A STORIED HISTORY OF ART EDUCATION: THE ART DEPARTMENT AT CENTRAL TECHNICAL SCHOOL, 1892-2014

By

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ABSTRACT

A Storied History of Art Education: The Art Department at Central Technical School, 1892-2014 Dustin Garnet, Ph.D. Concordia University, 2015

The Art Department at Central Technical School (CTS) in Toronto, Canada supports the countries first and only specialized technical fine art program for adults and high school students. My purpose in this research is to provide one version of this institution's 122 year history utilizing the lived experiences of the men and women who shared in its legacy. I explore how stories as a form of historical research provide insights into the everyday lives and artistic culture of CTS resulting in more localized and relational accounts of the past. Questions guiding this study include: Who were the forces behind the growth of the CTS art program? What are the factors that have helped sustain this publically funded institution? What were the major historical events that shaped the history of CTS? And, why is the Art Department at CTS rarely mentioned in written histories of Canadian art education?

From a theoretical perspective, my approach to *new history(ies)* has generated a sociohistorical literary account of CTS as part of the field of art education, allowing me to construct stories and emplot characters in ways that provide multiple forms and contexts to understand the institution from more holistic perspectives. Through the methodological architecture of the polyptych frame I have built a collection of historical stories that hinge together, but can be separated and reconfigured to tell multiple stories from personal, external, and internal perspectives. Stories are at the heart of my research and within them lies much more than individual oral histories. The new history I construct speaks to a transgenerational artistic culture

built on relationships and networks that directly contribute to shaping the visual culture of Canada.

Invoking the use of stories as an aesthetic means of constructing history has permitted me to expand on significant historical issues specifically addressing the domains of art, education, social structure, and culture. In an effort to promote genealogical continuity rather than disparity between historical realities and historical narratives I engaged in primary sources of information that link five generations and identify four thematic threads including, identity politics, institutional identity, school culture, social networks, that braid and create continuity over time.

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To my parents Hannah and Glen, my brother Ryan, and my grandparents Sally, Sylvia, Manny and Sam, I want to thank you for all your patience and support. Family is the most important part of my life and I could have never completed this marathon without you as my cheerleaders.

Throughout my research I have brought to light champions of art education that significantly made their mark on students' lives well after they graduate. The Oxford dictionary defines a champion as a "person who vigorously supports or defends a person or cause." I would argue that this definition falls short of capturing the essence of its meaning. There is more to the character of a champion than being a strong supporter or defender. A champion is someone who cares beyond what is required, who anticipates potential futures and who has the ability to see possibility when others see burdens and responsibility. As a gifted mentor and savvy negotiator Dr. Anita Sinner helped me to realize potential that I did not see in myself – she is my champion. The investment Dr. Sinner has made in my life as an academic could only be described as selfless. She models wisdom gained from living with generosity. Appreciation is not a word that can stand-in for the gratitude and the depth of emotions that define the effect of her mentorship. Dr. Sinner has presented to me that indeed, a professor can uphold her practices equally in the realm of scholarship, teaching and service, where her service to students is endless yet concise, her teaching epitomizes the skillful, self-reflective practitioner, and her scholarship flows from them both. Thank you for modeling this and making me believe it is possible.

To my committee members Dr. Richard Lachapelle and Dr. Linda Szabad-Smyth, I extend my greatest thanks and sincere appreciation for your support throughout this process. The

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Toronto Technical School TTS

Toronto Technical High School TTHS

Central Technical School CTS

Ontario Society of Artists OSA

Ontario College of Art and Design University OCADU

Ontario College of Art OCA

Toronto District School Board TDSB

Toronto Board of Education TBE

Royal Ontario Museum ROM

Art Gallery of Ontario AGO

Associate of the Ontario College of Art AOCA

Royal Canadian Air Force RCAF

Nova Scotia Collage of Art and Design NSCAD

Royal College of Art (London) RCA (London)

Royal Canadian Academy RCA

CHAPTER ONE- BEGINNINGS, TENSIONS AND STORIED FUTURES

Research into the history of art education history in Canada has much potential to educate, to inspire, and to breathe new life into the many positive memories Canadians have of their experiences inside art classrooms. As an emerging artist, visual art educator, and scholar in the field of art education history, I feel a personal responsibility to understand how the philosophical choices shaping art education were formed, and in the process, deciding which of these stories to tell and why as part of the historical record. My purpose in this research began by asking: Will and how do the commonly known histories help educators, pre-service teachers, art historians, and art students? Why are some stories chosen over others? What stories should be chosen to pursue? These are all questions that I have asked myself in an investigation of art education at Central Technical School (CTS) in Toronto, Ontario, where I have been an art teacher for the last decade. Within these questions are seemingly endless avenues of exploration, and for this reason, my research is not a definitive history of technical fine art education at CTS, but a reflexive history self-consciously produced: selected, ordered, and interpreted to make sense of the voluminous oral histories, archival sources, and material culture analysis viewed through a postmodern lens. The organization of this dissertation reflects my conception of history as a multiplicity of stories in addition to facts, dates and events.

The art department at Central Technical School (CTS) in Toronto, Ontario, is one of Canada's oldest and longest-running technical fine arts education programs. The visual art program at CTS is little known in the history of art education, yet some of our most honored and celebrated Canadian artists—for example, A.J. Casson, Joyce Wieland and Doris McCarthy—have taught at or attended the school. My research will contribute to the field of art education by

investigating this unique art education department through the stories of students, teachers, and administrators who have been and remain at the heart of this institution's collective history. The CTS art program is a Canadian story that offers insights to our understanding of how art education developed in this case study from the beginnings of the program in 1892 to the present-day, 2014. I have adopted a multi-focal postmodern lens to the program's history and legacy to compose stories of institutional identity, school culture, identity politics and social networks, generated from oral histories, archives, and material culture, producing a layered and amorphous version of the past. I construct stories that build a greater understanding of the department's culture that was fostered and perpetuated by the individuals who embraced the legacy and traditions of this institution. This dissertation is rooted in the lived experience of its community members in ways that result in a representative history of my school rather than a traditional historical interpretation and rendering of sources of information.

Although there are a number of detailed, rich, historical accounts of high school and adult art education programs in Canada which I will discuss in the next chapter (Chalmers, 2004; Soucy, 1990; Pearse, 2006a), specific and localized histories remain limited in the overall scholarship (Soucy, 1985). Over the past twenty years there has been a move "toward recognizing and apprehending more of the frequently neglected, but extremely important experiences that should be noted within the history of art education," and that is the premise which underlies my inquiry (Bolin, Blandy & Congdon, 2000). Chalmers (2004) points out that histories of "artists as educators and the education of artists are growing areas of interest... [and] the lives of art students too, have received some attention" (p. 17). Examples of this phenomenon are seen in Lemerise's (1992) research about Irene Senecal and art education in Quebec, 1940–1955; Soucy and Pearse's (1993) study of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design (NSCAD);

Sacca and Zimmerman's (1998) collection of woman art educators; Grigor's (2002) exploration of Arthur Lismer's teaching career; and Stephenson's (2006) research on two high school art programs in British Columbia. My historical research builds onto art education histories of instructors and students of my school and provides various forms and ways of telling stories by creating thematic links weaving into the networks that constitute a construction of art education historical research. Adding to existing histories of art education, my work provides new and different ways of expressing history not commonly found in the field. Building on the foundational work of Canadian art education historian Donald Soucy (1985), I have come to recognize that:

Histories, like any set of ideas, arise and develop in an historical context. Any contemporary history is related to histories written before it. Reciprocally, past histories are affected by histories written today. Different histories then, can be used to append, contradict, support, or otherwise clarify each other. (p. 3)

Soucy (1985) suggests that to avoid repeating possible inconsistencies or flaws in secondary historical sources, researchers should attend to the primary sources of data and focus on individual stories that add new interpretations and understandings to the field. I accessed many secondary sources such as newspaper and magazine articles, and department promotional material, but few academic sources published in books or journals acknowledged the existence of the CTS art program. Specific secondary sources that I have drawn upon to inform my study include institutional documents, such as meeting minutes from the City of Toronto (1880-1920); the Ontario Trades and Labour Congress (1890-1920); and the Toronto Technical School Board (1891-1915), educational research reports from governments and the Ontario Teachers' Federation, as well as letters, petitions, speeches, various video recordings of school events,

reports and resolutions from industry and labour organizations. A variety of other sources including multiple archive locations, yearbook collections, and alumni photographs and artwork have been analyzed to inform stories that together create a comprehensive historical account. As well, I have reviewed other doctoral dissertations and published histories of educational politics and technical education to inform this study. The variety of perspectives represented in these secondary resources provide a comprehensive and multivalenced account of the Art Department's history. Although there are extensive secondary sources from which I could have written this historical account, I opt to take up Soucy's challenge by pursuing primary source material to construct this departmental history, supported by secondary sources.

An extensive amount of resources have been collected to generate this account of the past including a growing collection of more than twenty oral histories, recorded from British Columbia to Nova Scotia, from former students and teachers in the art education department, ranging from a 99 year-old contributor who attended the school in the late 1920s to voices from each generation that form the social landscape and ultimately the identity of my school. I draw on all of these sources to triangulate my research using key participant checking, debriefing and material culture analysis to balance the first-hand knowledge of department events, and notations from personal journals. My study is not only an intensive analysis of the Art Department at CTS, but a project that engages in a longitudinal and retrospective look through the eyes of students, teachers and administrators. Taken together, my source material has allowed the identification and investigation of gaps in the existing historical research of Ontario art education, adding this particular school as an important contribution of the school to the field.

The Art Department: A Site of Development and Innovation in Art Education

In this dissertation I take the position that the development and innovation of art education at CTS can be interpreted as spanning five generations of teachers and students, rather than following a chronological timeline. This is in part because the CTS art education institution is the oldest multigenerational adult and high school secondary program in Canada, and in part because my structure is a deliberate effort to offer an alternate writing of history (Macfie, 2014; Beaty, 2015). By extension, I provide insights into the roots of Canadian imagery and the continuing influence of the school in Canada and potentially across the world. To open this conversation, the context of CTS as a legacy within Canada is important to foreground given the structure of my historical review.

Significant alumni include four members of Canada's renowned *Group of Seven* (A.J. Casson [1898–1992], Franklin Carmichael [1890–1945], Frances Johnston [1888–1949], and Lawren Harris [1885-1970]) and three members of *Painters Eleven* (Kazuo Nakamura [1926–2002], Harold Town [1924–1990], and Tom Hodgson [1924–2006]). Fourteen former CTS instructors or graduates have received the country's highest civilian honor, the Order of Canada (see Appendix 1). Former sculpture instructor Emanuel Hahn (1881–1957) is responsible for the designs that still adorn Canadian coins (see Figure 1), and Doris McCarthy (1910–2010), who taught at CTS from 1932 to 1972, remains one of Canada's most celebrated painters. In so many ways the institutional history of the CTS Art Department deepens our knowledge and experience of our Canadian visual culture.



Figure 1: Emanuel Hahn's designs for the Canadian quarter, dime, and silver dollar. Coin Image© 2015 Royal

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Another key example, Allward's Vimy Memorial (see Figure 2) is an iconic image, recognized internationally as a key symbol of remembrance, yet it is not readily associated to Canada, and the linkages of this former student to CTS are little known.

There are many similar cases of members of CTS who contributed to the significant number of plaques, memorials, and sculptures dedicated to Canada's war efforts. Past teachers, sculptors Elizabeth Wyn Wood and Alfred Howell, received official Canadian commissions to design war memorials around Canada and overseas. A number of CTS alumni became official Canadian war artists: Charles Goldhamer, Frank Brooks, Bruno Bobak, Joe Rosenthal, and Alan Collier, to name just a few. Their paintings are found in the Canadian National Gallery and various major collections across Canada. This recurring gap in the historical record is problematic not only to the history of art education, but to the understandings and contributions

recognized of art educators within our schools, past and present. As the adage of 'knowing where you come from to know where you are going' suggests, the sustainability of our field is in part dependent on embracing the depth and breadth of our history, and that begins in our schools.



Figure 2: Former student Walter Allward's Vimy Memorial, 1936, France. Photograph courtesy of the Toronto District School Board Archives.

Locating Art Education the Landscape of CTS

Geographically located at the intersection of major thoroughfares of Bathurst and Bloor, in downtown Toronto, the CTS campus is in the one of the oldest parts of the city and arguably its cultural heart, just minutes from the Royal Ontario Museum, The Art Gallery of Ontario, University of Toronto, and the Ontario College of Art and Design University (OCAD-U) (see Figure 3).



Figure 3: The Central Technical School building, 2010. CTV News Toronto (2010). [Central Technical School]. Retrieved from http://toronto.ctvnews.ca/teens-charged-in-connection-to-central-tech-shooting-1.558972

CTS includes three separate buildings which occupy four downtown city blocks. The CTS architecture is grand inside and out. The main building is in the neo-Gothic style, adorned with gargoyles, large entrances, and archways. Inside, students are welcomed with marble staircases, exquisite wooden doors, paintings and busts of past principals, as well as significant war memorials and commemorative plaques. The surrounding community and school population of CTS is one of the most ethnically diverse in Canada representing almost every country in the world. As well, students with a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds, English language abilities, and special education needs attend the CTS art program.

The Art Centre at CTS is located in the northeast corner of the campus (see Figure 4).

The art department currently features the only bronze foundry in any secondary school in

Canada; a 10-wheel ceramic studio equipped with the largest kiln room of any secondary school

in Canada; a full-facility sculpture studio, including a fabrication pit for construction and welding; sky-lit life-drawing studios; design and painting studios; a printmaking studio with two lithography and two etching presses; a large computer room; two darkrooms for traditional film processing and printing; and a video and digital film-editing lab. Three main programs are run in the art building: a regular high school stream, a specialized high school stream, and an adult specialized stream. In addition to these programs vibrant night school and summer school programs allow the surrounding community to enjoy the facilities.



Figure 4: The campus of Central Technical School. Red arrow indicates the art building. Google Maps. (2014).

[Central Technical School] [Street Map]. Retrieved from https://www.google.ca/maps/@43.6629493,
79.4086707,395m/data=!3m1!1e3

CTS's significance as a model of an innovative school department was the result of it growing and developing almost like a microcosm within a larger institution. The Art Department insulated itself from many educational change forces by fostering a strong artistic culture and

social networks that endured well after graduates left and instructors retired. CTS is has provided education to well over a hundred thousand students, based on a discussion and documentation of the school population provided by CTS administrator, Bob Stumpf. His oral history also described night school and summer school attendance. During our interview, we calculated the numbers his office retained from day, night, and summer classes, estimating that well over 100,000 students attended CTS from 1915- 2013 and of those almost 30,000 were either part of the specialized art programs or took individual art courses.

From the time the CTS campus opened at its current site in 1915, the art department flourished, and an argument for its own stand-alone school building quickly emerged. In an unprecedented collaboration between the federal, provincial, and municipal governments, land was bought up around the original CTS building and a new dedicated art building was finally constructed decades later, officially opening in 1964 (see Figure 5).



Figure 5: Central Technical School's art building opened in 1964 and named the Art Centre. Photograph courtesy of the Toronto District School Board Archives.

Designed by Macy DuBois of the Toronto architectural firm of Fairfield and DuBois, the inspiration for the art department building design was interestingly credited to the spaceship Sputnik, much as McClelland and Stewart (2007) note, influences from "the former Soviet Union made in technology during the Cold War era prompted educators in North America to refocus efforts on scientific and technical education" (p. 97). In association with F. C. Etherington, chief architect for the Toronto Board of Education, as well as CTS art department head Charles Goldhamer (1903–1985) and assistant head Dawson Kennedy (1906–1967), DuBois developed a design that showed, in his words, "that intimate relationship between the architect and the users" (McClelland & Stewart, 2007, p. 97). DuBois's distinctive design for the CTS art building was internationally recognized, and was awarded the Gold Massey Medal for Canadian Architecture in 1964. Major architectural magazines including Canadian Architect featured and critiqued the art building upon its completion. Acclaimed Canadian architect and architectural historian Peter Collins wrote an appraisal of Dubois's design drawing parallels between the CTS Art Centre and institutions such as the Harvard Art Centre and the Glasgow School of Art help to give context to the art building's design within an international framework of school architecture and art education.

Perceptions, Perspectives and Stories of Change

My history of the CTS Art Department is a story of educational change, which I trace as an evolution from the roots of specialized technical art education to the current push toward a standardized traditional high school. This history can only achieve a semblance of rigor if there is recognition of multiple layers of voices telling different kinds of stories from different perspectives. Within the stories there resides what Foucault and Bouchard (1980) describes as a

genealogy of ideas, mapping the philosophical, technical, pedagogic and curricular influences that made CTS the special school that it has been for more than a century. There are different cycles of educational change that intertwine between what I view as the public and private life of this school.

In my study of the school, these forces of change correlate to what I have identified as five generations of teachers and students. The stories constructed from the history of the CTS Art Department then provide both a macro (educational change) and micro (individual lives) lens on the rise and decline of technical art education in this school.

Introducing Generations of Time

As paradigms change in the field of art education the development of technical art training at CTS has taken different forms. The history and legacy of technical art education at CTS follows a distinctive path. In my case, the Art Department is a story that explores social and cultural dynamics over what I describe as generations of time that together offers a means to understand the evolution of the department within the forces of educational change. Five generations constitute the history of this department and include:

- A generation of development (1892 to 1917)
- A generation of vision (1918 to 1942)
- A generation of optimism (1943 to 1967)
- A generation of innovation (1968 to 1992)
- A generation of standardization (1993 to 2017)

The use of generations to define approximate time periods affords the opportunity to investigate both the continuity of tradition and effects of educational change forces on the Art Department.

My working definition of generations is based on a notion of knowledge cycles, where over twenty-five years, the genealogy of ideas from teachers to students and from students to teachers shapes individual identity and school culture in ways that are representative of historical legacies. These legacies are traceable in each generation through the innovation of art practice and the development of particular characteristics that reside in the curriculum that are then expressed in the attitudes of the contributors to this dissertation and documented in the form of stories. My central chapter, which I consider to be the heart of my dissertation, consists of a series of storied histories corresponding to, and crossing over, the five generations I have outlined. Specifically, these histories each contain multiple stories that work together to create a much larger institutional history of the CTS Art Department.

Foregrounding My Historical Account: Some Limitations

My history of the CTS Art Department is only one version of the past constructed by me as a researcher, and I acknowledge that I hold a passionate attachment to my research site. I began my teaching career in the Art Department at CTS in 2005 and I have built and maintained an extended family and sense of home at this site. For lack of a better word, the Art Department "raised" me to be the educator I am today and I believe I may best reciprocate by serving the historical imperative of this institution. In my dedication, I feel a strong moral duty to bring forward this history yet I am mindful of what Lemerise (2000) describes as "the propensity for hagiography that reinforces the cult of heroes" (p. 43).

Participating in the culture of CTS for a decade has informed me as an artist and educator in ways that as a researcher created a sense of conflicting tensions in the course of writing this dissertation. There is a tension at the core of my teaching practice and artistic sensibility that is

stretched between traditional, modernist art education which I hold up due to its quality and standards – an integral part of the legacy of CTS – and on the other hand the postmodern theory which was taught during my pre-service teacher education and influences my pedagogy and curriculum design. Recognizing these tensions as a researcher led me to question why writing a traditional modern history does not capture the quality found in postmodern historiography, but modernist art education, as least in the context of technical art education, achieves a consistently high level of skilled and talented artists. As an art educator at my research site I have become more aware of the intellectual and pedagogical tension between the modern and postmodern affecting my curriculum and instructional development. I come to this historical study as a researcher where I take up these contradictions, tensions and dilemmas that are at the heart of the art education history I construct.

