such a way as to stress the fundamentals needed by any citizen in any occupation. They are given more work in shops and household arts than are other pupils in the Intermediate schools. Shop work itself is not a complete answer to their needs. Many pupils in these classes do not do as well in shop work as the average pupil in other classes in their Intermediate schools. On the whole, however, they do better in their shop work than in even the subjects of a simplified academic curriculum.[134]

The Industrial Arts Program was likely helpful for children that today might be in the slow learning category (about 80 to 90 IQ) or for the more capable of the educable mentally handicapped students (this category ranges from about 50 to 80 IQ), but, there were some mentally handicapped children who might wish to continue at the junior high level

---

[132] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1932-33, p. 65.

[133] Baker, "Special Education In The City of Winnipeg," p. 103.

[134] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1936-37, p. 111.

who were more seriously mentally handicapped. Thus the Winnipeg School Division extended its program of ungraded classes at the junior high level in 1938. Advance to ungraded classes in the intermediate school was "made largely on the basis of age of the pupils,"[135] that is boys and girls aged fourteen and over.[136] While there was a clear vocational aspect to the Industrial Arts Program that does not seem to have been a prominent factor in the ungraded classes. The intention was to place these pupils "where they will have contact with other pupils not too far removed from them in age and in the interests that increasing age and physical development bring."[137] The project method was used, boys working with wood and metals and girls were involved in sewing, knitting, weaving, cooking, laundry and handicrafts.[138]

The remainder of the province lagged much behind the Winnipeg School Division in the provision of special educational services for slow learning and mentally handicapped children at the secondary level. The Emerson School Board began a project in manual work for boys and needlework for girls in 1934-35.[139] In the 1935-36 school year a course in Agriculture at the secondary level was added to a list of optional courses and was taken by 100 students from 12 schools with the largest

---

[135]Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1937-38, p. 110.

[136]Baker, "Special Education in the City of Winnipeg," p. 97.

[137]Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1937-38, p. 115.

[138]Baker, "Special Education In The City of Winnipeg," p. 100.

[139]Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1934-35, p. 132.

groups at Dauphin and Morden.[140] Neepawa added a Commercial department in 1935-36, and Dauphin did some manual training in evenings that same year. In the 1938-39 school year Dauphin continued woodworking and sewing on a regular basis, Roblin added woodworking and metalwork, Neepawa added woodworking, and East Kildonan added a department of Domestic Science.[141] In 1939-40 Roblin added manual training.[142] Another promising sign was the appointment of a provincial Director of Technical Education in the 1935-36 school year but by the end of the decade his work was only really beginning.[143] All in all, a spotty record, some additional manual courses here and there that may have helped some slow children but in fact these changes probably served more to give capable children another option in a limited curriculum than to serve the needs of slower learning students.

The revised program of studies was issued in 1938 but it held few changes for slow learning students at the secondary level. Buried at the bottom of page 22 was a brief note to the effect that homemaking and general shop courses would be permitted as "experimental courses" for two year periods.[144] The actual curriculum for these courses was left to the instructors. Once again the provincial government was well behind the Winnipeg School Division in planning for slow learning and mentally handicapped children.

---

[140] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1935-36, p. 28.

[141] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1938-39, p. 55.

[142] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1939-40, p. 35.

[143] Report, Department of Education, Manitoba, 1935-36, p. 134.

[144] Curriculum of Studies, Province of Manitoba, 1938, p. 22.

The peak of the depression in the early 1930's resulted in budget cutting in education throughout North Dakota and Manitoba and some special education programs begun in the 1920's were eliminated. Little new was added for slow learning and mentally handicapped children in North Dakota and Manitoba before the end of the decade except in Winnipeg. The Winnipeg School Division added new programs within their elementary schools for the slow learning and mentally handicapped and made some provision for such students at the secondary level after 1935. Although overall there was a lack of new programs for the slow learning and mentally handicapped during the 1930's, one study indicated that these children may have done reasonably well in the rural setting where the community worked together for the benefit of all its people.

CHAPTER SIX

EDUCATION OF THE MENTALLY HANDICAPPED AT THE GRAFTON SCHOOL IN NORTH DAKOTA AND AT THE PORTAGE SCHOOL IN MANITOBA

This chapter will present a contrast in the education of the mentally handicapped at institutions in North Dakota and Manitoba. From its beginnings near the turn of the century the institution at Grafton in North Dakota provided education for its residents in the tradition established in the United States from the time of Seguin. The institution at Portage la Prairie in Manitoba was little more than custodial until the 1930's when some educational provisions were made.

The Grafton School

There was some confusion preceding the eventual establishment of a state institution at Grafton in 1904. The site at Grafton was originally purchased for a penitentiary, but as one already existed in Bismarck that met the needs of the state, the constitution of the state was amended in 1901 to make Grafton the home for the feeble-minded.[1] Prior to that time the feeble-minded had been housed along with the insane at the Insane Hospital in Jamestown; however, with the opening of the new facilities 11 males and 16 females were transferred from Jamestown to Grafton.[2]

---

[1]Luella J. Hall, "The Education of Delinquents and Defectives," Quarterly Journal of North Dakota, Vol. XII, July, 1921, p. 314.