A further duality in this study is that I am an insider at the CTS Art Department and my access to past narratives (oral and written), familiarity with school archival materials, and material culture, and my own perspective and lived experience provides for an enriched conversation and adds a new dynamic to the notion of how historical truths are generated (Pinar, 1995). My program of research constructs multiple accounts of CTS, situating this study in educative perspectives that seek to promote continuity, rather than a disparity, between historical realities and historical narratives.

The topic I have chosen for my research was not 'discovered' in the traditional sense of research; it is research that directly connects my personal and professional life, informing my artistic output and my professional practice as an educator. The affinity I have for this research requires a discussion of author bias to foreground the perspectives that guide my writing. I acknowledge that as a teacher at CTS, my personal experiences, both positive and negative,

influence interpretations and analyses. I will not claim positivist-empiricist notions of objectivity and detachment. What I will do is acknowledge the role of the researcher throughout my study, inserting my perspectives and including reflexive endnotes that highlight personal connections or insights. My experience at CTS has afforded me a critical lens that has grown out of my personal experiences. Insider knowledge is different from bias: when there is an awareness of how your own perspectives have been shaped by experience, there is an understanding of how all stories are shaped by experience (Garnet, 2012a; Kennedy-Lewis, 2012). My study is strengthened when this experience is combined with social and political contexts and historical evidence, and when I join my voice with a sonance of voices of students, teachers and administrators past and present. The overarching history I construct is shaped by conversation, collaboration, exchange, and my personal history in the department that puts me in a position to contribute to the historical discourse and thus have meaningful exchanges that generate new ideas.

Structuring New Canadian Art Education Histories

The technical art education program found at CTS is so vast, it could never be documented in its totality, and I do not claim to provide an encyclopedic account of a whole history. My research is also not the definitive story of how technical education developed in Toronto, Ontario, but a reflexive history self-consciously produced: selected, ordered, and interpreted to make sense of the oral histories, vast archival sources, and material culture viewed through a postmodern lens.

Art education histories that have been presented in the past, more often than not, arguably carry baggage of tradition either in the manifestation of form or perspectives. In constructing this version of recalling history, I maintain the tradition of qualitative rigor while building from the

postmodern theories of historical writing espoused by Hayden White, Keith Jenkins, and Alun Munslow, which in turn defines the structure of my dissertation and provides the theory, methodology, and analysis used to inform the stories I write and why these stories are significant in the construction of a representational history. As a case study, the art education department at CTS is not a mere topic of cultural appreciation but functions as a critical lens to view the development and decline of technical education in Toronto and innovative schools in general.

In Chapter 2, I discuss theory within the practitioners of art education history in Canada. Early studies of art education in Ontario during the nineteenth century, such as those by Pearse (2006), Chalmers (1993b, 2006), and Stirling (1991, 2006) and Canadian art education institutional histories, such as those by O'Brian (1998), Soucy and Pearse (1993), and Stephenson (2006) have provided starting points for my historical investigation. Building on these earlier studies I engage in a 'prestentistic' form of history. I acknowledge that prestentism is a contested space in historical research, but I take it up from the perspective which "incorporate[s] an orientation that deliberately uses the lenses and perspectives of the present in order to bring current assumptions and perspectives into focus" (Fendler, 2008, p. 677).

Theories of 'new histories' significantly inform my research. New historians like White and Doran (2010), Munslow (2012), and Macfie, 2014; Ankersmit and Kellner (1995), and philosophers like Foucault and Derrida, guided me to write a postmodern new history on this art department. By taking this stance, I enter the field of historical writing at a time when the knowledge of postmodern histories are widely shared and emerging theorists are breaking from traditional formats or perspectives across fields of study. The lens of new histories suggests there is no one true history or metanarrative and, in reality, every history embeds traces of the historian who in some way imparts a bias that effects the reality of the story told, that is, the same body of

data can produce as many interpretations as there are historians (Soucy, 1985; Smith & LaPierre, 1995). Historians constantly make choices and despite the completeness of evidence, sophistication of theories and complexity of methods, history is an authoring process. The author's choices "contribute to the artifice of narrative as a true representation of the past" (Booth, 2012, p. 568). Like many new historians, I argue that data and inference of what the historical fact most likely means is equal to and as important as how we chose to emplot, ideologize, figure and argue (Stankiewicz, 1995, Jenkins, 2009, Munslow, 2010). By focusing on the plurality of stories which construct this account of art education, I have a duty to engage meaningfully with the presumed past, and for me that duty entails "being self-conscious about how [I] go about it— at every level of thinking and practice" (Jenkins & Munslow, 2011, p. 580).

In Chapter 3, I present a customary visual rendering of a multi-case study framework in the form of a polyptych. This visual architecture articulates the configuration of my new history as an interrelated construction that accommodates the complex emplotment of thematic strands woven through the generations of historical stories. Utilizing the architecture of polyptych design has allowed me to visually render my new history as a plurality of stories and story forms generated from internal, external, and personal perspectives. The polyptych frame is a fluid network of clustered panels or in my case, story frames, made up of multiple histories that incorporate the three qualitative methods of oral histories (primary), archival research (secondary), and material culture analysis (tertiary). These methods function within a three-dimensional rhizomatic architecture allowing data to converge and diverge in a non-hierarchal way. My multiple case study methodology is illustrated by the polyptych and unpacks how my data sources informed the interconnectedness of individual histories across time and place.

In Chapter 4, I weave eleven representative stories together to demonstrate the application of the polyptych construction as a means to generate a new history(ies). The multiplicity of stories I have collected provide the opportunity to select stories for this version of history that correspond to the five generations identified. Stories were also chosen and constructed to provide maximum variation of perspectives. In this way, I engage with traditional modes of doing history, collecting the names, dates, and facts, that begin to give us an understanding of the past, but also with postmodern issues of identity politics and networks, providing layers of context often missing from historical accounts. Considered as a collection of histories, the story chapter is the heart of my dissertation.

In Chapter 5, my analysis examines how the stories, supported by primary and secondary sources found in oral histories, archives, newspapers, yearbooks, and a variety of promotional material, results in four core narrative strands of institutional identity, identity politics, school culture, and social networks that work to weave and connect the histories together. These narrative strands are the cornerstones of my new history of CTS, created from the complexity and richness generated from each strand as a form of dimensionality and connection between stories from different generations which emerged during the course of this research study.

In Chapter 6, my educational significance adds to a conversation about innovative schools, standardization, and educational change. The plurality of the new histories I bring forward are formed in the multiple tensions between technical and fine art education and shifts to educational standardization. These tensions are shown through the everyday lives of the people who have been and are a part of this Art Department. Through this chapter I trace the lineage of leaders who directed the Department's vision for over a century and address the tensions and

change forces which have led to the standardization and what may be viewed as the potential decline of the CTS Art Department as a result.

Reflecting On My Journey

Knowledge of this institution is important to the evolution of more localized art education histories that have implications for our national vision as a field of study. For this historical project I am not challenging the assumptions of previous historians, which in most cases means arguing they misread the available evidence. I prefer the argument that the evidence I have at this given time constitutes a representational history that may well change in the future. This reasoning may not convince a historian who believes that the truth is 'out there,' and that it is discoverable. Past historiographic belief in an objective-scientific history has allowed educators to make public policy in accord with what is arguably an interim understanding. For my research I engage with the past and radically redefine it as an aesthetic "narrative making cultural discourse" (Jenkins & Munslow, 2011, p. 580). In this way I do not facilitate planning for an unknowable future, but focus on the vitality of why stories matter in this historical context. The Art Department at CTS is of national historic importance and I anticipate I will continue to investigate my school as a site for understanding a multitude of the broader forces of political, economic, and cultural factors, artistic biases and predilections, and pedagogical practices which affect the evolution and progression of art education in Canada.

CHAPTER TWO- THEORY AND NEW HISTORIES

The Art Department at CTS is part of a much larger technical school that was allowed a generous amount of independence as it developed into the art institution that stands today. Over a period of five generations, I show that the Art Department maintained a degree of autonomy from the rest of the CTS campus, showcased in the isolated physical locations it has occupied and the development of its specialized curriculum. These conditions fostered a vision of excellence in technical art practice that did not waver despite decades of educational change forces. How could this be possible in a public secondary school system? I address this question by first placing the CTS Art Department within the context of Canadian art education histories and then engaging in a discussion of "new histories" as a way to represent the plurality of historical understanding. This chapter will address how my study embodies what Foucault (2012/1977) dubs an "effective" history (wirkliche Historie) (p. 154), utilizing story as a genealogical tool to illuminate generations of time. The histories I bring forward do not follow a singular storyline and present a complexity that constitutes an omission in our understanding of the development of technical art instruction in Canada's largest city.

Stankiewicz (2009) argues that around the turn of the 20th century, two parallel approaches to art teaching emerged in some colonial countries, and this split can clearly be seen in the development of secondary art education in Toronto during this time. Academic high schools and technical institutions offered an art curriculum that followed what historian David Thistlewood (1992) refers to as a *classic thesis*, in the form of the South Kensington system, developed in the mid-19th century at what is now the Royal College of Art in London.

Stankiewicz (2009) argues that the South Kensington system "tended to be associated with art

education for social control, art instruction that served the economic needs of the dominant culture and treated learners as future workers who needed to be civilized" (p. 8). Ontario's educationalists believed that technical schools offering industrial art and design would provide the means to greatly diffuse "education among the poorer classes of our people, promoting temperance, and lessening crime" (Hodgins, 1911, p. 372). At the end of the 19th century, art education began to change in Ontario, moving towards Thistlewood's *romantic antithesis*. This antithesis was characterized by the influence of the Arts and Crafts movement on the teaching philosophies of the artist-teachers in schools (Sisler, 1993; Panayotidis, 1997). For Stankiewicz (2009), this romantic antithesis is defined by:

...a grounding in cultural rather than industrial technological experiences and a focus less on national political needs than on individual desires for distinction through art (Bourdieu, 1984). Specialist art teachers of the romantic antithesis identified themselves as artists or artist-teachers, not simply as teachers of art. Their personal experiences with the contemporary art of the day, then breaking out of traditional academic frames, reflected more extensive studio education as well as opportunities for continuing professional development. (p. 9)

The dualism that Stankiewicz and Thistlewood identify in historic sites of art education provides a more complex, international understanding of the history and development of technical art education in Ontario. My historical construction of the CTS Art Department exemplifies the tensions between industrial and fine art training as seen through the lives of students and instructors who negotiated this space (see Figure 6).

Art education historians, such as Pearse (2006), Chalmers (1984, 1993, 2006), and Stirling (1991, 2006), argue that South Kensington was Ontario's structural model for most

forms of art education in the late 19th century. South Kensington incorporated "a highly specific syllabus for the teaching of art, which was to be dominant in the UK, and other English-speaking countries, at least until the end of the 19th century, and not to entirely vanish until the 1930s" (Frayling, 1987, p. 41). Sisler (1993) and Panayotidis (1997) argue that despite the dominant South Kensington curriculum, the *humanistic* values of the *Arts and Crafts movement were weighing against* the mechanizing goals of the Industrial Revolution in Ontario. The history of the CTS Art Department engages with this discussion; I show through the stories of past students and instructors how this site was a hybrid location of art education working with and through the tensions between industrial and fine art to produce both skilled artists and designers.



Figure 6: Toronto Technical School art class, 1903. Image courtesy of the Toronto District School Board Archives.

South Kensington Influences

Early efforts of technical art education in Ontario were fragmented, with no coherence or formal unifying structure. Chalmers (1993) notes that:

Between 1835 and 1882, eighty-six mechanics' institutes were established throughout what became Ontario. These institutions provided meeting rooms, reading rooms, and libraries, and conducted evening classes for teens and adults. The subjects taught tended to be writing and bookkeeping, English grammar, arithmetic and drawing. (p. 168–169)

All of these courses, departments, schools and institutions were being promoted, funded and maintained in isolation from one another, mostly due to the unique and unrelated motivations and influences which spurred their creation. Literature on Ontario technical education quite often points to its use as a method of social reform (Rafferty, 1995; Smaller, 2003; Morrison, 1974; Stamp, 1970, 1972, 1982). Although it is clear from the historical record that economic and labour interests played a large part in the creation and development of technical education in Ontario, they are often over-emphasized to the exclusion of all other discourses, agents and agencies, particularly in relation to artistic philosophies and interests.

Walter Smith, as Supervisor of Drawing in Boston schools and State Director of Art
Education in Massachusetts, has been heralded as the person most responsible for bringing South
Kensington's rigid system of art education across the Atlantic (Gaitskell, 1953; Soucy, 1990).
Chalmers (1993) argues that Smith's role was then "usurped by Egerton Ryerson who was the
Chief Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada. Ryerson had travelled in the United
Kingdom and Europe and was familiar with developments at South Kensington following the
Great Exhibition of 1851" (Chalmers, 1993, p. 161). The Superintendent of Ontario art schools,
technical schools and public libraries from 1880 until 1905 was Dr. Samuel Passmore May.
Under his leadership, 'practical' art education was endorsed and a systemized approach to the
teaching of drawing was implemented in technical schools. Chalmers (1993) notes that Dr. May
drew parallels to the South Kensington System in his reports and "throughout his career he

preached a doctrine of salvation for all through practical, industrially oriented, art education" (p. 165). The South Kensington system and its philosophies were the dominant influence in both academic and technical schools in Ontario decades before the Arts and Crafts movement began to appear in the pedagogy and curriculum of art instructors.

Arts and Crafts Influences

The effect of the Arts and Crafts movement from the 1880s to the mid-20th century is discussed by Panayotidis (1997), who links the humanistic philosophical movement to technical art education in Ontario. The British Arts and Crafts movement stressed the therapeutic value of artistic training to improve not only the quality of output but also the quality of life for the working class (see Figure 7). The adherents to the Arts and Crafts philosophy related the moral and social health of a nation to the qualities of its architecture and design. It was argued that the Industrial Revolution was to blame for many social ills and that a healthy society depended on skilled and creative workers. Panayotidis's (1997) study highlights how Arts and Crafts ideas were vital to the cultural production of key social aesthetic notions which were used to shape certain aspects of social, educational and economic policy in Ontario. A focus was placed on the emergence, development and influence of the British Arts and Crafts movement to show how, why and in what contexts the social-aesthetic ideas and practices garnered a responsive following. More specifically, she looked at how the movement's ideas and aesthetic philosophies became ingrained in Ontario's artistic and educational systems.

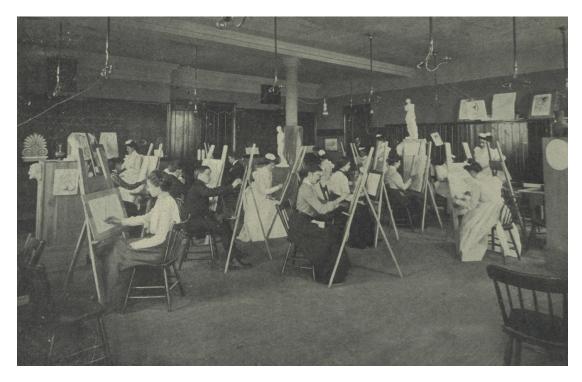


Figure 7: Toronto Technical School mixed gender drawing class, 1903. Photograph courtesy of the TDSB Archives.

Canadian art education historian Harold Pearse (2006), as well as art historians like Duval (1985), Crawford (1998), Sisler (1993), and Foss, Paikowsky, and Whitelaw (2010) also recognized the broad influence of the Arts and Crafts movement on visual arts education in Ontario schools. Pearse (2006) points to Jessie P. Semple (1859-1938), the first woman supervisor of art education for the Toronto School Board (1900-1925), who effectively ended the era of South Kensington and the copy book. Semple's modern educational ideas introduced:

...free drawing of objects, drawing from nature and teaching design, decoration, and colour work. These ideas and methods, heralded as maxims of the "New Education" and derived from the American arts-and-crafts movement under the influence of such British artists and critics as William Morris and John Ruskin, were disseminated to teachers in after school meetings and Saturday morning classes. (Pearse, 2006, p. 113)

Both the South Kensington system and the Arts and Crafts movement arguably influenced in the shaping of technical art education in Ontario. Focusing on the development of the CTS art program through the analysis of school prospectus booklets, curriculum documents, photographs, oral histories and board minutes, I have traced a clear development of fine art, craft, and industrial art-based courses offered at both night and day school (see Figure 8). My historical study is marked by a complexity of educational philosophies and the interests of both political and social forces acting on the CTS Art Department. This period of development, and the narrative threads which come from it, transcend time and weave a tension throughout my entire dissertation. The perspectives and lineage outlined in this section show the inability of one history to tell the stories of this school.

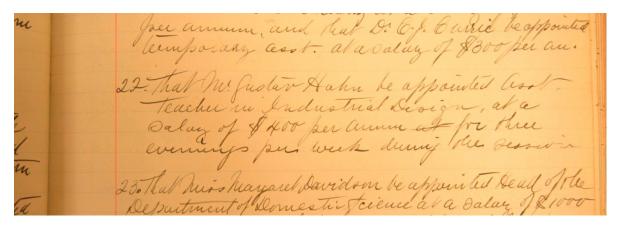


Figure 8: A section of the Toronto Technical School minutes from the inaugural meeting, December 15th 1891. Document shows the hiring of artist-teacher Gustav Hahn. Image courtesy of the TDSB Archives.

New Histories

Constructing history can be thought of as gathering and organizing a selection of fragments to develop a telling of the past. The theorists of new histories (Ankersmit & Kellner, 1995; Jenkins, 2009; Tosh & Lang, 2009; White & Doran, 2010; Munslow, 2012) help me to consider my authorial subjectivity and how to emplot the fragments found in oral histories,

archives and material culture. A new history as a historiographic concept requires a brief elaboration of how I define and write about its plurality. Throughout this dissertation I use the term "new histories" or "new history" interchangeably. While "new histories" is written at times its singular form, it is important to note that its meaning is always plural.

My program of research takes on the margins and edges of historical writing in art education in three distinct ways: by confronting history as a literary artistic tool; by reconfiguring the conception, of the ways to present the past; and by positioning the author as a participating actor in the constructed history. History has been exposed as "emplotted": as Munslow argues, "the meaning of the past does not lie in the absolute significance of a single event but how that event is fitted into an appropriate story narrative" (Munslow, 2007, p. 38). Munslow identifies the creative process of writing history as the "story space" model of what, how, when, why and to whom things happened in the past, "which the reader/consumer enters into when they read, view, or 'experience' the past, constituted as history' (2007, p. 6). Thinking in terms of historical periods is helpful in conceptualizing the past, but Munslow suggests "how and why [historians construct history] depends ultimately on ... epistemological choices" (2007, p.19). The same body of data can generate different and competing interpretations and this can also mean different and competing emplotments. Munslow (2010) argues that "data is shaped by the historian and his or her aesthetic choices. The emotional input of the historian thus becomes a central issue in meaning creation" (p. 138). New history is about multiplicity as a broad theoretical position or movement: new historians believe that there is no single truth to be understood from looking to the past, although there can be many accurate descriptions of events. Just because statements of justified and reasonable belief exist, they do not necessarily stand in for the reality of the past. Munslow (2012) explains that although historical truths can be crossreferenced with one another, they can "never be cross-referenced with the category 'the past'" (p. 53).

Bolin (1995) discusses disciplinary reconstructions in the contemporary field of historiography that advocate for the paradigm of new history. According to Burke (1991), Munslow (2012) and Jenkins (2009), historians have used the term "new history" since the 1950s, but greater recognition in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s has challenged traditional historians' conventional methods, resulting in evolutionary changes affecting historical writing across the disciplines. ¹ The new art education history that I have created is what Munslow (2010) terms "artwork history" (p. 183). I believe that an historian who attempts this kind of artful creation must have an understanding that their writing possesses both "formal characteristics such as story space, point of view, focalization and timing, and above all, an understanding that 'facts' and 'factual events' do not equate with meaning" (p. 183). In these two respects "experimental new history is a kind of historical representation that addresses the effect of 'pastness' on the historian and her or his understanding and personal engagement" (p. 183).

North American accounts of art education in the last decade consistently push the expanding edges of postmodern art education history by uncovering the lives of instructors, students, and institutions (Pearse, 2006b; Bolin, 2006, 2009; Romans, 2005; Stankiewicz, 2007). These art education historians probe "more deeply into the social contexts where art education has occurred, examining the functions it has been asked to serve, and questioning the varied stakeholders who have advocated art education for themselves or others" (Stankiewicz, Amburgy, and Bolin, 2004, p. 34). The scholarly work of these groundbreaking art education historians has forged a path that I have explored, and that now, in response to this body of literature and advances in historiography, I will continue to forge. Scholars focused on art

education history (Soucy, 1985; Chalmers, 2004; Pearse, 2006b) have speculated and taken up more dynamic versions of history, and I have followed their lead by bringing new histories into the field.

Historians of art education have shown interest in conducting new forms of historical investigation utilizing a postmodern framework, foregrounding gender, race, socio-economic status and other hierarchies of access and power. These histories are often informed by methods of investigation that include oral history (e.g. Stockrocki, 1992, 1995; Stephenson, 2006; Blandy, 2008), archives (Morris & Raunft, 1995) and the use of material culture from the past to initiate historical inquiry (Ashwin, 1975; Korzenik, 1983, 1985a; Pinto & Smith 1999; Bolin & Blandy, 2011). The following theoretical perspectives in this chapter elaborate on how new histories collectively produce multiple perspectives informing the story of CTS I write.

The Theory Behind the Methods

Oral Histories

Historians are constantly confronted with an evidentiary dilemma. Unable to relive the past, they can only construct it (Bodnar, 1996; Cunningham, 2000). Researchers and historians sometimes use oral histories, as I do, to help fill the gaps left by the paucity of documents in the history of art education (Stokrocki, 1995; Bolin, Blandy & Congdon, 2000). Historians creating new histories save themselves from creating fiction by casting a broad net for evidence of many forms. Warren (2004) argues that oral history "can enrich and lead a search for context beyond the predispositions historians inevitably bring to their projects" (p. 154). For that reason, I have conducted twenty oral histories involving past students, instructors and administrators to understand the diverse perspectives that contribute to the history of the CTS Art Department (Appendix 2).

A number of biographies and autobiographies have helped to inform my new histories, but oral history—the process of gathering personal reflections of events and their causes and effects from one or several individuals (Plummer, 1983)—provides a different quality of information that has proven to be a vital source for my research. An oral history:

allows the researcher to document what the person has lived through and to analyze this information for underlying meanings and significance that such an event or a time period has for the informant. Oral history provides information that cannot be gleaned from any other sources, and it gives voice to ordinary and often marginalized peoples whose stories might never have been documented otherwise. (Chaitin, 2008, p. 583)

Historiography has rarely engaged with "the problem of voice" (Armstrong, 2003, p. 201) and this can be seen in histories of education that do not move beyond the voices of official policy makers. I utilize oral histories to shift the focus from the general to the particular and precise experience of people from the Art Department, opening spaces for their voices in the historical stories I construct.

Oral history is utilized in my study as one of three methods that share equal status as I construct stories from the history of this institution. The valuing of expertise beyond that of professional researchers can be regarded as an ethical stance, though it is rarely explicitly communicated as such. It relates to Lincoln's (2005) "democratic and pluralistic ethics of qualitative practices" (p. 165), and it encompasses the recognition that "people are experts by experience" (Nind, Wiles, Bengry-Howell & Crow, 2013, p. 660). Noted Canadian historian Steven High (2009) explores the methodology, ethics and politics of democratizing the research process in the humanities and social sciences. He states that "there has been remarkably little discussion of the public's place in the research process: how, when, and if authority should be

shared between university-based researchers and community membership" (High, 2009, p. 12). This conversation is part of a much larger movement or progression toward including communities in more meaningful research and, when possible, sharing interpretative power (Israel, Schulz, Parker & Becker, 2001; Josselson, 2013). The use of oral histories in my research takes up what High (2009) sees as a "need to be attentive to the structures of power that shape our lives and those of our research subjects and partners" (p. 15). By accepting the value of both the subjective perspectives found in oral histories and traditional objectivist perspectives found in external and internal sources, I bring rigor to my study, challenging a singular perspective of the Art Department's history and examining the "dynamic relationship between past and present, subjective and objective" (p. 22).

As with any form of memory work, there are theoretical complications that must be addressed when incorporating oral histories into research (Eick, 2011). Yow (1997) suggests that "we cannot go about research without questioning ourselves, our biases, our purposes, our reactions to the narrator and the process, and the effects our research have on the narrator" (p. 68). This introspective questioning has pushed me to develop "an objective relation" (Turner, 1991, p. v) to my own subjectivity as I recorded, transcribed and emplotted the participants' stories into the new histories I construct. Oral history is an historical construction and "by virtue of the fact that I am recording the testimony means that both myself and narrator have in the back of our minds the presence of other audiences" (McMahan, 1989, p.19). Grele and Terkel (1985) described this as a "particular vision of history" (p. 213) which provides a context for each participant.

For generations, the Art Department has been depicted by external perspectives and internal lore as prestigious, impressing often indelible stereotypes on the collective imagination,

an idealized school past, seen in the various public commemorations and celebrations promoted by the program on the basis of a deliberate legacy-fostering culture. The collective memory of the Art Department has a strong "transgenerational" (Riva, 2013) quality caused by the passing of a tradition and culture by leaders and instructors. The survival of the Department's legacy and traditions is due to this transgenerationality that perpetuates material culture, educational practices and teaching methods well beyond the era for which they were originally devised and in which they were originally disseminated.

Memory recorded thorough oral histories can be used to study the past, but it can also be used to define the way the present looks at the past and interprets or re-interprets that past. In that sense, from the standpoint of the history of art education, I do not find school memories interesting only as a tool offering us access to the school of the past but also as a key allowing us to understand what people today know or think they know about the school of the past, and the extent to which what they know reflects reality or is in fact a product of the stereotypes rooted in common perceptions. My research on the Art Department at CTS does not simply explore the program as it really was but engages in the complex process of defining the memory of that school as developed and revisited over time at both the individual and collective levels. My study utilizes the memories of everyday school experience and explores the social and cultural agents that have helped in part to reconfigure that memory. My new histories rely on the personal perspectives found in oral accounts to weave connections between the archival material and material culture, but I also recognize a "conceptual shift which makes acknowledgment of the interviewer's reactions to, and intrusions into, research speakable" (Yow, 1997, p. 56). The oral histories I recorded became personal as I reflected on and made connections with my own experiences as an instructor in the Art Department. I believe that my embedded knowledge

allowed me to empathize with their stories differently from an outsider, and recognize how they were both telling their stories but also telling part of my own professional history.

Oral histories of experiences from students and teachers provide at least two analytical levels which intersect. First is the experiential level, which focuses on the life actually lived as it was presented to me, and second is the discursive level, which represents the ways in which I created meaning in the narrative by drawing on other oral histories, archives, material culture and my own experience to construct connections between the five generations of stories I write.

Archives

Archive theory has directly contributed to the complexity of my research, prompting new ways to graft a complex network of connections following a shift in the traditional use of archives and other historical resources (Burk, 1991; Bass, 1999; Brereton, 1999). Sixteen archive locations (Appendix 3) were combed for information related to the Art Department at CTS. More researchers are now entering the archive to discover all forms of documents and to interact with them, breathing new life into the stories they tell. The living archive is dynamic and changing with each new visit, and theorizing it can help to reconfigure the relationship between historical reality and historical understanding. My informed reading of the archives facilitates connections between texts or materials and what is absent or excluded from the archives (Ramsey, 2008). These connections are forged, in part, through the past, present and future, among those who store and arrange the items (Schwartz & Cook, 2002) as well as those who have used, collected and saved them (Valge & Kibal, 2007). Archives are not simple repositories of history. Instead, they are subjective spaces, implicated in how the past is remembered and reconstructed. What is *not* held in an archive is just as important as what is included (Read & Sukovic, 2010; Murphy,

2011; Mason & Zanish-Belcher, 2007), creating real, discernible effects on what history is written.

Scholarship on archival research has demonstrated how archives are shaped by the aims of their creators and how interpretation of the archive always depends on the perspective of its interpreters (Steedman, 2001). The writing of history utilizing archives is a complex and subjective act requiring the intervention of a human interpreter because "the archive is never 'raw' or 'primary ... it is always assembled so as to lead later investigators in a particular direction" (White, 1987, p. 44). Remembering (or re-creating) the past through historical research in archival records is not simply "the retrieval of stored information, but the putting together of a claim about past states of affairs by means of a framework of shared cultural understanding" (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 43).

My new history does not try to interpret the primary documents found in archives, but instead attempts to work on and develop them from within (Derrida, 1996). As an emerging historian I embrace the concept that the researcher of history must "read for what is not there: the silences and the absences" (Steedman, 2001, p. 1177). Derrida (1996) describes the archive as "a place where thought becomes entwined with materiality" (p. 29). He uses archives to frame a discussion about psychoanalysis and recovered memory. For Derrida the archive is not a passive receptacle; it shapes and controls the way history is read, which in turn shapes our political reality. As he so succinctly says in a footnote at the beginning of *Archive Fever*: "There is no political power without control of the archive, or without memory" (Derrida, 1996, p. 4). His essential thesis argues that the archive is a place and a way for authority to perform its power. He describes his archive fever rather poetically: "It is to burn with a passion. It is never to rest, interminably, from searching for the archive" (Derrida, 1996, p. 91). According to Derrida, we

not only need archives, we burn for them. Derrida's theorizing encouraged me to question the commonly accepted narratives and investigate the gaps and disjunctures which arose as I compared other sources like oral histories and various items of material culture to the "official" CTS Art Department history presented in archival documents.

The archive, for Foucault (2010/1972), is the "system of discursivity" that establishes the possibility of what can be said (p. 129). Foucault theorizes that discursive formations or systematic conceptual frameworks, like academic disciplines, define their own truth criteria. Foucault (2010/1972) argues that traditional period-based accounts of history "privilege the role of social actors as the dynamic of change" (p. 172). This traditional history has largely been concerned with "theories of action" (and actors) rather than with the ways in which cultural practices are, themselves, continually produced and remade through the discourse of knowledge. In placing the emphasis on social actors, traditional histories have been underpinned by a phenomenological epistemology of individual consciousness that is placed at the centre of historical action (Popkewitz, Franklin, & Pereyra, 2001). For Foucault, however, the document takes on a different status. History's primary task is no longer the interpretation of the document and its expressive value, nor the attempt to decide if it is telling the truth—contemporary history's task is to work on the document from within, developing its potential as meaningmaker. History now organizes the document, divides it up, orders it, distinguishes between what is relevant and what is not and describes relations to other documents.

Foucault challenges ideas of total history, timelines and continuity and the very usefulness of primary documents in historians' quest to know the past. His approach departs from a basic premise of traditional history: he refutes the ability of the historian to *recapture* the past. Rather than trying to resolve the "unsolvable epistemological problem of what can be

known about the world," Foucault (2010/1972) examines the ways in which knowledge is made and remade as a cultural practice of regulation (p. 15–16). A Foucauldian perspective on history cannot be adequately represented chronologically as a series of unfolding events; instead, the "past and present are understood to be intricately interrelated" (Foucault, 2012/1977, p. 120). The role of the historian, then, is not to represent an unfolding timeline of historical events, but instead to identify and recognize those practices through which knowledge is continually made and remade (Armstrong, 2003). Recognizing and accepting this view in my own research ensures that I will never recapture *the* past but it does open new possibilities and avenues to explore. Through analysis of Foucault's archive theories, I have challenged many of the assumptions that underpinned my previous understanding of historical scholarship, emphasizing the importance of a complex theoretical foundation that places the exploration of power and voice at its centre.

Utilizing key theory from Derrida and Foucault, I question why the CTS Art Department has received minimal attention in the discourse of Canadian art education history. This question cannot be answered by simply saying there are not enough art education historians. Derrida and Foucault prompted me to investigate the possibility that there may be some bias against technical education based on conceptions of the types of people who attend these institutions or a belief that the history of technical art education is not as important as art education in academically-focused public and private schools. By exploring these issues in the archives, I was able to recognize what was included and what has been left out of the historical record.

Moving away from organizing concepts such as historical periods, centuries, timelines, and totalities, Derrida and Foucault have pushed me to explore the discontinuities, ruptures and transformations. Documents alone did not reconstitute the history I bring forward; they worked with me in a dialogic cycle along with oral histories and material culture to create understanding.

Archival documents were pulled apart and compared to external, internal and personal perspectives opening a multiplicity of readings. Every society produces, consciously or unconsciously, a mass of documentation (records, accounts, texts, buildings, and customs) but primary documents alone are not capable of reconstituting the past.

Material Culture

Over the past decade, the discussion of material culture has been taken up by an interdisciplinary cross section of "scholars who have been refining the methods and conceptual language used to study commodities, objects, things and various permutations of materiality" (Sloan, 2011, p. 1). "Things" and "stuff" are important because although we all live in a material world, we are typically educated in intellectual traditions that too often abstract, overlook or decontextualize physical objects and processes. Auslander, Bentley, Halevi, Sibum and Witmore (2009) argue that "multiple perspectives, multiple sources of data (texts, objects, quantitative data, lived experience, hands-on knowledge) acquired in a multi-sensorial fashion, firmly grounded in and maintaining a credible link with existing knowledge, help provide the fullest and most meaningful historical research" (p. 1386).

Material Culture Studies translated into a research method can be defined as an investigation that uses artifacts (along with relevant documentary, statistical and oral data) to explore cultural questions (Hicks & Beaudry, 2010; Woodward, 2009; Miller, 2010). Material culture is not culture itself but its product (Margolis & Pauwels, 2011; Mietzner, Myers and Peim, 2005). I believe that the things, or objects, saved through history offer insight by engaging the researcher's senses, empathy and imagination (Korzenik, 1985b; Bolin, 1995). Mieke Bal (1994) asks, "can [a] thing ... tell stories?" (p. 99). The written word has traditionally been seen

as the principal source of history, yet today's historians increasingly recognize the value of sources beyond text. Leaders in the field of material culture studies, Miller and Tilley (1996) suggest that the study of material culture is "post-disciplinary" and free from the historical and institutional history that constrains many academic subject areas. The study of material culture has extended far beyond the realm of "things" to engage with the materialities of, for example, landscape, architecture and social memory. ² Tilley (2006) addresses what we can learn from objects, arguing that "material forms do not simply mirror pre-existing social distinctions, sets of ideas or symbolic systems. They are instead, the very medium through which these values, ideas, and social distinctions are constantly reproduced and legitimized, or transformed" (p. 61).

I have come to understand objects as "alternative sources" that can complement documentary materials in answering the questions posed by economic and social history (Harvey, 2009, Burke, 2013). Sources of material culture provide meaningful, direct, "hands-on" knowledge in my reconstruction of the history of the CTS Art Department. I believe that this kind of familiarity with objects endows historians with crucial insights into the past that cannot be gained otherwise. I argue that information can be gained from material culture not found in texts alone. For example, relationships among students and teachers can be analyzed using photographs; as well, student art could be used to determine what was being taught in the classroom and the instructors' skill level and style.

Inherent in this approach to studying material culture is a recognition of the "polysemantic" nature of objects—the fact that they have multiple meanings to different people, depending on factors such as race, class, gender and context (Pearce, 1994, p. 19). As a historical researcher and art educator, I embrace the many meanings that objects can possess, but I also understand that I will never be able to address or conceive of all of the meanings and sources of

the objects I come across during my study. Pearce (1992) points to the inwardness of objects as one of their most powerful characteristics: "objects hang before the eyes of the imagination, continuously re-presenting ourselves to ourselves and telling the stories of our lives in ways that would be impossible otherwise" (p. 47). Multiple readings of objects ensure that there will never be one story that defines the CTS art program. My position as a researcher and insider in the Department will also have a direct impact on the interpretations I make from objects. Some examples of material culture that have provided insights for my study include sketchbooks, professors' lecture notes, the quality and wear of the technical machinery and the different physical spaces that the Art Department occupied.

Layer upon layer, the traces of the past build up. Knowledge accrued from intimate, lived experience can allow for a richness of meaning that is qualitatively different from the perspective of those without an experiential connection to such objects of study. This type of knowledge may be as important as that which is mediated through texts; in my view both are critical to achieving the fullest possible understanding of an object in history. In addition to precision and accuracy, for me an innovative history is created by historians who evoke a multi-sensorial rendering of the experience or object that they are describing—in clear, accessible, artful language that does not sacrifice sophistication or scholarly expertise (Forrest, 1991).

My investigation of literature on material culture has encouraged me to see the field as not only about things themselves, but also about how we engage things (Rousmaniere, 2001a, 2001b; Lawn & Grosvenor, 2005; Korzenik, 2004; Knappett, 2005). The use of artifacts collected from the history of the Art Department provides another source of data which I have used in collaboration with oral and archival sources. The process of our own subjective

interactions with objects is an essential element of the final "product" of research. Together, these perspectives provide a dynamic tool for reconstructing the history of the CTS art program.

Generations, Genealogy and New Histories

The new histories that constitute my version of the past were authored using "imagination and grounded speculation" (Bolin, 2009) to engage the non-linearity which characterizes the stories of the Art Department at CTS. I believe this is a challenge to an historical discourse that has privileged positivism over other ways of knowing throughout the history of Western thought (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). Constructing historical stories of art education in the 21st century requires innovative perspectives that embrace the growing potential of various contributing sources (Perecman & Curran, 2006; Gidney & Millar, 2012). Writing art education history as new histories opens up the possibility of an altogether new form of engagement with the past. Through writing my new histories, I have found that the "dualisms which continue to dominate Western thought [today] are inadequate for understanding a world of multiple causes and effects interacting in complex and non-linear ways" (Lather, 1991, p. 21). The complexity and length of the Art Department's history revealed a genealogy of ideas stretched over generations of time.

Five generations of stories have been written to represent my new histories of the CTS Art Department. This extended time period charts a genealogy of ideas that has evolved organically as change forces and different philosophical influences shaped the Department into the institution it is today. The principal benefit of adopting a genealogical understanding in my educational research is that it attempts to work productively with, rather than against, the complexity of our lives. Traditional histories follow a formal quasi-objective stance, often

stripping history down to a series of names, dates and facts, creating, in turn, an incomplete literary record. A genealogical analysis challenges traditional practices of history, philosophical assumptions and established conceptions of knowledge, truth and power. Foucault's (2012/1977) genealogical analysis runs against the search for underlying laws, universal explanatory systems and the inevitability of lines of development in human progress. His analysis seeks to avoid the construction of histories that are "too pretty to be true" (Foucault, 2010/1980, p. 209).