[2]Report of the Institution for the Feeble Minded, Grafton, North Dakota, 1904, p. 9.

The new institution at Grafton was opened at the beginning of the eugenic alarm and undoubtedly one of the major objectives of the home was the segregation of the feeble-minded to prevent them from passing on their degeneracy. Superintendent L. B. Baldwin stated in his first report that:

> of all the classes of defectives the feeble minded are most sure to transmit their defects. For this reason it is advisable that they be placed in institutions of this character for life.[3]

Despite the attitude fostered by the eugenic alarm education and training were major objectives in the new institution and a school department was opened in September of 1904 during the first year of operation with 26 in the school of the total residential population of 81.[4] Superintendent Baldwin stated the objectives of the school department:

> in the case of the feeble minded child, the (educational) aim is to so train and develop him, that his life in the institution may be useful and that the greatest amount of happiness and comfort may be realized by him. The training therefrom is of the most practical nature and is largely individual, being adapted to the possibilities of each case.[5]

The new principal, Miss Allice B. Scott, formerly principal of the Indiana School for the feeble-minded, added further detail about the work of the new training department:

> The kindergarten class composed of eleven boys and girls is the most hopeful because of the ages of its members and their susceptibility to the influence of proper training. The methods pursued with this class embrace sense training, the attractive occupation and active games of the kindergarten. With a large percent it begins with the simplest habits of life . . . . Besides this class of

---

[3] Ibid., p. 10.

[4] Ibid., p. 4.

[5] Ibid., p. 10.

> little ones there is a class of boys and girls ranging in age from ten to eighteen years. They present more of a problem than the younger class because of their lack of early training, and also because of their varied capacities. At present this class is receiving almost entirely individual attention. Sewing, weaving and other occupations are employed for hand and eye training. Ordinary primary work based on the best modern methods is adapted to their needs and is part of the daily program. Some attention is given to physical exercise.[6]

The development of the Grafton institution through its first decade was steady with improvements in several areas despite the increasing fears of feeble-mindedness caused by the eugenic alarm.

In 1914 Grafton officials believed that:

> Probably no mentally defective child is born except of parents, who, if not defective themselves, yet carry mental defect in their germ plasm.[7]

And:

> The more we study the problem of feeble-mindedness the larger it becomes. It is estimated that fifteen percent of the inmates of prisons and jails, forty percent of girls' reformatories, twenty percent of the inmates of boys reformatories, and a large proportion of those in almshouses, are feeble-minded.[8]

Thus, the prevailing official attitude to feeble-mindedness at Grafton in 1914 was almost identical to the prevailing national attitude of the experts in the field as was seen in chapter two.[9]

The training department had increased to 86 students by 1914. Elementary reading, writing and number work as well as hammock making, reed and raffia basketry, sewing, needle work, torchon lace, weaving,

---

[6] Ibid., p. 11.

[7] Report, Institution for Feeble Minded, North Dakota, 1914, p. 12.

[8] Ibid., p. 13.

[9] Please see p. 27 of Chapter Two of this dessertation.

and physical training were the main subjects of the school.[10] Methods of teaching were still largely individualistic with the balance between training and literary or normal school work being decided for each student dependent upon his capabilities.

There were two major variations that occurred during the first decade. The first was an attempt to extend the methods and the philosophy of the training school through the whole institution:

> Those who are not able to benefit by the school work proper, are taught to care for themselves - drilled in their personal habits, then when they learn this, to care for other of their less fortunate comrades. The girls are taught the various forms of housework and the boys the various employments as found about the grounds, farm garden, barns, boiler house and laundry.[11]

The second change was an attempt to employ the Montessori Method which was then in vogue, but officials felt that this new method was:

> Almost a copy of the methods which have been used for years in this work and which were formulated by Dr. Seguin, the founder of the training of the feebleminded.[12]

All in all, the school had experienced a successful first decade using the most advanced teaching procedures of the day.

The passing of another decade saw continued improvement in the school at Grafton. Moving pictures were introduced in 1916 and evidently delighted the children.[13] The Binet-Simon tests were introduced after 1914 but were used primarily in the selection of those best able to benefit from school work; the work or organization of the school evidently was not affected by these tests.[14]

---

[10] Report, Institution for Feeble Minded, North Dakota, 1914, p. 13.

[11] Ibid., p. 14.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Report, Institution for Feeble Minded, North Dakota, 1916, p. 10.

[14] Report, Institution for Feeble Minded, North Dakota, 1914, p. 17.