The genealogical analysis I employ illuminates the idea that there is more than one version of how technical art training developed at CTS. Tensions that play out in history between industrial and fine arts instruction at CTS destabilize seemingly natural categories as constructs and open up new discourse and possibilities for the Art Department to be reimagined as an organic hybrid of philosophical forces. Through an examination of the histories of this art department, Foucault's genealogies encouraged me to re-assess and re-evaluate the discourses and knowledges of Canadian art education histories and question "official" accounts, their effective positions and how they worked to limit the stories being told.

The new histories of the CTS Art Department take a genealogical approach leading to what Foucault (2012/1977) calls an "effective history" opposed to traditional positivist history, which presumably relies on metaphysical assumptions. A traditional, metaphysical approach to history avoids variation and ignores what Foucault (2012/1977) calls "accidents" in the author's search for the essence of things. In many cases, traditional history searches for the truth of history by illuminating great historical figures and events. Everything else, like the everyday lives of common people, for example, is an "accident". Traditional history searches for "origins"; it tries to tell the truth of history (Foucault, 2012/1977).

In contrast to a traditional history, I conceptualize my new histories under the umbrella of genealogy. My work rejects the metaphysical idea of history that creates a unified and continuous view of truth. Utilizing genealogy, I have focused on the arbitrary nature of history, on disjunctions, conflicts, discontinuities and multiplicities. My new histories invert traditional history; instead of providing an interpretation of history, the genealogy I construct provides a history of interpretations of the Art Department. A genealogy acknowledges awareness that a single history is no more than one interpretation of many possible interpretations.

For almost twenty years, educationists have been pressing for academic legitimation of storytelling genres (Barone & Eisner, 1997). The "narrative turn" in human studies and social sciences was largely the result of the ascendance of literary theory to prominence in academic research (Gallagher, 2011; van Manen, 1990). Barone (1995) argues that the story format is best suited to promoting epiphanic moments (Denzin, 1989) in its readers. These are major transactional moments that disrupt the ordinary flow of life by questioning the usual definitions of important facets of one's world. This power of story derives from its capacity to entice the reader into a powerful vicarious experience (Barone & Eisner, 1997). Interest in the storytelling form began brewing in the field of education (and the field of curriculum, in particular) with the reconceptualist movement inspired by William F. Pinar and Madeleine Grumet (Grumet, 1987; Pinar, 2011; Pinar & Grumet, 1976). Theorists in this movement have encouraged using written and oral biographies and autobiographies for the study of educational experiences. The aim in these studies is to entice the reader to reconceptualize the educational process through intimate disclosures from the lives of individual educators and students (Barone & Eisner, 1997).

Educational storytelling has flowed out of the research on teacher knowledge. For example, researchers have explored teacher thinking (Tyack & Tobin, 1994), the culture of

teaching (McLaughlin & Talbert, 2001), the personal (Pinar, 2011), practical knowledge of teachers (Gordon, Benner, & Noddings, 1996) and the biography and life history of individuals and schools (Goodson & Anstead, 2012). Extensive research has contributed to the literature on the nature of the personal and professional knowledge that accumulates as a result of recording the "local detail and everyday life of teaching" (Ayers & Schubert, 1992, p. v), and the storied lives of students, teachers and administrators. My theoretical framework crafts the relations and spaces between the stories I tell. Invoking the word *craft* follows other metaphors of "weaving" (Carter, 2004, p. 2) and "braiding" (Sullivan, 2005, p. 103) that point to a creative complexity necessary in the historical work I undertake. The stories themselves may provide beginnings, middles and endings, but they also provide strands which weave through every story creating a conductivity and potential for readers to construct their own meanings as they discover the relations between them. The construction of the stories that constitute my version of the past is an effective history that moves from the perspective of distance to closeness. Moving in close reveals the multiplicity of stories possible and confirms that the new histories I produce are only the beginning of a life's work and do not offer (an) end point(s), but hinges allowing stories to connect to each other and leaving openings for future stories to be written.

CHAPTER THREE- CONCEPTUALIZING A METHODOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF STORIES

To formulate a new history of the CTS Art Department, I have adopted a methodological framework that is inherently decentred and horizontal to provide new possibilities for a more comprehensive picture of art education history. My approach includes both a multi-method method qualitative design (Creswell, 2009) structured around case study (Eisenhardt, 2002), and a customized methodology based in art practice, in which I invoke the design of the polyptych as a methodological construct (Garnet, 2014).

Case Studies

Qualitative research suits my research goals and context for several reasons. Creswell (2013/1998) argues that "besides dialogue and understanding, a qualitative study may fill a void in existing literature, establish a new line of thinking, or assess an issue with an understudied group or population" (p. 94). One of the problems of qualitative research is that it is dependent on the existing data, and the problem with the existing data is that it often privileges the narrow subset of experience that forms the official record. Utilizing a variety of methods, including extensive semi-structured interviews (Wilson, 2012) of past and present teachers, students and administrators, I have expanded on the scope of data available in archives, and I have also collected data on the material culture of the Art Department at CTS.

Such rigorous qualitative case studies afford the researcher opportunities to explore or describe phenomena in context using a variety of data sources. Creswell (2013/1998) views it as an approach to design in qualitative research, or an object of study, as well as a product of the inquiry:

Case study research is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports), and reports a case description and case-based themes. For example, several programs (a multi-site study) or a single program (a within-site study) may be selected for study (p. 74).

As a methodology, case study allows the researcher to explore the significance of individuals or organizations through complex interventions, relationships, communities, or programs (Yin, 2014) and supports the deconstruction and the subsequent reconstruction of various phenomena. Some researchers present the concept of case study as a mode of inquiry, a methodology, or a comprehensive research strategy (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

Yin (2014) bases his approach to case study on a constructivist paradigm, which holds that truth is relative and inherently dependent on one's perspective. Constructivism is built upon the premise that reality is socially constructed (Searle, 1995). One of the advantages of this approach is the close collaboration between the researcher and the participant, enabling research participants to tell their own stories (Crabtree & Miller, 1999; Kearns, 2012; High, 2008; Frisch, 1990). Through their stories, the participants are able to describe their views of reality, and this enables the researcher to better understand the participants' actions (Lather, 1992).

Case study is an intensive, holistic methodology that mandates both breadth and depth of data collection. "Data collection in a case study," writes Merriam (1998), "is a recursive, interactive process in which engaging in one strategy incorporates or may lead to subsequent sources of data" (p. 134). Though I have already identified a wide array of source material, I have endeavored to remain open to the threads of knowledge that become evident as participant

stories, archival research, and material culture analysis are deconstructed and woven into the new histories I construct. High (2009) specifically notes that historians are not "used to foregrounding material culture" or "how to tell a story through artifacts and visual images" (p. 24), but these challenges can be overcome by eliminating the hierarchy of sources and thinking about constructing new histories within horizontal networks of data. I work on and through my data expanding my scope to include new visual (Rose, 2011; O'Donoghue, 2010), oral (Yow, 2005; Abrams, 2010; Josselson, 2013), and literary (Richardson, 1994; Noddings, 1996; Gallagher, 2011, Munslow, 2012) sources.

Working with the people who lived the history of CTS, as well as published sources, and material culture, I have constructed this history to present a version of the past that is multidimensional, opening the possibility for multiple relational threads to make connections to our lives today. Challenges to the field of education history can be overcome by reorienting our thinking away from "creating a cultural product for cultural consumption towards a more dynamic development of public histories which are meaningful in the daily lives of working people" (Heron, 2000, p. 197). The relational threads throughout my data sources build connections between the past, present, and possibly the future, as my new histories leave openings and hooks upon which to build.

Methodological Innovation and Customization

With the perspective of openings, I recognize my research offers more than the novelty of stories. This led me to introduce a structural framework, borrowed from art history, of polyptychs, as a visual rendering of methodology that mirrors the complexity of our stories.

Through polyptychs I embrace the contributing multiplicity of perspectives that compose a life

(Bateson, 2001) and constitute how we know the world around us. An expanded methodological architecture privileges process and flux to avoid definitive judgments, yet I remain cautious that my tailored methodological framework might be perceived as what Phillips and Shaw (2011) warn against: equating innovation with progress and reform in "an uncritical romanticisation of any research practice because of its novelty or technological prowess" (p. 610).

At the same time, constructing an innovative methodology entails adapting existing methods or transferring and adapting methods from other disciplines (Phillips & Shaw, 2011; Wiles, Crow & Pain., 2011). Xenitidou and Gilbert (2012) have concluded that innovative methodologies "primarily entail crossing disciplinary boundaries,...entail the use of existing theoretical approaches and methods in reformed or mixed and applied ways, [and] entail the use of technological innovation" (p. 2). Nind et al., (2013) also argue that innovative methodologies can be located "both inside and outside traditional academic institutions" (p. 652). For Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2008), "innovation in the practice of social research is crucial... for enhancing our understanding of the human condition" (p. 12). I believe that my innovative methodology is a form of relational research practice. The relational, O'Donoghue (2013) suggests, requires "that we pay attention to the possibilities, promise and actualities of our encounters and exchanges with our research" (p. 402). He argues that "the process itself not only creates the conditions for coming to know, but also creates the object of inquiry" (p. 402). There is fluidity inherent in this process, allowing my methodological innovation to remain flexible and open to the new lines of inquiry that may arise throughout the research process.

As McCall (2005) puts it, "ideally, a methodology is a coherent set of ideas about the philosophy, methods and data that underlie the research process and production of knowledge" (p. 1774). My methodological framework visually rendered through polyptychs brings forward a

customized approach to research (Gwyther & Possamai-Inesedy, 2009) that is coherent and well-grounded, clearly forming links between the methods and data, the theoretical lenses informing the work, and the epistemological positioning of the design framework. Gwyther and Possamai-Inesedy (2009) discuss methodological innovation and argue that:

As a genre, new qualitative methodologies have quite porous definitional borders (Horsfall & Higgs, 2007). Importantly, however, the methodologies are all premised on various notions of social justice as practice (Denzin, 2003; Minge, 2007), brought to fruition through the validation of new ways of knowing and consequently new knowledge (Simons & McCormack, 2007). The methodologies also attempt to bridge the divide between the researcher and the researched (Pink, 2001)... [and] to provide space and method for the 'researched' to be an integral part of the research itself, beyond just informants 'giving voice' (Dennis, 2005; La Jevic & Springgay, 2008). (p. 106)

In many ways I have positioned myself as a researcher who embraces new methodological practices. I have always considered myself a reflexive researcher who exposes his positionality and provides voice and reciprocity to research contributors. My methodological innovation utilizing the rendering of a polyptych to organize a multi-case study creates an architecture which constantly grows and changes with history. Conceiving of an alternative means to visualize the complexity of a multiple case study has forced me to become more conscious of the uses and limitations of traditional qualitative approaches. In the following discussion, I unfold the process of coming to my customized methodology and discuss its functionality as a framework for presenting multiple stories from various perspectives.

Polyptychs as a Visual Rendering

In the course of my research, I have visited a number of archives that hold material directly related to the CTS art program. I have also interviewed more than 20 former students and teachers who have shared their oral histories and a wealth of material culture, such as photos, documents, curriculum notes, and artwork. After the initial stages of data collection, an in-depth literature review, and long lists of ideas, I felt overwhelmed and stretched thin as a researcher, unable to conceptualize the enormity and complexity that an institutional history encompasses. Why was this art program so important to me? How was I going to make this new history an artful expression, where my love of stories and storytelling could be expressed as passionately as my love of teaching?

As I completed the data collection on my partial history of this institution, I began to see the organization of people and stories by charting the relationships I found. Using a cork board, a printout of a standard linear timeline, push pins and large rubber bands, I plotted patterns of noted relationships stemming from the CTS art program. The resulting visual imagery from the map did not produce a parallel linear structure. Instead, the relationships I recorded over time told stories that grouped and zigzagged (see Figure 9). My completed map depicted a densely packed cluster, overlapping and intersecting at junctions, highlighting a rich complexity of relationships that reached from the past into the present. The resulting visual diagram helped to guide my decisions concerning what stories to focus on and the parameters of my research. The diagram also added an unexpected dimension to the research: revealed in my diagram were "transgenerational" connections (Maxwell, 2014; Löfström, 2014) that I was making to the stories through the correlation and comparisons of my own lived experiences as an insider and researcher of the case studies (Pinar, 2011). How would I link all of this information together?

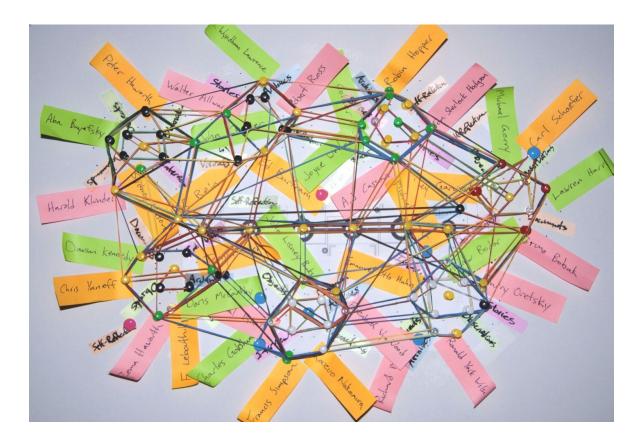


Figure 9: Original visual mapping of my polyptych design. Image courtesy of Dustin Garnet.

Within my mapping, I recognized two visual concepts that contributed to the conceptualization of my methodology. The first connection I made was through my knowledge of art history and the artistic conventions utilized by artists to build a narrative. As an artist and art instructor, I have used diptychs, triptychs, and polyptychs as visual narrative structures in my pedagogy and personal practice for many years, but I never envisioned them as part of my program of research. I began to make the conceptual jump from application in a classroom to using the artistic convention of the polyptych as an organizing architecture for the many stories I have been constructing. The second connection I made to my original visual mapping was its resemblance to the structure of a rhizome. Similar to a rhizome, which connects any point to any

other point with no beginning or end, the polyptych functions as a series of story frames that connect to each other and offer openings (physical and conceptual) between stories. The architecture of a polyptych is non-hierarchical and decentralized, allowing the clustered stories to be rearranged and overlapped.

Metaphorically, the term "rhizome" is used to describe all sorts of complex nonhierarchical systems. Connection, or connectivity, is considered to be the fundamental underlying principle of the rhizome. The word "rhizome" is a word for a type of root system, from the ancient Greek term for "mass of roots" (Smagorinsky, 2006). It was appropriated by postmodernist philosophy as an "image of thought" in the 1970s (Deleuze & Patton, 2013/1993). There is no trunk, no emergence from a single root, but rather "arbitrary branchings off and temporary frontiers which can only be mapped, not blueprinted" (Lecercle, 1990, pp. 132–133). Rhizomes are networks and cut across borders and could be considered "radically horizontal" (Lechte, 1994, p. 102), constructing links between pre-existing gaps that are separated by compartmentalized thinking. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) argue that "a rhizome ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and social struggles" (p. 7). As a visual tool to inform my historical methodology, Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) rhizomatic structure provides a rendering of an architecture allowing the data and the historical stories I construct to function within a hierarchyfree cluster. My polyptych rendering is akin to a rhizomatic model of becoming rather than of being; it is constantly changing, making new connections and loosening old ones, always in the process. There is a movement and change that occurs in my developed visual mapping illustrating ruptures and connections, or what Deleuze and Guattari (1987) call lines of flight that "always tie back to one another" (p. 9).

What is a Polyptych?

The polyptych is a complex structure with a multifaceted history that continues to be shaped to the present day. Since the 5th century BCE, artists have been using large and small panels that are physically connected and arranged in a variety of ways (Frazer, 2012). Interestingly, "ptych" comes from a Greek word for "fold," so polyptych more or less means "many folds." Polyptychs typically display one central panel, usually the largest of the attachments, while the other panels are called side panels or wings (van Asperen De Boer, 2004, p. 108). Sometimes the hinged panels can be varied in arrangement to show different views of the piece. The polyptych can also contain frames within frames and can consist of a variety of geometric shapes (National Gallery London, 2014).

During the Carolingian period of the Middle Ages, polyptychs were most common as documents detailing the lands that a noble owned, often including the names of the peasants who lived there, allowing for historians to track the history of peasant families (Epstein, 2009). The form was also extensively used by *ukiyo-e* printmakers during the Edo period in Japan. The most iconic polyptychs, though, are the Renaissance altarpieces that comprise the best-known examples of the form. These artworks consist of four or more panels, hinged in such a way that they fold together. The majority of these polyptychs were designed for churches and cathedrals, though some were created for individual wealthy patrons (McManus, 2005). Renaissance polyptychs were often built around a central panel containing the main character(s). The central frame is then surrounded by smaller frames placed on hinged wings. Inside the small frames, narrative images of characters, places, and symbols are purposefully aligned on angles to make connections with other small frames and the central panel. The "connections" are not depicted literally; instead, they are constructed by the viewer's imagination in an in-between space,

engaging the viewer as an active contributor or narrator (Garnet, 2014). New narratives are told as the hinged polyptych is unfolded and positioned by the viewer. Individual wings can be left open, closed or placed on angles. Sometimes images are placed on both the front and back of the wings, extending the narrative and creating different stories depending on the viewer's vantage point or the disposition of the piece.

To date, the structure of the polyptych has remained consistent with the historic form. In moving from the arts to multidisciplinary orientations, however, the idea of the polyptych as a structural framework has been adopted by architecture (Salomon, 2011), literary studies (Root, 2003), and a variety of newer, media-based artistic forms like video installation (Sébire, 2012), comics (McCloud, 1993) and digital photography (Starn & Starn, 2003). In turn, I have applied the organizational framework of the polyptych to my study, where I believe historical perspectives can be enhanced by this rendering.

Polyptych Architecture

My multiple case study framework is arranged and informed by the visual conception of the polyptych architecture, but its form and the process which it undergoes has shifted, moving into a more organic conception. My polyptych architecture is akin to a cluster of cells bringing together place, events, and people to define the form. Borrowing terminology from biology, I imagine the permeable membranes of webbed story spheres that hold individual narratives and stick together: some merge, some multiply and some bend and fold into each other. My clustered polyptych is a horizontal construction constantly in the process of generation. As the stories are read in different ways, different relational connections are made, leading to different interpretations and understandings. The individual storied spheres share a relationship with each

other and the reader, whose perspective will inevitably shape the meanings derived from the new histories I construct.

An individual story sphere consists of a narrative comprised of various forms (a short story, journal entry, newspaper article, student reflection, photograph and objects) and various perspectives (external, internal, personal) which I will elaborate on in my analysis. Each story sphere is generated in a non-hierarchical way using a unique set of methods to construct the story. Generations as time periods utilize actors and events as dynamic transgenerational strands that connect to dominant themes (school culture, social networks, school identity, identity politics) and form complex webs. The connective strands pull individual story frames together, creating a cluster and thus building a larger overall story made up of a series of smaller narratives.

The polyptych rendering I employ also supports Law's (2004) theoretical conception of method assemblage. A clustered polyptych is asymmetrical and messy, yet each story frame in the cluster is bound in its own permeable membrane (Garnet, 2012). The permeable membranes are conductive and when one membrane comes in contact with another, the information bound in a single frame amalgamates and filters throughout the entire design. Permeable membranes are conductive because they are fluid and dynamic, constantly exchanging and diffusing information. The clustered polyptych is crafted of an assemblage of methods which perform inside the fluid membranes surrounding every story frame. Not every story frame is affected equally by every method in the assemblage, and in the following segments I will identify the individual methods and explain how my customized method assemblage is curated throughout the polyptych cluster.

Method Assemblage and Rendering New Histories

Creswell (1994) describes the difference between a research method as the means for "data collection and analysis," and the research methodology "as the entire research process from problem identification to data analysis" (p. xvii). My polyptych rendering utilizes a method assemblage made up of oral history, archival research, and material culture analysis. Each of these methods in my assemblage will be discussed individually to show how I use them methodologically throughout the polyptych form. The primary method I utilize is oral histories, the secondary method of data collection is through archival research and the tertiary method is material culture analysis. While I use these methods to different degrees I conceptualize them working within a rhizomatic three-dimensional architecture of intersecting spheres where there is primary, secondary and tertiary data converging and diverging. For example, oral history transcripts produced names, dates and events which I then organized with elements of archival research and material culture to create a much larger, more complex narrative.

Wygant (1990) describes art education as "a complex of interactions, a process of patterns and misfits, beginnings, blendings, transformations and declines—a nebulous form, changing, with no precise outline" (p. x). He notes the wide scope of what he calls the "historical complex" of art education, defining it as follows:

The agencies, foundations, organizations, and people—the theoreticians, strategists, staffers and teachers—and what they do and say; the research, the books, the content and the editorial policies of journals; and the art, artists, historians, critics, and aestheticians who provide the sources and the models for art education. (Wygant, 1990, pp. x–xi)

Wygant acknowledges that all of these participants, and their wide variety of perspectives, produce a field with a structure that cannot be contained or recorded in its entirety. I agree with his view that a singular, static history that aims to capture all events from the past to construct a "true" history is rather futile. Utilizing new histories as the theoretical influence for the polyptych visual rendering provides a working model for approaching the history of art education in a flexible way.

Cho and Trent (2006) suggest that a research write-up should reflect a process of "thinking out loud" so that readers can understand, holistically, how the research was conceived and carried out, and how interpretations of the data were developed (p. 327). Borrowing from my visual rendering, the polyptych cluster in this case occupies a number of shifting planes. The arrangement of stories creates chronological (or literal) connections, as well as metaphorical (or conceptual) connections across stories. This allows stories in different areas of the polyptych architecture to speak to one another with a fluid aesthetic relationship, articulating movement with, in and between stories. Conceptually, I envision webs that are shaped into three dimensional spheres holding different stories from each generation of the school. Each webbed sphere connects into a cluster allowing each of the stories to inform one another. This rendering is different from a standard web in that it presents the reader with an option to enter stories from different positions on the sphere as well as on the larger cluster of stories. Each story sphere possesses connective strands (names, places, events) that allow the reader to latch on and pull themselves through all the stories regardless of where they enter the cluster.

I recognize that multiple interpretations of the stories, in addition to my own interpretations, offer an opportunity and the required agency to make different links between the story panels. There are always connections, but they might not always be found in a linear or a

two-dimensional perspective. Similar to a Renaissance polyptych, which can be folded and arranged to allow the hinged images to "speak" to each other, the clustered stories of my polyptych are linked in a complex three-dimensional construction in which storylines diffuse and create bonds between categories, or specific people, places, and things. This rendering lends itself to a comprehensive analysis of personal stories, archival documents and material culture contributing to a broad and robust study (Creswell, 2013/1998) of the Art Department at CTS.

Foregrounding my multiple perspectives through the figure of the artist/teacher/researcher (Irwin & De Cosson, 2004), I approach the writing of my literary history from an educative standpoint. My immersion in curriculum writing, pedagogy, and interpersonal relationships as well as my own personal life stories have sharpened my skills as a storyteller. As an artist, teacher, and researcher, I know that the literary educative history I produce conforms to academic standards, but also achieves an artistic quality that moves my work from a static formal piece of writing to a relational one, capturing a sense of intuition gained through ongoing praxis. Bateson (2001) calls this a "wisdom that is born of the overlapping of lives, the resonances between stories" (p. 242). Following my intuition has formed stories that provide educative qualities at their core, but has also formed an artful methodology that positions new histories into a polyptych framework, breaking from formal parameters and genres. The academic standards of educative value remain intact, yet the presentation is more artful, offering a different kind of knowledge or experience not available through traditional scientific, objective history. The stories I construct are messy texts that provide beginnings, middles, and endings, but they also provide strands which weave through every story, creating a conductivity and potential for readers to construct their own meanings as they discover the relations between them (Chambers, Hasebe-Ludt, Leggo, and Sinner, 2012).

The institutional history I have constructed "serves as a site of knowledge and meaning making—as a place from which we can engage in a series of reflective, reflexive, and relational acts" (O'Donoghue, 2009, p. 357). While my intent is for the stories to trigger the reader's curiosity and open up a space for engagement, they also create the conditions for engagement. The artistic processes employed in making this historical rendering also work to generate meaning for both the maker and the knowing reader. I have engaged in a process of searching for innovative ways to illuminate history, to have some resonance with the practical concerns of education today. The result is that my stories are both sites for research and representations of research involvement in the history of the art program at CTS.

My work and work practices also generate questions about interpretation. In addressing, in a narrative manner, the construction of new histories, I attend to the relationships in and between the conceptual, theoretical, and practical, and I find ways of generating and conveying ideas that are not actually present in the work itself. The work suggests a certain degree of "productive ambiguity" (Eisner, 2005b, p. 180). My new histories tease out, unravel, and make connections between and across the stories of experience I construct. This is a necessary condition of the work. Meaning is open, unfixed, and fluid. The stories I construct bring forward voices that speak to a range of experiences, alternate perspectives or "alternative realities, enticing readers into "vicariously experiencing educational events and confronting educational issues from vantage points previously unavailable to [them]" (Barone, 2001, p. 25).

Oral History

Over a three-year period I conducted twenty oral history interviews, of which fifteen were transcribed and coded. Interviews were semi-structured, allowing participants to expand on

questions and raise new ones. My interview questions focused on the participant's life and their connection to the Art Department at CTS. I also asked questions about the interactions and day-to-day life of students and teachers, traditions, artistic community(-ies), and the networks that formed during their experience.

Bodnar (1996) and Cunningham (2000) underscore the point that historians are constantly confronted with an evidentiary dilemma. Unable to relive the past, they can only reconstruct it. Oral histories, where available, now inform many of the written histories that are produced. Warren (2004) argues that oral history "can enrich and lead a search for context beyond the predispositions historians inevitably bring to their projects" (Warren, 2004, p. 154). Researchers and historians (Stokrocki, 1995; Bolin, Blandy & Congdon, 2000) sometimes use oral histories as I do, to help fill the gaps left by the paucity of documents in the history of art education. With any form of memory work, there are methodological complications that need to be addressed. Recent studies that trace the changing discourse on historical evidence (Grosvenor, Lawn, & Rousmaniere, 1999) seem to affirm that although the reliance on something as subjective as individual memory may be epistemologically problematic, the omission of experiential knowledge is even more so.

My construction of the CTS Art Department's history is a unique story, not only because of its value to the fields of art and education, but also because it encompasses my perspective as a cultural insider and embedded researcher. There is a level of caring (Yow, 1997) I have brought into the participatory process of oral history. As I conducted semi-structured interviews with past students, instructors, and co-workers, I began to pick up on the transgenerational aspects of their stories and through the familiarity, empathy or relational experience we shared, I was able to gain the trust, respect, and even a sense of comradery with all participants. The

unique knowledge of the building, its administration, curriculum, students, and staff, both past and present, undoubtedly influence and strengthen my research project.

A stylistic feature of my historical rendering is the use of participants' first names as a way to break down formality and build empathy through my stories. Characters within the stories who I have not met are often referred to by last name, but there are many exceptions including stories about Doris McCarthy and the Haworth's. The informality of using first names is modeled from oral history contributions that constantly shifted between first and last names due to the personal connections reaching across public and private lives.

Quite often researchers and evaluators are admonished to stay rational and independent. Historians for generations have deflected a sense of caring for participants, and eschewed empathy to avoid bias. Now, based on the latest research contributing to how humans make decisions, brain research, and cognitive science (Brooks, 2011, 2014), we know that our emotions assign value to things and help humans reason (Patton, 2014). The oral histories I have collected and the relationships I have built in the process formed an "empathetic sensitivity" which I do not see as a barrier to my historical inquiry; rather, the capacity for empathy enhanced and enriched the new histories I constructed.

A number of biographies and autobiographies will help to inform my narrative study, but oral history, which is the process of gathering personal reflections of events and their causes and effects from one or several individuals (Plummer, 1983), is a major focus of my research. As noted in the last chapter, the field of historiography has rarely engaged with "the problem of voice" (Armstrong, 2003, p. 201). I do so by shifting the focus from the general theme and theory to the particular and precise experience of people and groups.

Noted Canadian historian Steven High (2009) explores the methodology, ethics, and politics of democratizing the research process in humanities and social science research. He states that "there has been remarkably little discussion of the public's place in the research process: how, when, and if authority should be shared between university-based researchers and community membership" (High, 2009, p. 12). High (2009) also notes that there is a danger in exploring individual subjectivity and methodological process to the exclusion of all else. Using a polyptych rendering, I am able to bring my new history of Canadian art education forward, embracing an insider perspective and making decisions on how to construct my interpretation of history. High argues that "we need to be attentive to the structures of power that shape our lives and those of our research subjects and partners (p. 15). By accepting the value of both the subjective perspectives found in personal knowledge and oral histories, and traditional objectivist perspectives found in external and internal sources, I bring rigor to my design, challenging a single perspective of art education history and examining the "dynamic relationship between past and present, subjective and objective" (p. 22).

Oral histories of the individual and collective experiences of past and present students and teachers provide at least two analytical levels which intersect. First is the experiential level, which focuses on the life actually lived as it was presented to me, and second is the discursive level, which represents the ways in which I created meaning in the narrative by drawing on other oral histories and sources to construct connections between the past, present and future. Meaning created in the oral histories I collect is influenced both by who the participant has become today and who the participant was then, and this in turn influenced the selection of the events I have chosen and emplotted. Juul (2008) states that "the danger of exclusively focusing on narrative 'truth' and bypassing historical 'truth' is that the relationship with the world outside will tend to

become invisible or subordinate" (p. 710). Focusing on both a realistic and discursive approach to oral history creates an interplay that positions itself as a foundational didactic layer in the method assemblage informing the polyptych rendering of my multiple case study methodology.

Archive Research

Working within Foucault's system of discursivity, I sifted through multiple archive locations holding information on the Art Department's past. This survey approach provided access to highly contextualized archival documents, often ordered or emplotted to suggest a specific narrative (Zboray & Zboray, 2009; Velios, 2011; Daniel, 2014). With this knowledge in mind, I was able to engage the archives both subjectively and objectively by scrutinizing the materials under a postmodern lens. I engaged my chosen archive materials by first photographing documents and writing research notes. As well, a journal was kept to document the experiences of discovery in the archives, working with archivists, and working in the archives with the materials. Knowing that the archive is never neutral and carefully controlled, I examined the materials I found in each archive individually and as a collection to understand the narrative the particular archive tended to create. I encountered each archive with a key question at the forefront: What was being included and what was left out? I also came to understand that I brought my own value judgments to the archives, which in turn shaped the directions I took while I worked in and through them. The data traces I collected in archives were added to data from oral histories and material culture collected to construct individual stories engaging the previously mentioned process of emplotment. For example, in the story I constructed about a student protest at the Art Galley of Ontario (AGO) (see Chapter 4), I gathered data from

newspaper articles, photographs, various published interviews and documents from the AGO archives and a segment of one oral history.

The archives I accessed were located across Canada and took various forms. For example, I accessed public archives like the City of Toronto Archives, the Archives of Ontario, and Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa. Institutional archives like the Toronto District School Board Archives and various locations in galleries and museums, as well as personal archives collected by past students and instructors, were gleaned for data. Thousands of documents were found in these archives, but it was not possible to document all of them. Some archival materials located through the internet could not be physically viewed due to their geographic location and/or the fragility of the item. Some archives contained so many documents that I could not realistically photograph or copy all of them. In all archive locations I created parameters or flexible limitations around the documents I encountered. My limited focus on the Art Department for this study has prevented me from exploring more cross-curricular and extracurricular artistic activities, such as participation in the yearbook, school plays, clubs, and community events. I took a wide survey approach to archives, gathering data specifically related to the Art Department. Records of archival documents that did not relate to this version of my institutional history have been kept for continued research in the future.

Archives are no longer seen as apolitical repositories, but rather as institutions embedded with specific narratives of understanding, conceptions of knowledge, and definitions of what constitutes evidence (Cook & Schwartz, 2002). With an informed conception of the archive, I have brought together objects, documents, and all other traces found in the archives to develop narrative threads that extend through the polyptych cluster of dynamic stories.

Material Culture

Methodologically, I utilize material culture to gather information from objects. The information is more than just surface description: it brings forward questions about how students and instructors engaged things. The process of my own subjective interactions with objects is an essential element of the final "product" of my research. Together, the analysis of an object along with the understanding the significance of the object is a powerful tool for reconstructing the history of the CTS art program. Jackson's (1968) groundbreaking work exploring the lived experience of the classroom is an enduring foundation for understanding the complexity of the life of students and teachers. Following his call to "awaken concern over aspects of school life that seem to be receiving less attention than they deserve" (p. vii), I have incorporated an analysis of selected material culture and have used material culture holistically to inform the rich new histories I write.

In many ways, the art building at CTS has become a time capsule of multiple collections. Plaster and marble copies of canonical sculptures are left damaged in back rooms; printmaking presses, photography equipment and other pieces of outdated technology clutter the classrooms. Banks of customized wooden drawers are lined with student art that predate the art building itself. Filled sketchbooks and instructors' curricula from decades past still find homes in rusted file cabinets kept in back closets. Old artistic materials such as chemical cleaners, dried out paints, and rusted tools are forgotten about under sink cupboards. Collections of still life objects and donated pieces of art from past instructors hang in the Department's main office and piles of books on artistic technical practice and history languish on out-of-reach shelves. My embedded position as a researcher and insider in the Art Department provides access to all the spaces of the

building. Intricate knowledge of the building and the things that fill it directly impact the interpretations I make in this study.

Examining material culture inside the school did not offer endings to the stories I construct, but did offer "multiple openings for ongoing inquiry from which new understanding about past and present cultural practices emerged" (O'Donoghue, 2009, p. 410). O'Donoghue calls "attention to the material qualities of objects; the relations between objects; the stories and histories that objects hold; the types of interaction they call forth; and the forms of remembering and retelling they invite" (p. 407). Twelve of the studio/classrooms each have dozens of drawers, cupboards and closet spaces filled with materials dating back to before the art building was constructed. Going through the drawers in various studio spaces has revealed decades of old student exemplars that tell narratives, giving insights into the aesthetic tastes of the instructors, their curricula, the techniques they taught, their instructional delivery and the level of quality they tried to maintain.

A process of material culture retention is evident by many of the past instructors in the art building. Speaking to my own experience, I have stored broken plaster casts and a variety of old technology and student art. I started to take up this practice of archiving as retiring instructors passed along their collections to me for safe keeping. There was an understanding of the value of the artifacts and a hope that one day the old and outdated will be valued again. The amalgamated collection of material culture saved in my classroom's back room storage closet alone constitutes enough data to warrant its own dissertation investigating material retention in art education.

I have also taken into account the materiality of space in my investigation of the Art

Department. As an entity which moved into various locations over time, the sites themselves

were significant in that they were segregated and isolated from the larger school both physically

and culturally. The Department's first classes were held in an emptied swimming pool before being moved into the top tower of the main CTS building and then to its own stand-alone building on the CTS campus (de la Roche, 1990). The location is part of the reason that the Department has been able to survive and develop in the way it has over the last 122 years.

Material culture has been defined as "a descriptor of any and all human-constructed or human-mediated objects, forms or expressions, manifested consciously or unconsciously through culturally acquired behaviors" (Bolin & Blandy, 2003, p. 249). The analysis of objects as a research method can be defined as an investigation that uses artifacts (along with relevant documentary, statistical and oral data) to explore cultural questions (Hicks & Beaudry, 2010; Schlereth, 1990; Tilley, 2006; Woodward, 2009; Miller, 2010; Harvey, 2009). Material culture is not culture itself but its product (Margolis & Pauwels, 2011; Tilley, 1990; Grosvenor, 2007; Prosser, 1998; Mietzner, Myers & Peim, 2005). Through the use of artifacts (Knappett, 2005; Korzenik, 2004), I develop the connections between written and oral sources that are necessary to further address gaps in archival sources and oral histories (Rousmaniere, 2001b).

The multiplicity of meanings that material culture produces align with my polyptych and case study methodology and seamlessly adds to the oral histories and archival research that compose the new histories I write. As a historical researcher and art educator, I embrace the many meanings that objects can possess. I also understand that I will never be able to address or conceive of all of the meanings and sources of the objects I come across during my study. The potential inwardness of objects is one of their most powerful characteristics, ambiguous and elusive though it may be. The polyptych visual rendering acts as a flexible framework which facilitates the interactivity of oral histories, archival research and material culture to produce complex histories.

Limits of Understanding

There are many limitations inherent to the process of constructing my new histories of art education. Knowledge of the CTS Art Department is gained continually from research participants, from documents, as well as from the writings of other historians. As a storyteller for this institution, I have come to understand history as a fluid construct rather than a solid state. What I know of CTS today may well change in the future with new discoveries of data sources, and in turn, my work dictates that I will continue gathering information about CTS from across Canada.

The polyptych rendering of case study methodology and the theoretical lens of new histories work against the concept of a definitive metanarrative. I continue to grapple with methodological questions: How do I work with an excess of materials? How do I cover a huge time period knowing that gaps, openings and overlappings are inherent disruptions in a chronological telling of the past? A discovery I make today could totally change or contradict the new histories I constructed months ago. This kind of instability creates a limitation to my ability to make definitive statements about the past. For this reason, I have chosen a polyptych case study methodology that represents internal, external, and personal perspectives collected utilizing three methods and my own embedded experiences. The rigor required to orchestrate this form of study builds a dimensionality to my process and confidence that the stories I construct are shaped by more than grounded speculation and authorial judgments.

In many ways, the limitations presented by the excessive breadth of data has motivated me to design a methodological framework that invites the reader to conceptualize history spatially, "seeing from multiple perspectives invit[ing] different interpretations, and different viewing positions...[that allow] for new configurations and formations" of understanding

(O'Donoghue, 2009, p. 410). The histories I write take form in space like an artist's installation at a chosen site; as such, the reader can move around and take up various perspectives: the stories can never be viewed or understood from one position. Through my polyptych history, I show "commitment to seeing multiplicities as well as singularities simultaneously...call[ing] attention to the fragmented nature of knowledge, and the multiple ways in which we come to know, experience, make sense and represent" (p. 410).

My role as a researcher in this new history is complex because I have been an instructor at my research location for a decade. I have been embedded in my study, but not in the typical way; that is, I did not do field research, autoethnography, or a related approach. Instead, my disposition as an instructor as well as an observer within my site of research presents both opportunities and limitations: the benefit of insider knowledge on the one hand, but on the other hand the difficulty of taking an outside perspective.

Deriving Methodological Understanding

The following discussion illuminates and defines the parameters of my study by sketching out the scope of my research and the analytic methods I utilized to verify and construct the historical stories of the CTS Art Department. The scope of my historical research is wide, spanning the whole history of the program from its beginning in 1892 at the Toronto Technical School up until 2014 at the CTS Art Centre. As an insider at this location and as a researcher, I have learned of the Department's prestigious past and I am part of its current history. Recognizing my researcher bias involves a reflective practice of putting aside what I know in order to see what the data tells me, I make every effort to engage my data from multiple

historical perspectives, ensuring that my own perspective does not influence my findings too heavily.