The biennial report of 1922 contained an interesting item, the schedule of an average girl in the institution on an average day:

6:00 Rise, bathe, dress.
7:00 Set Superintendent's table and get ready to serve breakfast.
8:00 Serve breakfast, wash silver and tidy dining room.
9:00 Attend Chapel.
9:15 In Sewing Class.
10:00 In Literary Class - doing fifth grade work.
10:15 Violin class with teacher.
10:30 Literary class.
11:00 Orchestra practice.
11:30 Play time - out doors if pleasant.
12:00 Set table in Superintendent's dining room.
12:30 Serve lunch.
1:00 Free time to read, play or sew.
2:00 Gymnasium class in Hall.
2:30 Lace class.
3:30 Chorus class.
4:00 Walk or organized play with attendant.
5:00 Set table and other dining room work.
6:00 Serve Dinner.
7:00 Outdoors
8:00 Read, play cards, fancy work.
9:00 To bed.[15]

This young girl was not only kept very occupied during the day but also provided with a most impressive variety of learning experiences.

By 1929 several cities had begun to provide special or opportunity classes for backward children as was seen in Chapter Four.[16] As the teachers of these classes needed special training a summer course was provided for them at Grafton under the direction of the superintendent, principal and staff of the Grafton institution, and two teachers who were brought in from outside of the state. Only seven teachers enrolled but judging by the ratio of experts to learning teachers and the description of the courses in Special Class Teaching, Practice Teaching, Industrial Arts and Mental Testing, abnormal Psychology, and History of Work for

---

[15]Report, Institution for Feeble Minded, North Dakota, 1922, p. 8.

[16]Please see p. 77 of Chapter Four of this dissertation.

Feeble Minded, these seven undoubtedly learned a great deal.[17]

By 1932 the school population had risen to 206 out of a total residential population of 684.[18] That year the school had eight full time teachers: a kindergarten teacher; a teacher in charge of boys and girls who were labelled "custodial" as they stayed within their residences usually because they were crippled in some way; a primary teacher; a teacher of pupils in fourth, fifth and sixth grades; a teacher of another group in fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh grades; an industrial arts teacher; and a teacher of both vocal and instrumental music.[19] The 1932 report contained a detailed program of work for each of the classes.[20]

The kindergarten class program consisted of: handwork, such as sewing, weaving, cutting and coloring; rhythm; sense training; language work such as memory work, stories, dramatization; introductory primary work, such as matching numbers and words; and of course a variety of games.

The primary class program consisted of: primary phonetics, arithmetic, spelling and reading. There is no mention of physical education, music, or manual training but it seems like that the students did spend some time in these activities with the teachers who were specialists in these fields.

The intermediate program for girls in grades three, four, five and six consisted of: history stories, arithmetic, spelling, reading, geography, language, writing, choral singing, industrial class and physical education.

---

[17] Report, Institution for Feeble Minded, North Dakota, 1930, p. 9.

[18] Report, Institution for Feeble Minded, North Dakota, 1932, p. 19.

[19] Ibid., p. 20.

[20] Ibid., p. 10.

The program for boys and girls in grades four, five, six and seven consisted of: spelling, reading, geography, history, arithmetic, penmanship and again presumably industrial or handicrafts class and physical education.

The custodial program had two distinct divisions, the morning program consisted of: music, memory work, rhythms, games, language through oral discussion, coloring and cutting, readings, phonics and letters for those who were able: spelling, numbers, history, geography, and a variety of games. The afternoon program consisted of industrial arts such as basket work, quilt patchwork and needlework.

Some further information was provided on the specialized programs available to most children in the school. The industrial arts program consisted of: sewing and embroidery; basketry, and rug work. The manual training classes consisted of: caning and refinishing chairs, mat weaving, book rebinding, painting, staining and varnishing, and woodworking. Most children had choral music and a few also studied instruments such as the clarinet, cello, violin, tuba, and bass violin.

It can be seen from this overview of courses that many children were at a reasonably high level of school achievement, that is in grades four to seven. Thus, many children in the school were in present day terms educable mentally handicapped, or from about 50 to 80 IQ on a standardized IQ test. This pattern of having a large number of mildly retarded children in institutions seems to have been a carryover from the period of the eugenic alarm when it was thought to be best to segregate those capable of reproduction. In fact it will be seen later in this chapter that one aspect of the eugenic alarm, sterilization, really

only took hold at Grafton after about 1930. Today of course the predominant theory is integration into society for the mildly retarded leaving most institutions filled with moderately to profoundly retarded individuals.

Of course a good program of studies does not guarantee a good school but it seems that the teachers were capable people, for example, the Principsl's Report of 1928 stated" "we have a fine corps of teachers doing careful conscientious work."[21]

Superintendent John G. Lamont, reported in 1940 that, "Standards may vary in a year or in a month, but principles change but little during a decade or a half-century."[22] Through thirty-six years the school department at Grafton worked to improve the mentally handicapped in their custody through sensory training, manual training and academic training where possible. Despite some comments over the years about lack of space or the need for one or two more teachers, it can be said that generally a sound program consisting of a variety of educational experience was provided by a competent teaching staff for the mentally handicapped children residing at Grafton from 1904 to 1940.

The Portage School

Manitoba's record for the provision of education for its institutionalized mentally handicapped persons is not nearly as enviable as that of North Dakota. Health and educational leaders, such as Dr. Daniel McIntyre, Superintendent of the Winnipeg School Division; Mr. Billiards, Superintendent of Neglected Children, and F. W. McKinnon, Principal of

---

[21] Report, Institution For Feeble Minded, North Dakota, 1928, p. 6.

[22] Report, Institution for Feeble Minded, North Dakota, 1940, p. 3.

the Industrial Training Centre at Portage la Prairie, had called upon the Provincial Government to make greater provision for the education of the feeble-minded,[23] and this eventually led to the passing of "The Feeble Minded School Act" in 1917.[24] The statute was very brief and stated only that the Government:

> may, by order-in-council, establish and maintain a school within the Province for the care, custody and training of the feebleminded. The location, control and management of the said school shall be determined.[25]

by the Government. The Government led by Premier Norris had already introduced reforms in a variety of areas resulting in deficits and "charges of extravagance from both friends and opponents."[26] The succeeding Government of John Bracken was elected on a platform of careful management and balanced budgets and thus the Feeble Minded School Act was not put into effect.

In 1928 the Bracken Government finally recognized the need for major changes in the delivery of health services throughout the province and created a new Cabinet portfolio for Health and Public Welfare. The new Minister of Health was Dr. Montgomery and the head of the department for the permanent civil service was Deputy Minister, Dr. T. A. Pincock.[27]

---

[23]Please see p. 59 of Chapter Three of this dissertation.

[24]Statutes of Manitoba, 1917, p. 101.

[25]Ibid.

[26]W. L. Morton, Manitoba, A History, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 374.

[27]Dr. T. A. Pincock, telephone conversation with the author, December, 1975.

Dr. Pincock was asked to go to the Portage la Prairie institution and survey the situation. He discovered that a variety of people including aged, crippled and low and high grade mental defectives were mixed together under the charge of an untrained staff and a layman superintendent, who himself had no special training for the job. Because of the efforts of the new Health Department an "Act to Provide for Mentally Defective Persons" was passed in the legislature in 1933,[28] and as a result:

> the Home for the Aged and Infirm at Portage la Prairie has been completely transformed into an Institution for the care of mental defectives; the incurables being transformed to other institutions.[29]

The previous superintendent was retired and Dr. Atkinson, who had been Assistant Superintendent at the Selkirk Mental Institution, was appointed as the new superintendent at Portage. The demeanor of the institution changed very quickly as the annual report of 1933 indicated:

> One cannot help but be impressed at the tremendous change which has taken place at the Home for Aged and Infirm. The whole appearance of the institution is different and the outlook of the inmates is far from the hopeless one it used to be some years ago.[30]

Education did not immediately begin at Portage but some changes in that direction had already occurred in contemplation of the legislation of 1933. In the year of 1929-30 occupational training of patients was begun under the direction of the existing staff in activities such as milking, care of lawns and grounds, carrying of messages, and general domestic tasks.[31] This program was continued and expanded in the

---

[28] Statutes of Manitoba, 1933, p. 152.

[29] Annual Report and Summary of the Department of Health and Public Welfare, for the year ending April 30, 1932, p. 17.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Report, Department of Health, Manitoba, 1929-30, p. 99.

year of 1930-31:

> The higher grades of mental defect almost all respond quickly and do their utmost under kindly and considerate methods. In all departments, outside and in, they take an active part, in the Institutional routine and have been able to accomplish duties and enter into activities hitherto thought impossible. More recently we have begun among the female population craft work that is promising . . . . As far as we are able at the present time, the rotating system of teaching is being employed. For the girls, they spend a certain time at domestic work, a certain time at ward work, and a further time at laundry work, ending up with teaching in domestic service. The boys have proven the worth of effort and patience in instruction remarkably well. On the farm, garden, grounds, root-houses and chicken-houses, they have accomplished outstanding things under the direction of the staff.[32]

An appeal was made in 1931, that was to be made annually for the next few years, for more educational facilities:

> To meet the needs that are very rapidly developing, a very definite programme of academic and occupational training will have to be devised . . . . We would therefore respectfully urge that all pressure be brought to bear looking to the establishment of an academic and manual training programme for our patients.[33]

Finally in 1936-37 with the institution at nearly 400 patients an official educational program was begun:

> At the time of writing a very modest beginning is being made with academic instruction of patients. We sincerely hope that this may develop steadily and efficiently in the future, and be the subject of a more detailed report at the end of 1938.[34]

However in 1938 the report disclosed difficulties:

> The academic classrooms, after a year's operation, I believe have justified this feature (additional equipment and monies). A period of finding our way and making adjustments has been necessary. In any experience a new endeavour in an old institution has never been well received by the staff. The reasons are peculiar and need not be discussed here. Nevertheless, my opinion is that an institution for the care of the mentally defective without a school is comparable to a ship without a rudder. Perhaps most of our difficulties have been

---

[32] Report, Department of Health, Manitoba, 1930-31, p. 125.