Drawing on the arts yet again for vocabulary to define my study, I use the curatorial as a method of inquiry composed of oral histories, archives, and material culture to construct the stories I tell. The polyptych model reorients a linear story and opens the reader/viewer's conceptions of what history can be. A polyptychal historical account needs time to unfold; it cannot be perceived instantly as a smooth symmetrical whole. The polyptych form promotes engagement through the curation of multiple frames that actively position readers/viewers as audience, asking them to create meaning in space and in time, and to question both what is shown and what is positioned outside or between the frames.

Framing history as a polyptych resists the constraints of traditional narratives, allowing links, connections, and bonds between frames, but also calling attention to the artifice underlying the connections between the stories. Although I have made authorial choices in designing the structure of this history, so too does the reader make choices through the ability to navigate: they choose where to look or what associations to make between the textual and visual elements that may initially appear dissociated. That is to say, the reader can "perform" their own spatial montage. As an actor in the process of knowledge, the reader is given the opportunity to think around an idea or story, that is, to make their own autonomous connections and come away with relational interpretations of stories they have helped to construct. As a visual rendering of case studies, the polyptych offers a customized model that not only responds to an excess of information, but also democratizes the information and the process, thus making the history more useful, accessible and productive. Bringing polyptych cluster design into the historiography of art education also serves as a mode of representation for interpreting and rendering inquiry,

expanding notions of what qualitative historical research can look like in the 21st Century. The polyptych case study format brings together complexity, rigor, and depth, which enhance the showing and telling of stories through both a feeling of unity and sense of freedom, allowing the reader/viewer an opening to a captivating and dynamic aesthetic narrative.

The polyptych offers a design that engages with the historiography of art education and adds to its evolution, utilizing artistic conceptions of practice to connect the multiplicities of stories that shape a vision of the past. The polyptych design harnesses a new way of imagining the construction of history. In the next chapter, I demonstrate how a polyptych of clustered stories bring conductivity to a collection of critical moments from the past. Constructing a narrative history in the 21st century is a complex interplay of intertextual forms and relational dynamics. Appropriating the artistic convention of a polyptych as an alternative way to explore institutional, personal, and professional narratives, I help visualize one conception of the CTS Art Department history in this case study.

CHAPTER FOUR- STORIES OF THE CENTRAL TECHNICAL SCHOOL ART DEPARTMENT: GENERATIONS OF TRANSFORMATION

The process of constructing a transgenerational new history through the stories of CTS students, teachers, and administrators revealed a polyptych articulation of relationships with, in, and through the institution (see Figure 9). The number—and the complexity—of potential stories that emerged in this construction required consideration of the many layers of connectivity across broad time periods, framed in this case study as five generations of transformation within the department. Working initially with interviews as my starting point, I elected to write the collection of stories in this chapter from a perspective of living history; that is, I move from the present to the past through the emplotment of individuals, shifting between generational boundaries to demonstrate how polyptychs operate by interweaving everyday voices — voices that are then echoed in other stories found in archival documents and material culture, in addition to interviews. From these primary sources, I mapped the branches of relationships that diverged and converged through the stories of individual participants, and in this way allowed the stories to unfold organically in response to the openings offered in our conversations. Through such openings, which ranged from explicit recollections to passing mentions of people or events, I built what constitutes a form of new history for the Art Department at CTS. This new history is but one of many renderings of history made possible by the form and content of my polyptych framework.

To carefully select representational stories that brought forward pivotal insights, ideas, and/or events in the lives of individuals was a challenge, given my own sense of what stories have dominated the history of the institution. I believe this fundamental research tension underscores the ethics of practice required when taking up customary methodological

approaches. In defining the parameters of stories, I narrowed my selection to what I considered to be key characters and/or events that had informed a given generation and, through the transmission of stories, the generations that followed. Each of my participants provided engaging accounts that will be used to grow my collection of historic stories, but for this version of history I chose stories that epitomized networks of teachers and students that overlapped in significant ways to build continuity, openings and hooks allowing the addition of stories at another time. Working from the expertise of those I interviewed, I chose stories that presented a multivalenced account of a localized history that, from my experience as a teacher at the school, I believe continues to inform its curriculum and pedagogy today. This approach ensured that rather than exploring this history through a singular lens, I have developed a new history that recognizes that often unseen or unspoken interrelationships can in fact constitute a legitimate understanding of the past, in addition to formal historical accounts. Embracing a postmodern decentering of authority, I construct stories about the Art Department at Central Technical School that highlight diverse forms, styles, and ways of telling stories for maximum variation, which, over the course of their retelling, create links that weave into networks that constitute art education in the past, present, and possible future. My resulting historical narrative is then far more than a chronology of events. It makes clear how 'the past' and 'history' are quite different elements at play in the construction of stories. The former refers to what actually happened but which is now gone, while the latter, although it is a source-based and inferential inquiry, is only ever its narrative representation. Traditional history is, therefore, a substitution for the now absent past. To render these stories as a transgenerational history, I take up openings within stories to embed secondary or tertiary stories, and then circle back again to the primary narratives, and, in so doing, cross

generations in a polyptych pattern that recognizes linkages rather than linearity as a means to construct historical narratives.

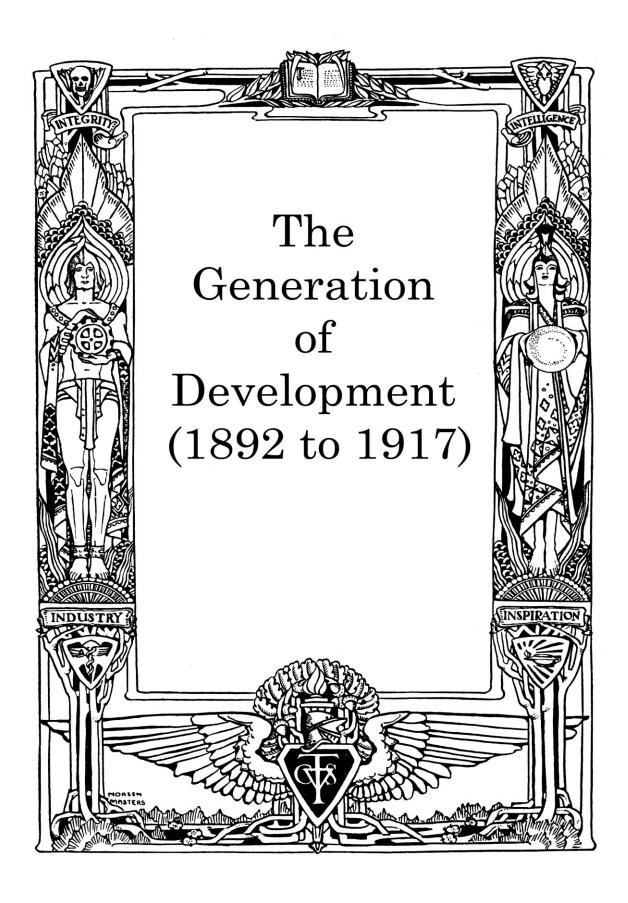
In this way, stories included in my research demonstrate how students, teachers, and administrators have come to know themselves and quite often how we collectively share a continually emerging history of CTS. The stories that unfold are artful literary creations, always only fragments forming connections and networks that reach across time. The following stories attempt not to function as biographies, but rather as a history of this school through narratives of the lives of students and teachers. I configure informal conversations, anecdotes, transcription clips, and various archival documents and material culture objects to showcase different periods, points of view, and stylistic representations. The important moments, events, concepts, or reflections I bring forward, arguably opening new doors to knowledge about this school's past and are best aligned using the visual rendering of the polyptych. The following eleven stories are divided into five generations, which I have named according to the historical ethos of CTS as an institution evolving over time and place: *development* (1892 to 1917), *vision* (1918 to 1942), *optimism* (1943 to 1967), *innovation* (1968 to 1992), and *standardization* (1993 to 2014).

The generation of development is defined by the gradual change of technical art education from a simple apprentice program in industrial arts to a more complex composition of applied arts, crafts and fine art curriculum. The stories in this section address the roots of the department, the tensions between the applied and fine arts, the leaders which began the Departments legacy and a student's perspective of being taught by instructors who shaped the first generation of this institution. The generation of vision is defined in my study by the stories of a great art educator who shaped the artistic values and ways of seeing the world for thousands of students she instructed. Doris McCarthy's influence stretched over three generations of this

institution's history and not only added to Peter Haworth's vision for the Department, but acted as a pillar of stability which helped grow and sustain the artistic networks that constituted its community. The third generation of optimism is characterized as a hopeful and confident period with a positive outlook on future growth of the CTS Art Department. Stories in this section focus on the social networks developed in the 1950s and 60s, as well as an account of school lore. Instructor James Meechan led a student protest at the Art Gallery of Ontario because of its purchase of a Claus Oldenburg soft sculpture. This event characterizes the vitality of this era and the tensions between artistic philosophies within the Department and changing contemporary art. The fourth generation of innovation saw the development of extensive specialized programs and curriculum to match the newly constructed art building at CTS. Stories from this generation include former students Sue Shintani, Alice Saltiel-Marshall and former instructor Dawson Kennedy. Through these characters' shared memories, photographs and student art, I was able to understand how this generation of innovative art educators developed a more refined hybridity of applied and fine art courses. The final generation of standardization is marked by stories affected by educational change forces that have slowly ended the Art Departments unique characteristics in order to maximize compatibility, within a larger educational system. The stories I share from this generation focus on alumni networks, champions of the Department, and three letters which speak to an intense push at the end of the twentieth century to prevent extensive cuts to the school. The "periodization" (Besserman, 2013) of generations is significant for this historical construction because it necessitates a discussion both of what occurred within a given generation and of how its traditions, people, teacher lore, and reputation influenced future generations, culminating in a collective understanding of the past. Each generation has two types of stories: a

conductive story that acts as a conduit between generations, and a second 'membrane' story that engages the generation as a whole through key actors to create a vision of that time period.

In the following chapter, the stories of each distinct generation are preceded by a title page designed in 1930 by former CTS art student and instructor Noreen Masters. Her frame design, executed with stylistic traits stemming from Art Deco and the Arts and Crafts movement, incorporates within its four corners the keywords 'Integrity, Intelligence, Industry and Inspiration' that have been the motto and philosophical pillars guiding the legacy of CTS as a school. While these stories are divided by the overarching ethos of a given time period, it is important to note that stories cannot be so easily contained; instead they are rich with the flexibility, uncertainty, and changeability that characterize transgenerational understandings. This fluidity is demonstrated by the connective narrative found at the beginning of every story. These short stories provide data from oral histories, photographs and journal notes acting as links and extend storylines creating context and facilitating the flow of transgenerational thematic threads that run throughout the new histories I construct. I conceptualize each of the stories as contained within a permeable membrane, allowing the stories to stand on their own while also permitting continuous narratives to diffuse through them. The generational story frames can be moved and re-hinged, allowing the generations to overlap. The layering of stories creates points of intersection between individual students, teachers, and administrators through shared memories, allowing the construction of this new history to be continually revised, reworked, and rearticulated in new ways.



Forming a Legacy of Artistic Community and Tradition

Before I began the formal collection of oral histories, I was contacted by the current CTS Art Department head, who knew of my research and informed me that an elderly woman had recently come into the school with her daughter, both of them alumni who were interested in discussing their experiences at CTS. This chance encounter presented one of the most vital learning opportunities for me as a researcher, not only in terms of articulating my research methodology, but in showcasing the value of one-to-one conversation with a student who represents living history. Norma is ninety-nine years old and attended CTS from 1924 to 1927 as a high school student. Through Norma, I gained access to a generation that is nearly a century on, and such a personal embodiment of history is a remarkably rare opportunity afforded in any historical research. On November 14th 2012, I was invited to Norma (nee Lewis) Duggan's home for a double interview. Her daughter, Mary Elizabeth Duggan, took the adult specialized art program from 1970 to 1973 upon finishing high school. Together this mother-daughter legacy not only demonstrated a remarkable crossing of generations within a family, but also foreshadowed the dynamic nature of the discoveries that I would make in the course of this study, working with stories that provided a rich history of CTS.

Norma's oral history was most significant because her stories created a link to the roots of the art department, something that no other participant could provide. Norma's stories and her artworks, which operate as material culture in her story, connected her instructors of the 1920s to the curriculum and initial vision of the Art Department at the turn of the 20th century. For example, she recounted a meeting with Frederick Sproston Challener (1869–1959), a noted Canadian muralist who painted in the North American "modern style" similar to that of Art Nouveau (see Figure 11). Challener, who taught painting at CTS from 1921 to 1924, lived close

to Norma's family and, she recalls, provided the encouragement Norma needed to become an artist:

He was working in his garage, which had been turned into a studio, down the street. And I knew his daughter, one of his daughters, who was around my age, at that point. So I remember my mother going and talking to him, saying, "Here's this kid, ready to go to high school—should I make her go to high school, or let her go some place and get art training?" And it was his advice, I believe, to let me go to Central Tech. He said they have a good basic course there, and she'll get some of the other subjects while she's learning about art. He said the art college [OCA], at that point, wasn't—in his opinion—wasn't doing as much as it should. It got better as time went on, apparently.



Figure 10: Frederick Sproston Challener and his painting of Lambton Mills, 1901. Images courtesy of the Art Gallery of Ontario.

Challener's reputation was built on major commissions for murals in performance halls and private homes in Toronto. His opinion that Norma's work had potential gave her the confidence to pursue an education at CTS and created a significant memory that stayed with her for over 85 years. While I have not found Challener's personal curriculum materials from the early 1920s, I have located documents and calendars from TTS at the end of the nineteenth century (see Figure 12) and compared them to documents used during Challener's tenure (see Figure 13).

FREEHAND DRAWING AND INDUSTRIAL DESIGN

This Department has been re-arranged and extended. An opportunity for thorough instruction in the various branches of Drawing and Design, which apply to the trades, is now offered to all earnest students.

To the artizan the power of making a working drawing or a good original design means a better position and increased earnings, and the course of study has been carefully planned to meet the needs of those who desire to become something more than mere copyists of other men's ideas. A very important feature will be the lectures given on Historical Ornament, which will enable those who follow them carefully not only to recognize the characteristics of the various styles, such as Classic, Gothic, etc., but also to originate designs in any special style.

Under the head of Plastic design, which is placed in the Third Year, students will be taught the principles of light and shade as applied to modelled or raised ornament, and also the rules which should govern the proportions of solid objects. Instruction in color will be given to the extent allowed by artificial light.

Figure 11: A descriptor of the Drawing course at TTS found in the 1898–99 school Calendar, p 27. Document courtesy of the CTS Alumni Archives.

Our objective is twofold: first, to encourage the unfolding of a vigorous creative force in the mind of the young artist, and second, to see that he acquires the skill and pride of craftsmanship necessary to put his ideas into tangible form.

Amidst all this variety, it becomes a prime obligation of an Art Course to present a central truth—a common denominators, which students — although meeting as strangers—may accept as a unifying force while they develop their separate ambitions. This is that mystical, but nevertheless real, relationship between all the branches of Art. From it stems that elegance of taste and discrimination which can be applied impartially to ancient and contemporary works. Confidence and discretion grow as a result of long and continuous exposure to many influences. We believe that this process should commence at an early age to confront the young art student with as much variety as he can absorb.

Figure 12: A section of the Art Department mission statement (c. 1920s) found in a promotional booklet, p. 1.

Document courtesy of the CTS Alumni Archives.

These two written segments, one from 1898 and the other from the 1920s, clearly show that the philosophical influences and artistic styles promoted by the CTS Art Department were carried from the first to the second generation of the program. Both documents speak to the importance of skill and craftsmanship, to the need for historical knowledge of art to create original work, and to a greater purpose of training a creative workforce. Two philosophies are at play here: the first course description takes a program-oriented approach influenced by the South Kensington system, and the second is a more student-centered or humanistic approach, focusing on experience (Dewey, 1938/2008).

The majority of art instructors who taught at the predecessor of CTS, known as the Toronto Technical School (TTS), between 1892 and 1914 enjoyed strong reputations in Toronto, as can be seen in the various public monuments and private commissions completed during their

teaching careers (Ardiel, 1994; Baker, 1997). The number of industrial art and design courses being taught at TTS steadily grew, resulting in the formation of a focused department of industrial art and design. The shift in focus from industrial art and design to include the fine arts came in waves, first with the amalgamation of the technical board and public high schools in 1904, second with the hiring of Dr. A. C. McKay in 1911, and third with the amalgamation of TTS into Central Technical School in 1915, with then prime minister Robert Borden inaugurating the new school building (see Figure 13). This shift, however, established two solid realms of art education—technical and fine art programs—and, at the same time, two competing forces in the curriculum that would continue to shape the identity of the institution for the next century.

The organizational and administrative transformation from TTS to CTS was the

achievement of Principal A. C. McKay, a seasoned scholar with a breadth of experience as a public, secondary school, and university teacher, as well as Chancellor of McMaster University (1905–1911). McKay was sought after by the Toronto Technical School Board for "he brought to his task fine scholarship, high administrative powers and definite and far-reaching ideas of technical education" (Hardy & Cochrane, 1950, p. 128). The position gave McKay the freedom to establish a mandate for the highest quality

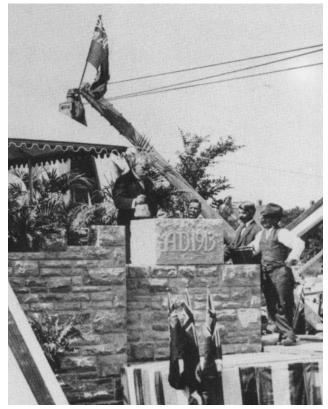


Figure 13: Canadian Prime Minister Robert Borden (1854-1937) laying the corner stone at CTS, 1913. Photograph courtesy of the CTS Alumni Archives.

technical education and, in the process, the opportunity to keep the new CTS school above the educational politics of the day, as demonstrated in his statement concerning the art room as a democratic site of learning for children (see Figure 15). Using the Toronto District School Board Archives, and specifically the Board of Education yearbooks and Technical Board meeting minutes, I was able to confirm that McKay chose to hire only the best Royal College of Art (London) graduates and top students from the specialized programs at OCA (Garnet, 2012b).

"Why, take our art room, for example.

We have there the children of some of the wealthiest people in Toronto, and we have also the children of the poor. There are no distinctions of class or creed, or rank or wealth.

We want that understood"

- A.C. McKay



Figure 14: Quote and headline from the Toronto Star newspaper on September 3rd, 1915.

McKay's statement on the democratization of technical education echoes Norma's reflections on CTS and expands this narrative by providing an inside perspective:

In the art course, there were some who were desperately poor, I know. It was all they could do to pay for their paper that they had to buy, or whatever, you know. But that didn't bother any of us. I mean, I was all right. We were not *rich* rich people, but well set-up, you know. I grew up and had an amount of money. We were never without things that we needed. So, but I wasn't aware of any problem with someone who didn't have—

we knew they didn't have, and that was that. I don't know whether we were just set apart from that sort of thinking.

Historical data from this first generation built an impression that the CTS Art Department was developing into an artistic community and forming its own unique culture, values and tradition.