[33] Ibid., p. 126.

[34] Report, Department of Health, Manitoba, 1936-37, p. 78.

> due to the fact that such a program was injected into the routine late in institutional life, instead of at the beginning. Relatively speaking in the development of an institution of this kind, the first building that should be erected is a school. It seems difficult to establish this principle, perhaps because so few of us are intimately connected with the work.[35]

The annual report gave no further information concerning the initial problems of the school and unfortunately none of the staff at the Portage School today has any recollection of the matter.[36] Despite the birth pains the school developed successfully as the annual report of 1939 revealed:

> The school classes are of great benefit to the young children, and this is the only manner in which anything can be done for them once their physical needs have received attention. The school also contributes very important things to the adolescents and adults, with its varied programme of singing, drill, dancing and elementary academic work. Unfortunately, perhaps, when a school is mentioned in connection with an institution of this kind, many are apt to think of formal academic classes, and naturally cannot see any logical conclusion. The picture rather should be that the school supplies those things that our patients lack, such as sense appreciation, moral, social, and hygenic standards, co-operation, and many other features. We do not stress purely academic training. The great need is in other directions. I might say the three R's are worked on incidentally. The school should be the hub around which the whole patient programme revolves.[37]

The Portage School, like the rest of society was affected by the onset of the World War in 1940 and in particular by the enlistment of its superintendent, Dr. Atkinson. However the educational program was now well established and according to the 1940 report "The general operation of patient activities is not greatly changed."[38]

---

[35] Report, Department of Health, Manitoba, 1937-38, p. 124.

[36] Peter Cherkes, telephone conversation with the author, December, 1975.

[37] Report, Department of Health, Manitoba, 1938-39, p. 77.

[38] Report, Department of Health, Manitoba, 1939-40, p. 192.

In conclusion, the development of training and educational facilities was only possible at the Manitoba institution for the mentally handicapped after the decision was made to separate the mentally handicapped from the aged and infirm in about 1930. The need for qualified teachers was recognized but they were not provided until the year of 1935-36 when the worst part of the depression had passed. There is brief reference to difficulties in establishing the educational component of the institution so late which contrasts with the immediate success of the educational program at Grafton which began with the opening of the institution.

Sterilization

There is one related issue that is worthy of brief consideration. It was noted in Chapter Two that many educational experts advocated sterilization of the mentally handicapped early in the century but that professional opinion on this matter began to change in the 1930's.[39] In September of 1929 the Grafton School established a Social Service Department under the direction of Henrietta Safley.[40] Director Safley's report of 1934 revealed that she was still entirely caught up in the eugenic scare related to the mentally handicapped. She compiled numerous arguments and statistics to show that feeble-mindedness was directly related to heredity in almost all cases and that sterilization was a vital part of control.[41] Only "8 boys and 3 women" had been sterilized at the

---

[39]Please see p. 36 of Chapter Two of this dissertation.

[40]Report, Institution For Feeble Minded, North Dakota, 1932, p. 22.

[41]Report, Institution For Feeble Minded, North Dakota, 1934, p. 26-48.

institution prior to the establishment of the Social Service Department,[42] however, after Psychiatric Social Worker Safley began her sterilization campaign in 1932,[43] 55 individuals were sterilized in the next two years. By 1940, 478 individuals had been sterilized, made up of 156 males and 322 females.[44]

Manitoba very nearly set upon a similar path in the 1930's as the "Act to Provide For Mentally Defective Persons" passed in 1933 originally contained a clause allowing the sterilization of mentally defective persons. However the clause relating to sterilization became a major political issue in Manitoba with strong opposition fed by the Council for Catholic Action for Greater Winnipeg.[45] Eventually the Government backed down and The Winnipeg Free Press reported on May 4, 1933 that:

> Opponents of the sterilization of mentally defective persons won a sensational victory, when the two clauses in the bill providing for sterilization were struck out by committee of the whole.[46]

All in all the North Dakota institution for the mentally handicapped had a proud history of providing education for its residents for 36 years prior to 1940, whereas in the Manitoba institution the educational facility was only beginning at the time of World War Two.

---

[42] Report, Institution For Feeble Minded, North Dakota, 1932, p. 33.

[43] Report, Institution For Feeble Minded, North Dakota, 1934, p. 49.

[44] Report, Institution For Feeble Minded, North Dakota, 1940, p. 9.

[45] "Move For Repeal Of Sterilization Law Is Forecast," Winnipeg Free Press, April 24, 1933, p. 21.

[46] "Under The Dome," Winnipeg Free Press, May 4, 1933, p. 10.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The existing knowledge on the education of slow learning and mentally handicapped children from 1900 to 1940 is based primarily on information from the major cities of the eastern United States and from the major centres in Ontario in Canada. The primary reason for doing this study was to discover how slow learning and mentally handicapped children were educated in a largely rural region of North America prior to 1940.