Reflecting back on the physical location of the art department and day to day life within CTS,

Norma explained that:

...we were all in the [same] building, of course, then. There was no art building separate. But we were in a special place by ourselves. The building, as you may know, had classrooms to one side, and the other side—various subjects, the machine shops were down in the basement. But in the centre of the building was a big auditorium, and underneath it was the gymnasium. And on top of it was a sort of bridge, that you had to go up an extra flight of steps and across, with the six classrooms and the pottery area and the sculpture area at either end. And then there was a tower—and the tower had the life class in it. You had to walk up a bunch of stairs to get to it.

She also remembered that her sculpture instructor was Alfred Howell (1889–1978), the first art department head hired by McKay before CTS was built (see Appendix 4). As a Royal College of Art graduate, Howell brought his knowledge of the South Kensington system but was influenced by humanist philosophies of the time. Howell organized the structure of the program, assisted in the hiring of instructors, and initiated a succession plan. While ensuring his own legacy as a sculptor, Howell also created a legacy of core values that included building an artistic community and a dedication to craftsmanship and quality. He modeled the curriculum and

philosophy of the CTS art department on the Bauhaus (1919–1933), a philosophical orientation that was maintained by Peter Haworth (1889–1986) when he became department head in 1929. The Bauhaus model was embraced in the department because the curriculum at CTS was not only intended to develop fine artists, but also to provide young, creative workers for Canada's rapidly growing post-war applied-arts industries through its multi-disciplinary program. This orientation was a reflection of the Bauhaus commitment to erasing the distinction between artists and artisans. As at the Bauhaus, Howell's—and later Haworth's—philosophies and practices linked aesthetics, craftsmanship, and technology through courses in both fine and applied art (The Bridge, 2001).

Norma recalls that during the time she attended CTS, Howell (see Figure 16) "was also working on a memorial that was set up in France, I believe. And there was one figure—it seems to me that he was building the clay part. It seemed to be cast later. But anyway, I remember that." This recollection confirms that instructors at the time were working on their own professional practices inside the school, which led me to question whether students assisted in the work, participating in an apprentice system modeled on the artisanal practices of the past.

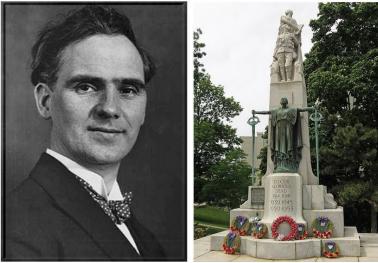


Figure 15: Alfred Howell in 1931 and his war memorial in Guelph, Ontario. Images courtesy of the Ontario Archives.

Norma also reminisced that a sense of community defined the school in the 1920s, "when we met kin in our homeroom, which was Peter Haworth's." I found it interesting that Norma used the word "kin" to describe her art classmates, and I believe this speaks to a recurrent theme of family, love, and caring that seems to have been part of the CTS Art Department experience over time. Her painting instructor was L. A. C. Patton; John Chester taught weaving; Charles Goldhamer taught drawing; and Peter Haworth was also Norma's design and watercolour painting instructor. The influence of her instructors can be clearly seen in the style and colour palette echoed in the watercolour work Norma completed after leaving the school (see Figure 16). According to her, Haworth would constantly suggest that his students apply for competitions and exhibitions, and Norma continued to do so well after graduation, a professional tradition that is still emphasized at CTS.

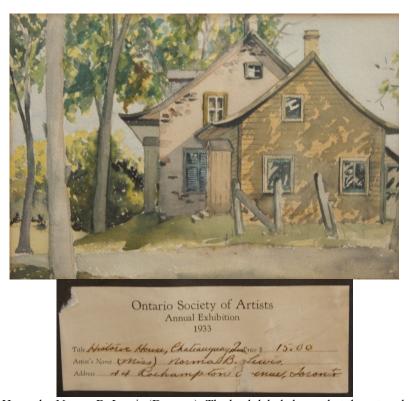


Figure 16: Historic House by Norma B. Lewis (Duggan). The back label shows that the artwork was accepted into the Ontario Society of Artists Annual Exhibition, 1933. Image courtesy of Mary Elizabeth Duggan.

At the end of our interview Norma pulled out her high-school sketchbook, from the late 1920s, filled with anatomy drawings and notes. This exemplar of material culture sparked more memories for Norma of her painting class, and her recollections draw attention to the conservatism of the time:

In those days it was thought rather clear that you'd be painting people who weren't wearing many clothes. And because we were young, of course, we were not allowed to have a completely naked person posing for us. So we very seldom had a woman, unless she was wearing some sort of a gown or something like that. We did have a big athletic looking man, I remember, with just a jockstrap, which was supposed to make it all right.

Norma described drawing classes with Goldhamer, a noted official Canadian war artist who also built a forty-two year career at CTS:

Well, I think our classes may have been a little smaller than some of the others, so we had a lot of personal attention, if we were doing something. I can remember Charlie Goldhamer coming by, and I was trying to draw something I was looking at—they had something up that we were drawing, I've forgotten what. But anyway—and he just said to me, "just hold your pencil up, and look at how big a stretch there is between the edge of the paper and what you want to draw, and then how big the stretch is down here." And I thought, "It's magic!" All of a sudden, I was in the clover, I could do it. And, I mean, that was so simple. So easy. I would have worked it out for myself. But he just picked me up and put me in the right spot. So that's...that was excellent teaching, I'd say.

Goldhamer recognized Norma's difficulty and then guided her on how to overcome her artistic problem by actually showing her from his experience. His pedagogic act is rooted in a long tradition of artistic apprenticeship that began at TTS. A few years after Norma graduated from CTS, her former homeroom teacher Peter Haworth became the Art Department head, and during this time, the tradition of maintaining both the applied and fine arts became part of the institutional mandate. Haworth was the first example of planned leadership succession (Hart, 1993; Goodson, 2010) in the Art Department, carrying forward the humanist ideals espoused by Norma's earlier instructors and the high standards of quality and craftsmanship required within the industrial arts.

* * *

Development of Vision: A Shared Biography of Peter and Zema Haworth

The record I present of the personal lives and professional careers of Peter and Zema "Bobs" Haworth, based on the available documentation, brings forward a loving relationship between professional peers. Though the activities of each were wide-ranging, this historical account will take the form of a paired scholarly biography, with an eye to learning more about the Art Department at CTS during the years of the school's emergence. Specifically, I examine the Haworths' lasting contribution to the department as an entity growing within the larger school and the ways in which they, as two of its early practitioners of art and design, viewed its purpose and potential. These artist-educators were chosen because of their vision which directly influenced the department for over fifty years. The Haworths' impact on their own generation of CTS peers as well as subsequent generations is seen through the transgenerational artistic culture and traditions carried into the present.

One difference should be noted from the outset: Peter Haworth is inscribed into the historical fabric of Central Technical School, the University of Toronto, and various published sources, and for this reason his career could be readily reconstructed even without the evidence left by his considerable personal and academic papers, housed at the Queen's University Archives in Kingston, Ontario. Zema Haworth (nicknamed "Bobs"), by contrast, left little official trace at CTS, and the published documents relating to her life and work comprise only a fraction of those relating to Peter's. As well, while her collection of photos is rich and extensive, her personal and professional papers are fragmentary. There are a number of possible reasons for this imbalance, including the possibility that more prestigious male potters at CTS overshadowed her contribution to the department, as well as the comparatively lower status of female artists throughout much of the 20th century. By putting Zema Haworth's story on a parallel track with Peter Haworth, a substantial contribution left out of the history of Canadian visual culture and art education comes into focus. The record that follows is a construction of storylines that I have woven together from the available fragments and data traces the couple left behind.

Throughout my research on the Haworths, I have found few photographic records of their physical presence in CTS, a fact I find odd given the sixty years of combined service that the couple devoted to the school. Photographic records may well exist in private albums yet to be discovered, and possibly within club offices, audio/visual departments, or administrative offices to which I have yet to gain access, but my belief is that the Haworths' personal archive was edited to tell a specific story that deemphasized the fact they were instructors in a secondary public technical school, despite their evident commitment and lifelong devotion to their students. This may be due to the lack of prestige attached to being a high-school art teacher in relation to the celebrity status of much of their social network, which included the Group of Seven,

Elizabeth Wyn Wood, and the Canadian Group of Painters. Yet the Haworths were not just teachers; over the course of their careers they built a profound and lasting legacy at the school. Regardless, oral and written accounts attest to the Haworths' love for the school; they promoted it extensively, as demonstrated in the annual exhibitions they organized to profile the quality and qualification of CTS art students to industry leaders in Toronto (see Figure 17) and to fine art circles. The figure below is an example of an initiative that Peter Haworth took on during his first year as the art department head. This exhibition invited technical school students and the public to gain knowledge of the commercial design field and access to its leaders in Toronto. As a teacher and researcher of the school, I am particularly drawn to the tension between the identities the couple projected as fine artists and socialites, on the one hand, and on the other, their devotion to the profession of teaching and the care, which some have described as parental, with which they promoted the school to industry, providing hundreds of students with access to careers.

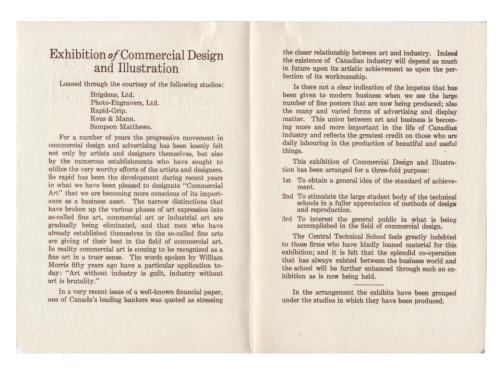


Figure 17: Flyer for the CTS Exhibition of Commercial Design and Illustration, 1929. Document courtesy of the Art Department Archives.

How Peter Haworth Came to Define the Art Department

After graduating from London's Royal College of Art in the early 1920s, Haworth actively searched for a steady teaching position, eventually landing a temporary position as headmaster at the Salisbury School of Art. In the fall of 1922, while employed at the Salisbury School, a letter arrived from Dr. McKay, informing Haworth that his name had been put forward

for the position of Assistant Teacher of Design and Craft Work at Central Technical School (see Figure 19). McKay states that he had written to Royal College of Art Principal William Rothenstein asking him to suggest the names of suitable teachers for this important position in Canada's first technical education institution, and it was through this referral that the history of CTS took a remarkable turn.

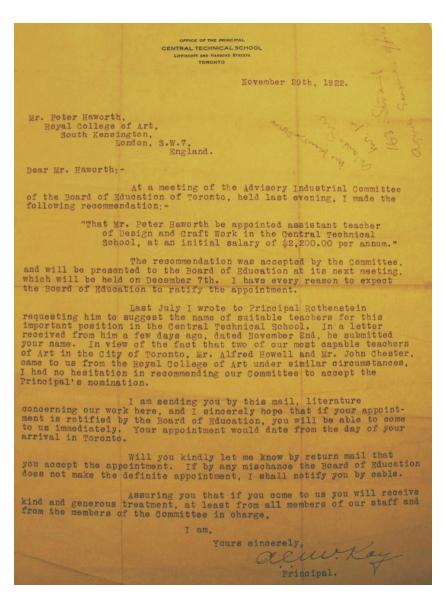


Figure 18: Letter from A. C. McKay to Peter Haworth, November 29, 1922. Courtesy of the Peter and Bobs Cogill Haworth fonds, Queen's University Archives.

Haworth's staunchest supporters, instrumental in his appointment at CTS, were William Rothenstein and Haworth's former teacher Robert Anning Bell (Panayotidis, 1997; 2003). Bell wrote a complimentary endorsement stating that Haworth was a "student of great promise... hardworking...and embodying the valuable gift of initiative so necessary to gain the confidence and respect of pupils" (Panayotidis, 1997, p. 175; Anning Bell, n.d.). McKay and Haworth exchanged a series of letters regarding the job opening, and despite the opportunity to join a school where he could shape the program, before accepting the position Haworth wrote to McKay inquiring into several matters of importance: salary increases, relocation expenses, possibilities for promotion, and the amount of time allocated to teaching duties and other school activities. McKay responded to each of his questions and stated, "If you are as capable as I think you are, your salary will soon be increased" (Panayotidis, 1997, p. 176; McKay, 1923). In McKay's last cable to Haworth, he related that "the chances for promotion are excellent," adding "cable and come immediately...Sail soon, bring bride. Salary starts sailing day" (Panayotidis, 1997, p. 177; McKay, n.d.). On December 8, 1922, Haworth received notice that his appointment had been "ratified" and left for Toronto soon after (Panayotidis, 1997, p. 176; Pearse, 1922).

Peter and Zema arrived in Toronto during the spring of 1923, and in the fall Peter assumed his position as the new teacher of art at CTS. Interestingly, despite Toronto School Board rules of the time stating that married women could not be instructors, five years later Zema was also hired by the school, to teach ceramics. This is a pivotal event in the department's history, but I have yet to source any documents related to this decision and can only speculate as to how this exception to the rule was made. Alfred Howell was the head of the Art Department when the couple arrived in Canada, and he and his staff had already begun to lay the foundation

for a complex technical visual arts program. Peter Haworth quickly ascended through the ranks, becoming head of the CTS Art Department in 1929.

With Haworth as head of the Art Department, the continued shaping of the program was strongly oriented to support artist-teachers who taught classes and continued their own artistic careers. The emphasis on hiring instructors who maintained their own artistic practices outside of their teaching was already part of a long tradition that had begun with the TTS and artists like Gustav and Emanuel Hahn, Challener, and Howell, among others. The dual professional roles of CTS instructors fostered an expert outlook and practice that allowed a public technical high school to compete with the Ontario College of Art (OCA). Doris McCarthy's reflections on Haworth give a sense of his leadership and vision:

[Peter] was given unusual freedom in choosing his staff, and instead of hiring teachers who had taken summer courses in art, he hired artists and hoped that they could teach. He encouraged them to go on being artists and fought a stand-up battle at the Board of Education on the issue. Someone down at College Street (where the central authority for the Toronto Board of Education was located) attempted to forbid him to practice as a stained-glass designer while he was holding down a full-time teaching job. This was during the Depression, and the stained-glass trade was feeling the competition. But he won, not just for himself but for all the artists and craftsmen in the system. He convinced the authorities that an effective teacher must also be a practicing artist. (1990, p. 122)

In the years that followed, a staff of solid professionals became the foundation of the CTS Art Department. Haworth's teachers had been trained in art schools rather than the usual provincial normal schools, and they remained active members of their respective professions.

Haworth's greatest challenge came in the form of the internal and external pressures brought on by educational change (Goodson, 2010; Goodson & Anstead, 2012). For example, some teachers outside of the department believed the artists should be required to conform to the same policies as other instructors, and Peter was repeatedly called upon to defend the professional integrity of his staff. Sisler (1993) writes that "the very presence of the artists on staff was something of a provocation." She notes, for example, that "women in Haworth's department were free to wear slacks if they chose, a practice far from universally approved" (p. 96). Fortunately, Haworth's chief defense was highly visible: the legion of department graduates—such as Aba Bayefsky, Duncan I. MacPherson, and Bruno Bobak—who became ranking artists in Toronto and who went on to make national names for themselves in all artistic disciplines, including painting, sculpture, graphic design, illustration, stage design, and ceramics.

The couple kept a high profile, and within a year of their arrival they became friends with prestigious company including Lawren S. Harris and most of the Group of Seven. While sketching with the Haworths in Tadoussac, Quebec, in 1935, A. Y. Jackson wrote to Anne Savage, a renowned art educator in Montreal with whom he had established children's art programs (Pearce, 1922): "The Haworths are hard workers, and these two months holidays are very precious to them, they stick at a sketch for six hours. I don't know how they manage it as the light is completely changed before they get through" (Jackson, 1935, p. 1). The couple's extensive address book of friends and acquaintances, preserved in the Queen's University Archives, included key figures from the realms of art and culture, business, and the educational establishment, such as Mrs. and Mr. Jack Bush, Mr. Alan Eaton, and Dr. and Mrs. C. D. Gaitskell.

Peter Haworth was largely responsible for the emergence and steady rise of women artist-teachers in the Art Department, as well as for the increase in the artistic production of all teachers during their teaching years. Peter encouraged his staff to maintain strong relationships within the artistic community, and "to exhibit in the juried shows" hosted by the Art Gallery of Ontario and a variety of other institutions. (McCarthy, 1990, p. 154).

During his 32-year career at CTS, and his overlapping appointment as an instructor in Design and Drawing at the University of Toronto's Department of Fine Art from 1939 to 1947, Peter Haworth came into contact with thousands of high-school and adult students. The accounts that some of these former students, as well as his colleagues, give of Haworth and his teaching philosophy are largely varied, but overall, he was known as a dynamic teacher. In her 1948 daily radio broadcast on "issues of art and life," CFRB reporter Kate Aitken had this to say about him:

Haworth was an exacting teacher who had a paternalistic master/apprentice relationship with his students, which extended beyond the confines of the school. The nature of the relationships he cultivates place important value on the characteristics of dependability, responsibility, and obligation. Clearly, he was not just training artists but artists of a certain moral character who were to be exemplars in the broader community. (Aitken, 1948)

Doris McCarthy was initially hired by Haworth in 1932 to teach high school art courses, and in her memoirs she shared a wide range of stories that give a unique perspective on what it was like working under his leadership, how he embodied the roles of artist-teacher, and the orientation of his curriculum. Much like the poem written by an unnamed student in the 1928 yearbook indicates, Haworth was a demanding and spontaneous instructor (see Figure 20). Her

observations, culled from over forty years as a CTS art instructor, include both positive and unflattering comments about Haworth, giving insights into both his public and private lives, and the relationship they shared as colleagues for decades.

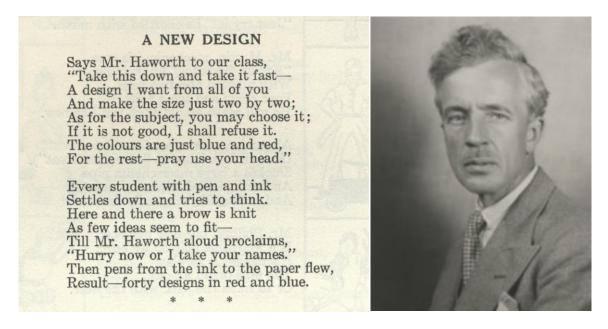


Figure 19: Poem about Peter Haworth (unidentified author) printed in the Christmas 1928 yearbook and his CTS yearbook photograph, 1940. Poem and image courtesy of the CTS Alumni Archives.

McCarthy (1990) recalls her initial introduction to Haworth as having been rather rough and remembers that his "method of teacher training was to fling his novices into the situation and let them fight their own way to the surface. He explained nothing, and his manner discouraged questions" (p. 122). During McCarthy's second year of teaching, her attitude seems to have changed, and her journal entries begin to show evidence of her acceptance by colleagues and her admiration of the artistic community Peter was building:

September 1933: All week I've been feeling like an artist. Peter [Haworth] and Charlie [Goldhamer] liked my sketches, assured me that I'd learn more at my stage from working by myself than by studying at a summer school, and Charles (Oh heavenly joy) said,

"I've always thought that someday you would be one of our more important painters." (p. 153)

The shifting opinion expressed by McCarthy suggests that Haworth facilitated a growing comradery and community of educators and supported this disposition inside and outside of school.