In chapter two the existing information on the education of slow learning and mentally handicapped children from 1900 to 1940 was reviewed. Public school classes for the mentally handicapped began at about the turn of the century in such centres as Springfield, New York, Cleveland, Philadelphia and Boston in the United States and in Toronto, Hamilton and other centres in Ontario in Canada, about a decade later. Some of these original classes contained a variety of children including children who were primarily discipline problems. It was speculated by such researchers as Wallace Wallin that special classes often began in major cities following the introduction of compulsory attendance laws. It was also established that because of the eugenic scare linking feeblemindedness with a host of social problems that some educators felt that education should be provided for "borderline defectives" to avoid their becoming defectives and thus adding to the social ills in society, It was also noted that some educational leaders established special classes because they were aware of their existence in the major cities of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, France and Switzerland.

Special schools were favored over special classes in the early twentieth century so that the feeble-minded would not spread their taint to the regular student population, but in most cases special classes were established in regular schools because of the difficulties of providing separate schools. Children for these special classes were chosen on the basis of observation for the first decade of the twentieth century but were increasingly selected on the basis of intelligence tests after about 1912. At first there was no special curriculum for the special classes and teachers simply watered-down the existing curriculum, but gradually by the 1920's special programs were designed that were more practical in nature and sometimes included on the job experiences as preparation for the future. The depression years of the thirties saw most special programs at a standstill because of the financial problems caused by the depression.

Winnipeg is the only major city in North Dakota and Manitoba which followed a pattern of development of education for slow learning and mentally handicapped children similar to the major cities of the eastern United States and Ontario in Canada as described above. Winnipeg, like the major cities in Ontario, began special classes for the mentally handicapped in the second decade of the twentieth century, that is in 1913. There is no evidence that the classes established in Winnipeg included children who were primarily discipline problems as occurred in some eastern centres. On the other hand, the establishment of the first class in Winnipeg seemed to have been directly related to effective truancy measures just as was the case in the eastern United States.

In Winnipeg the number of special classes remained low until the early 1920's when the introduction of IQ testing of all children resulted

in the selection of many more children primarily on the basis of low IQ scores. The first teachers did use a modified regular curriculum but gradually in the 1920's some teachers were hired who had training for teaching slow learning and mentally handicapped children and the curricula eventually were changed to include more practical work and sensory training geared to the needs of the pupils. In the 1930's Winnipeg provided special classes for the mentally handicapped at the secondary level despite the financial limitations of the depression.

The pattern of development of educational provisions for slow learning and mentally handicapped children was very different in the remainder of North Dakota and Manitoba which was largely rural.

During the period from 1900 to 1914 both North Dakota and Manitoba were struggling to provide adequate education of a rapidly expanding population hampered by basic problems of short school years, inadequate laws for compulsory attendance, poor quality of instruction by an inadequately trained and rapidly changing teaching staff, lack of standardized curriculum, and a school system dominated by one-room schools. Although the growth in attendance levelled off after World War I began, the basic problems continued and were only partially alleviated by the end of the second decade of the twentieth century. During these two decades slow learning and mentally handicapped children were not under great pressure to attend school in rural areas. Those who did attend school tended to be kept in the lower grades whatever their age, as revealed in the retardation studies of the period.

One very good aspect for slow learning and mentally handicapped children in rural North Dakota and Manitoba was the lack of concern by education officials about the eugenic alarm. There is no evidence to

show that such children suffered any stigma at a time where the fears of the feeble-minded were so great amongst school officials in the major centres of the eastern United States and Ontario in Canada.

In the larger towns intelligence testing was used in the 1920's in the larger schools. The result was ability grouping and special classes. The general belief at the time was that each child would benefit most from the curriculum if grouped with children of approximately equal ability. In several of the larger centres, Bismarck, Fargo and Jamestown in North Dakota, and Brandon and Transcona in Manitoba, special classes were established for the mentally handicapped before the end of the decade.

However, both North Dakota and rural Manitoba were still dominated by one-room or small schools were most slow or mentally handicapped children continued as before, unlabelled and non-segregated. The major change for a slow learning child in the rural area in the 1920's was that he would now be more easily moved from one grade level to another even if he had not completed all the content for the year before.

In the 1930's the situation remained about the same for the slow learning or mentally handicapped child in the rural areas. Some may have been kept home to assist on the farms and others may have missed school because of inadequate clothing or transportation, but this was the situation for many children during the depression and was not peculiar to slow learning or mentally handicapped children. In the towns special classes for the mentally handicapped continued although in some instances the numbers were not as great because of the financial exigencies of the depression. There was a new awareness of experts that many of the school retarded also came from the less-favored in society but no programs were begun to encounter this factor.

All in all slow learning and mentally handicapped children seemed to do well in the rural schools of North Dakota and Manitoba. There is very little evidence to suggest that they were in any way labelled or stigmatized because of their learning problems. A study by Emma Layman in 1940 strongly suggested that mentally handicapped children in rural small or one-room schools fared far better socially and academically than their equals in large towns or city schools in Iowa and this may well have been the case in North Dakota and Manitoba as well.

It is clear from the above that rural North Dakota and Manitoba were very similar in their provision of public school educational services for slow learning and mentally handicapped children. This might be expected in one sense for it was established early in this dissertation that the two regions were very comparable because of their similar history, geography, population, economic base, and school systems. On the other hand, it was also established that there was little contact between school or government officials in North Dakota and Manitoba and thus each area developed largely independent of the other. The similarity in educational developments for slow learning and mentally handicapped children can be accounted for then because similar regions tended to react in a like fashion to their problems, and, because they were both affected by general North American trends.

The lack of contact between the two regions resulted in completely different patterns of development in the education of the mentally handicapped at the state institution at Grafton and at the provincial institution at Portage la Prairie. Grafton developed in the American tradition begun with Seguin of providing good education at public institutions for the mentally handicapped, and thus Grafton provided sound educational programs from its beginnings in 1904 which continued throughout the period

of study until 1940. The Portage institution followed the Canadian tradition of lack of concern for the education of the mentally handicapped at institutions. There had been some provision of educational services at Orillia in Ontario in 1876 but because of overcrowding, education was interrupted several times over the yeaas, as classrooms were taken over for bed space. The rest of Canada provided little in the way of education at institutions for the mentally handicapped until well into the twentieth century. The Portage institution was a good example as the mentally handicapped were not separated from the aged and infirm until the early 1930's and organized educational services were not begun until 1936.

This study casts some light on the education of slow learning and mentally handicapped children in two rural regions from 1900 to 1940. However, much remains to be done. A total history on this subject in North Dakota and Manitoba tracing developments through to the present is needed. More importantly we need more such regional studies before a general history of the education of slow learning and mentally handicapped children in both urban and rural regions can be provided for North America. And finally, it would be valuable to trace the pattern of development of the segregation or integration of slow learning and mentally handicapped children throughout the twentieth century so that we might best know what theory was most successful in the past so that we can make a knowledgeable decision on the matter in the present.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

A. REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Commission on Emotional and Learning Disorders in Canada, One Million Children - The CELDIC Report, Toronto: Leonard Crawford, 1970.

Great Britain, Report of the Mental Deficiency Committee. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1929.

Manitoba. Annual Reports of the Department of Education, 1896 to 1940.

Manitoba. Annual Report and Summary of the Department of Health and Public Welfare, 1928 to 1940.

Manitoba. Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, 1932 and 1933.

Manitoba. School Curriculum and Teachers' Guide, 1900 to 1940. Department of Education.

Manitoba. Statutes of Manitoba, 1902, 1907, 1909, 1912, 1917, 1933.

North Dakota. Annual Reports of the Institution for the Feeble Minded, Grafton, North Dakota, 1904 to 1940.

North Dakota, Annual Reports of the State Inspectors of Consolidated Graded and One-Room Rural Schools, Superintendent of Public Instruction.

North Dakota. Department of Public Instruction. Biennial Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1896 to 1940.

North Dakota. Department of Public Instruction. Course of Study for Schools in North Dakota, 1900 to 1940.

North Dakota. Report of Children's Code Commission, 1922.

B. PAMPHLETS

Macdonald, N. C. Rural School Progress. State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1918.

_____. The Problem of Rural School Betterment. State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1917.

C. ARTICLES AND PERIODICALS

American Journal of Mental Deficiency, Vol. XVL through Vol. L, 1940 to 1945.

Harris, Robin S. "Higher Education in Australia and Canada." The Comparative and International Education Society of Canada, Papers, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.

Journal of Psycho-Asthenics, Vol. I through Vol. XLIV, 1896 to 1939.

The Manitoba Teacher, Vol. V through Vol. XXII, 1923 to 1940.

Manitoba Teachers' Federation Bulletin, Vol. I through Vol. IV, 1919 to 1922.

The North Dakota Teacher, Vol. I through Vol. XX, 1921 to 1941.

Quarterly Journal of North Dakota, Vol. I through Vol. XXXI, 1910 to 1940.

The Western School Journal, Vol. I through Vol. XXXIII, 1906 to 1938.

Winnipeg Free Press. "Move For Repeal of Sterilization Law Is Forecast," April 24, 1933.

Winnipeg Free Press. "Under The Dome, May 4, 1933.

D. UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

Baker, Laura Doris. "The Development of Special Educational Provisions for Exceptional Children in the City of Winnipeg." Unpublished Ed.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1967.

Berg, Andrew. "A Daily Program for the One Room Schools of North Dakota." Unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1929.

Bixler, Earle A. "Some Adjustments in School Organization in the Interest of the Individual Pupil," M.A. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1917.

Brown, John M. "A Survey of Education in the Municipality of Hamiota." Unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1941.

Egge, Peter A. "A Survey of Work Programs in Nelson County Schools." Unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1938.

Erickson, Edward. "The Administration of Rural Schools in North Dakota." Unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1917.

Grindeland, William. "History of the Public School System of Ransom County, 1881 - 1944." Unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1944.

Hackett, G. Thomas. "The History of Public Education for Mentally Retarded Children in Ontario 1867 - 1964." Unpublished Ed.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1969.

Hamilton, Ivan L. "The Extent and Cause of Retardation in the Schools of Rural Manitoba." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1935.

Jacobson, Marie Josephine. "Intelligence and Achievement Test Survey of Grades Four to Eight Inclusive of Three Townships in Richmond County." Unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1930.

Kent, James Nelson. "A History of Education in Grand Forks County." Unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1941.

Knapp, N. B. "A Survey of the Consolidated Schools in North Dakota." Unpublished M.A. thesis, 1923.

McCoy, Harold A. "A Survey of the Program of Work Offered in the Public Schools of Statesman County." Unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1938.

Mythaler, Stanley L. "Industrial Arts Teaching in North Dakota Classified High Schools, with Particular Reference to Woodwork and Mechanical Drawing in the Ninth Grade." Unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1927.

Ostby, Gena S. "Commercial Education in the Secondary Schools of the United States." Unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1937.

Page, John A. "History of North Dakota Public High Schools." Unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1934.

Stewart, George F. "Educational Survey of Grand Forks County." Unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1936.

Sweetland, Tracy A. "The Diagnosis and Treatment of Individual Differences in School Children.: Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1923.

Swensen, Walter J. "Intelligence Tests as an Aid in School Administration." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1925.

Tingam, David Olaf. "A Study of Age Grade Distribution in North Dakota to Determine Acceleration and Retardation." Unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1930.

Trueblood, Roy R. "Case Study of Thirty-five Average Pupils in South Junior High School, Grand Forks, North Dakota." Unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1941.

Urness, John N. "High School Facilities for Rural Pupils in North Dakota." Unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1926.

Van Wyk, Arnold C. "Educational Survey of Burleigh County, North Dakota, With Special Reference to Inequalities in Program Work, Ability and Effect." Unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1937.

Williams, David A. "Slow Learners in the Grand Forks Elementary Schools." Unpublished M.S. thesis, University of North Dakota, 1938.

Wilson, Keith. "The Development of Education in Manitoba." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1967.

E. BOOKS

Davies, Stanley Powell. The Mentally Retarded in Society. New York: Columbia University Press, 1968.

Davies, Stanley Powell. Social Control of the Mentally Deficient. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1930.

Farber, Bernard. Mental Retardation: Its Social Context and Social Consequence. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1968.

Kanner, Leo. A History of the Care and Study of the Mentally Retarded. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1964.

Magnifico. L. X. Education for the Exceptional Child. Toronto: Longmans and Green, 1958.

Pritchard, D. G. Education and the Handicapped, 1760 - 1960. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963.

Wallin, J. E. Wallace. Education of Mentally Handicapped Children. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955.

Wallin, J. E. Wallace. Problems of Subnormality. New York: World Books, 1921.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Barr, Martin W. Mental Defectives, Their History, Treatment and Training. Philadelphia: P. Blakiston's Con, 1904.

Bereday, George F. Comparative Method in Education. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964.

Christianson, John A. A Study of the Education of Handicapped Children in Manitoba. Province of Manitoba, 1965.

Cruickshank, William M. and G. Orville Johnson, eds. Education of Exceptional Children and Youth. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1967.

DeLeeuw, G. D. Jones, E. Koch, M. Woolley. Manitoba Its People and Places. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.

Donnelly, M. S. The Government of Manitoba. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963.

Kazeck, Melvin E. North Dakota, A Human and Economic Geography. Fargo, North Dakota: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1956.

King, Edmund J. Comparative Studies and Educational Decision. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968.

Kirk, Samuel A. and Francis E. Lord. Exceptional Children: Educational Resources and Perspectives. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974.

Kirk, Samuel A. and G. Orville Johnson. Educating the Retarded Child. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin, 1951.

Morton, W. L. Manitoba, A History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957.

Noah, Harold J. and Max Eckstein. Toward a Science of Comparative Education. Toronto: Collier-Macmillan, 1969.

Phillips, Charles E. The Development of Education in Canada. Toronto: W. J. Gage and Co. Ltd., 1957.

Ricker, John C. and John F. Saywell. Nation and Province, The History and Government of Canada and Manitoba Since Confederation. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1963.

Robinson, Elwyn B. History of North Dakota. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1966.

Rothstein, Jerome H. Mental Retardation, Readings and Resources. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971.

Strong, Margaret K. Public Welfare Administration in Canada. Montclair, New Jersey: Patterson Smith, 1969.

Weir, Thomas R., ed. Economic Atlas of Manitoba. Winnipeg: Department of Industry and Commerce, Province of Manitoba, 1960.

Wills, Bernt Lloyd. North Dakota, The Northern Prairie State. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, 1963.

Wilson, J. Donald, Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Philippe Audet. Canadian Education: A History. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1970.

Witmer, Lightner. The Special Class for Backward Children. Philadelphia: The Psychological Clinic Press, 1911.