As a teacher, Haworth strove to devote an equal amount of attention to his own teaching practice, although he was concerned on a broader level with continuing to develop the standards of the growing Art Department. Stained glass (its history and its processes of production) was one of Peter's principal courses at CTS. Archived course notes and lecture outlines indicate "a systematic exploration of the functional, technical, and historical aspects of the craft... structur[ing his] course[s] so that technical discussions were enhanced by discussions of the past and the present" (Panayotidis, 2003, p. 17). In these classes, he used the Royal College of Art's traditional pedagogical method of teaching by example. Real-world projects were brought into class and executed from start to finish using the best possible materials and techniques. This gave Haworth control over production while giving students the opportunity to participate in making actual work.

Zema Haworth is most remembered as having been an inspiration to her ceramics students. In addition to being a prolific artist, she was an active sportswoman, as depicted in a self-portrait from c. 1930 (see Figure 21). According to Gail Crawford (1998), a historian of Ontario studio craft, "It's tempting to claim there's never been anyone quite like 'Bobs' in Canadian ceramic circles. Immaculate in a white smock coat, her hands gleaming with red nail polish... Bobs courses were regarded as an invaluable source of informed ceramic instruction

and leadership" (p. 43). CTS was one of the first technical schools in Canada to teach pottery and "graduated thousands of Canadians...who know good pottery when they see it and many who can make it" (Flavelle & Kingcrafts, 1970, np.). Zema helped to raise the profile of something previously considered a "craft" and "women's work" to the level of fine art.

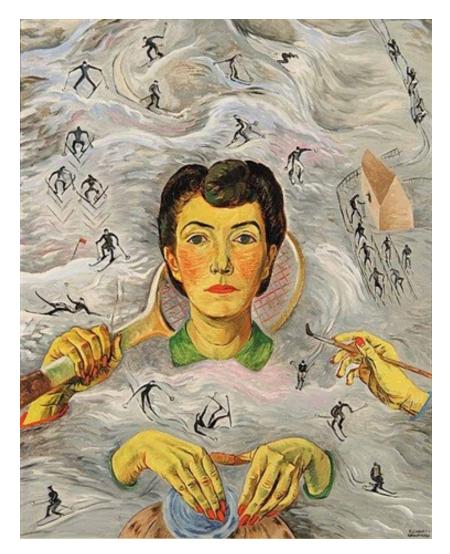


Figure 20: Zema "Bobs" Haworth's untitled self-portrait c. 1930. Photograph courtesy of the CTS Alumni Archives.

Crawford (1998) cites former student Bailey Leslie, who recalled that around 1929, when she attended ceramics courses at CTS, the students were mostly housewives taking the courses as a hobby, and there were very few male students (p. 43). Crawford describes the classroom as a

place where "women initially formed the core of Central's day-time pottery classes, drawn to clay's approachability and the school's comprehensive studio" (p. 43). For many years the school's pottery studio maintained a Denver oil-fired kiln which "was virtually the only adequate public facility in the province," writes Crawford (p. 43). The foundation Zema provided in the ceramic arts instilled a sense of focus, determination, and patience in her students (see Figure 22). Crawford notes that "anyone in Ontario with a genuine interest in ceramics, whether collector, purchaser, critic, writer, or maker, would have been inspired at one time or another by her innate good taste and discrimination" (p. 43).

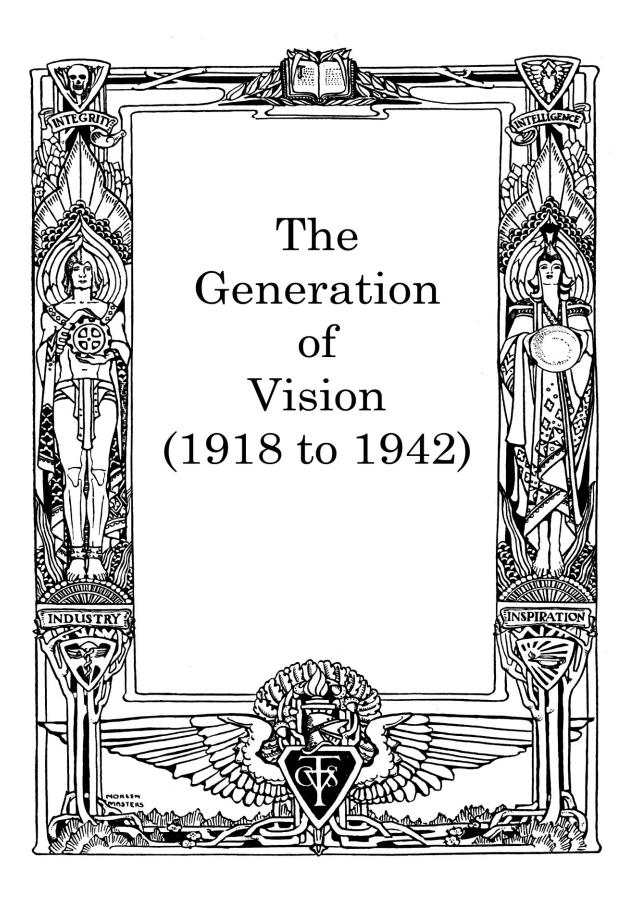


Figure 21: Display of Zema Haworth's pottery (soup bowls) from the 1942 Guild of Potters Show at CTS. Image courtesy of the TDSB Archives.

The Haworths continued to live a comfortable life in the fashionable upscale district of Rosedale in Toronto. Their residence was a mecca for artists, and they would often hold formal and informal meetings and small exhibitions in their large home. Peter and Zema were essentially socialites: "childless and with the advantage of fixed educational salaries and substantial commissions from their extensive artistic projects, the Haworths enjoyed a lifestyle

befitting the elite circles in which they traveled" (Panayotidis, 2003, p. 14). Both joiners by nature, each belonged to a variety of artistic and social organizations. As part of the art establishment, their biographies were included in issues of *Canadian Who's Who* beginning in 1953. Peter was a member of the Ontario Society of Artists from 1933 onward, eventually becoming its president in 1954. He was also part of the Canadian Group of Painters, joining in 1938, and was president of the Canadian Society of Painters in Watercolour from 1934 to 1938. Zema was a founding member of The Canadian Group of Painters, established in 1932, and the Canadian Guild of Potters. She also was a member and later president of the Canadian Society of Painters in Watercolour, was made a member of the Royal Canadian Academy in 1948, and was a staunch advocate of the Ontario Society of Artists. Collectively, the Haworths' influence on Canada's art and cultural scene, as well as on the discipline of art education, is unparalleled, extending far beyond the walls of CTS.

Peter retired from Central Tech in 1955 while Zema continued to teach until 1962. Peter Haworth left a legacy at CTS and put into place a plan for grooming the next generation of department heads, including Charles Goldhamer and Dawson Kennedy, who advocated for a stand-alone art building. In 1964, as a tribute to Peter Haworth, Kennedy was invited to give the keynote speech at the formal opening of the new art building on the campus of CTS. Looking back, the conditions of the Haworths' hiring in the Art Department included the freedom to develop their own personal creative work, which seems to suggest they believed this would enhance their performance as art teachers. Today, the majority of the CTS art staff devotes a significant amount of time to the development and promotion of their own art practice. This is an ethos that the Haworths directly contributed to and ingrained into the very fabric of the school's tradition.



Forty Years of Teaching to See

Researching the individual instructors who taught in the Art Department was a tremendous undertaking due to the abundance of materials found in archives and the vivid oral and written accounts I have collected to date. I have found that in these materials Doris McCarthy stands out as a pivotal character in the Department. McCarthy lived to be 100, and upon her death in 2010, numerous stories came forward about her long teaching career at CTS and the impact she'd had on the lives of her students. And indeed, in the course of the oral histories and informal conversations I conducted with CTS instructors and graduates, including Richard McNeill (former instructor), renowned international potter Robin Hopper (former instructor), and community artist Mary Elizabeth Duggan (student), among others, I quickly came to realize that Doris was a central figure in the stories of her colleagues and especially her former students. The following segment pulls threads from the oral histories that Barry Oretsky and Barbara Bickle shared with me; published material from a Joyce Wieland biography; an interview between Harold Klunder and McCarthy; and former student Jack Kuper's posthumous reflections on McCarthy to collectively build a rich understanding of her life as a teacher, mentor, and friend. Substantial sections of previously published text have been reproduced in this short introduction to McCarthy's larger story because I believe they provide vital insights to her dynamic personality in ways only these multiple accounts can offer. In some ways, I feel that these student accounts deserve more recognition in order to build a greater relational understanding of the impact McCarthy made.

Barbara Bickle attended CTS from 1966 to 1969 and was McCarthy's former student. I found Bickle's website online (http://www.barbarabickle.com) in the course of my search for graduates from the department. She lives in Halifax, Nova Scotia, but by chance I was able to

meet with her in Toronto to conduct an interview. Bickle has maintained her artistic practice into the present day and notes that McCarthy was an influential figure in her artistic development:

Someone like Doris McCarthy was getting an award our first year, I think, as *Woman of the Year* in London, Ontario. And looking back, I saw we had a lot of women here. Artists who were influential. At the time I didn't honestly connect to that, but I can see that now. But I think it was the fact that they were willing to share. They were just comfortable to be with. That's what I loved about it. The teachers were out there. But they didn't overdo their work with us. They were very present for us.

Bickle explained that she frequently attended McCarthy's exhibition openings, as well as the City of Toronto celebration for the dedication of the Doris McCarthy Trail, a one kilometer path through a section of the city known as the Scarborough Bluffs, in 2002:

It was a big celebration. And you know Murray McLaughlin, the singer. He spoke at that. So he'd be someone to contact. Doris McCarthy was influential. We went to her house—she took us to her house. Grade ten, I think. She had a big Lawren Harris in the living room. And so that was really my introduction to him. And I knew that she was Lismer's former student.

Bickle's memories of McCarthy directly link the personal and professional lives of students and teachers to the school and to the creation of art, in much the same ways as Joyce Wieland's autobiography profiled Doris' contribution to her journey. As one of Canada's best known woman artists, Wieland reflected back on her first meeting with McCarthy (Nowell, 2001):

I never knew anything like her. I never knew a woman artist before...I can still remember her when I first met her [in 1945]...she was wearing a lavender sweater, hiking boots and she drove a Jeep! I wanted to be like her. (p. 57)

Nowell (2001) noted that if Doris impressed Joyce, the reverse was also true: "She drew like an angel," McCarthy said of Wieland, and she encouraged her to transfer out of fashion and into the art department. Joyce's experience with Doris speaks to the environment and culture that McCarthy fostered in her classroom. Wieland's description of the art education community in the department focused on the care and love that she and fellow students had for this special place and its instructors. According to Norwell, the relational dynamics of the department were formative in the relationship that developed between the two artists (2001):

For Joyce, who had felt different from everyone else in grade school, Central Tech miraculously changed everything. The school and the art department granted her instant credibility...[w]here she connected and felt a sense of belonging she had never before known. Central Tech was as pivotal in Joyce's personal development as it was to her art. The hinge that connected the jollity and pranksterism of Joyce's personality to her intellect. "We had so much fun," Joyce said. "The other students were all as poor and crazy as I was; we fooled around and acted silly, and at the last minute we'd scramble to finish a drawing because we really loved our teachers."

Joyce thrived on the looseness of the art program, such as Doris McCarthy playing music during class — a radical pedagogical turn, tut-tutted Board of Education sticklers. Head of the art department at that time, Peter Haworth, gave his teachers leeway to create optional subjects for students, with the intent of encouraging individual creativity. Doris had been doing this all along, using music as one way of expanding her students' lives beyond brush and paint. (p. 57)

In another published account from Harold Klunder (2004), a CTS student from 1960 to 1964 and a renowned Canadian abstract painter, he describes a discussion that took place when McCarthy invited him to her cottage to share old memories and talk about current art practice. Written as an interview, this published account captures the nature of dialogue and exchange between student and teacher, as well as the artistic scope and the warmth they shared as part of this working relationship:

DM: Well, here we are with a very distinguished artist, the famous Harry Klunder. Harry, what do you remember about when we first met?

HK: I think it was 1960. I was coming from Hamilton, right off the farm. There was an art teacher in Hamilton who recommended that I apply to Central Tech. Initially I had actually applied to OCA, but I was refused because they said that I was undisciplined. His suggestion was to go to Central Tech, which he thought was the better school. He felt that it was more earth-bound and had a better work atmosphere. So I took it upon myself to do this. I made an appointment and filled my old Volvo with painted panels.

The paintings were pretty rough — abstracts made with house paint and sand. Charlie Goldhamer, who was the head of the art department, looked at my work and then called you in to get your opinion. This was the first time that I met you. I got a very warm feeling from you toward the work and about my being there. Then Charlie made it quite clear that he would do what he could to get me into the school.

DM: At that time you didn't have the paper qualifications even to be a student at Central Tech. You were supposed to have this and that. But we decided. Nuts to

the qualifications. Here was a boy who had talent and dedication, and we wanted you.

HK: Yes, I had basically dropped out of grade nine. I didn't have any patience. I started taking art classes in Hamilton two nights a week. On Tuesday nights I took painting, and on Thursdays I took commercial arts. The teacher at Delta Secondary told me that I had to get off the farm and get into Toronto.

I had my first show at Patterson's furniture store in Hamilton. You and Virginia Luz came down to Hamilton to see the exhibit.

DM: Good for us!

HK: Yes, it was fantastic. It made a huge difference to me to have someone there who could appreciate what I was doing.

DM: Oh, and to give you some support. Harold. Everybody needs it. Believe it or not, I still need it. I need a response. I remember you as a very good student, and I find it fascinating to see how you have developed. Over the years, I've seen your work more often than I've seen you. Do you like teaching?

HK: I love teaching, and certainly Central Tech was an important part of my development. It slowed me down because I was very impatient to get at things. It was there that I learned how to pace myself, which is a really important thing because initially you want to get it over with in a few minutes but basically a work takes a certain amount of time and you have to take the time to do it properly. I learned about luminosity from you: the clarity of a watercolour and

how you can't overwork it, that the white of the paper has to show through.

These things have stuck with me over all these years.

DM: One of the pleasures of old age is that I meet students who mention all of the things that I have told them. I never thought that they listened to a word that I said. When you are teaching, the kids are inarticulate. They don't answer back. They let things flow over them and maybe something will stay with them [see Figure 23].

HK: As a teacher now, I look back on those Central Tech days as the end of an era. Art schools don't seem to teach technique anymore. They don't teach people how to hold a brush or how to paint anymore.

DM: We considered technique as grammar. You need to know it in order to talk. You never think about grammar when you are talking, but you use it. I never think about perspective when I'm working, but I'm using it all the time.

I love teaching, too. You have to like people. If you like people and you are enthusiastic about what you're teaching, it's a good life.

HK: It is a good life. It is fantastically exciting to witness a person discovering something that is new. (Klunder, 2004, p. 25–26)



Figure 22: Two images of Doris McCarthy. The image (left) is from 1932, the year she was hired at CTS, and the image on the right is from 1935, outside the main CTS building. Images courtesy of the Doris McCarthy Archives, and the CTS Alumni Archives

When McCarthy died, numerous members of the Toronto arts community spoke of her recognizing and fostering their talent, advocating to the school's administration on their behalf, and igniting their passion for art and art history with her revered teaching methods. McCarthy was an independent woman and the photographs above speak to the free-spiritedness of her personality: the tough outdoorswoman, capable of taking care of herself, and the lady in a dress, dainty and feminine, this contrast highlighting the complexity and worldliness she possessed. One of the most touching of these stories comes from Jack Kuper, a former CTS student, and was published in the *Globe and Mail* on December 27, 2010. Kuper's account further demonstrates that the experiences recounted by Bickle, Wieland, and Klunder were experiences shared by many more students.

I remember Doris McCarthy

In the fall of 1948, when I showed up to register for the art course at Central Technical School, to my great disappointment, I was rejected. I arrived in Toronto a year earlier at the age of 15 from war-ravaged Europe, orphaned, unschooled, knowing two English words, \$20 to my name, and assuming the world was flat. I enrolled in a sixmonth English crash course for new arrivals at Ryerson Public School. After that I was placed for a few days in Grade 1, followed by Grade 2 for several more, and in this fashion I progressed until some three weeks later I landed in Grade 8. Due to the fact that I had to leave before the school term was over to work for the summer as a farm labourer at Holland Mash in Bradford, Ontario, I missed writing the final exams and thus ended up sans diploma.

So there I was, in my fractured English, literally begging the Central Tech entrance examiner to admit me. But it was futile. Following several days of consultations, deliberations, and intervention from the family I was living with at the time, the principal took pity on me and compromised, assigning me to the "special class." Having come to Canada with the hope of catching up for my deprived education, I was starved for knowledge. My "special" classmates, on the other hand, turned out to be mostly truants with failed grades who couldn't wait to turn 16 and leave school for good. The curriculum consisted mainly of subjects I had no interest in: metal forging, auto mechanics, plumbing, and the like. Luckily, it included an occasional art class, taught by an energetic, no-nonsense young lady named Doris McCarthy. I attended her class multiple times, feeling somewhat ignored by her. Then one day she stopped by my desk, and looking over my shoulder at the drawing I was struggling with, said: "What are you

doing with this gang?" I hadn't quite finished explaining my predicament when she gripped my hand, yanked me out of the chair, marched me down to the principal's office, and in an outraged voice proceeded to advocate on my behalf.

There and then I was transferred to the art department. But the story does not end there. At the end of my third year, word reached her that my funds were being cut by the community agency responsible for sponsoring me to Canada and I would not be returning in the fall to finish the course. Immediately she offered room and board and to chauffeur me to and from school in exchange for taking out her garbage and shoveling her snow. When that same agency got wind of this, it reversed its decision, enabling me to continue until graduation. I often think of Doris McCarthy with gratitude and the highest esteem, and wonder what direction my life would have taken without her.

Kuper's reflection on McCarthy mirrors Barry Oretsky's experience in many ways.

Oretsky attended CTS from 1961 to 1965 and provided a few stories to me about McCarthy and his relationship with her after he graduated. He even reflected back on one story that his cousin, a fellow CTS art student, had relayed to him:

I hadn't known it, because I wasn't there. And, one day I was out hanging out with the guys in the B course having a smoke—it was between a break—and Doris came into the room, and wandered around looking at all the work that was going on, and she was giving critiques, and then one of the guys told me she came by my piece. It was there but I wasn't there. And they said, "What do you think of Oretsky's work?" And she looked at them, and she said—this is my cousin telling me this—"He's an artist." And they said, "Then what are we?" And she said, "You're students." And they asked, "Well, why is he

an artist and we're students?" She said, "It's very simple. Oretsky falls down on his face over and over again...And he picks himself up, and brushes himself off, and he goes at it even harder. Because he wants it that bad." Yeah. So, when my cousin told me that, I understood that I—I really knew I had a relationship with her. But, she wouldn't mother me. Doris was not a mothering type. In the least.

She wanted you to explain yourself. But not in a ... in very simple, clear terms. You don't wax loquacious with Doris. You know? She just put it out there. And as I progressed through my abstraction period, or whatever, I'd take pieces to her. You know, show her what I was doing. And she'd just watch me, and she'd shake her head. And I'd go out to Scarborough to visit her, and she—in fact, back in the early 80s, she nominated me to the Royal Canadian Academy.

Kuper and Oretsky show that McCarthy saw that teaching art was more than a vocation; it was a way of life. She gave of herself to her students, supported them, built their confidence—and, most importantly, she passed on an enthusiasm for creating art.

* * *

Doris McCarthy: Legendary Art Educator, the Official Story

The following account of Doris McCarthy and her teaching career at CTS is a compilation of data sources from her personal memoirs, archival research, radio transcripts, various websites, and published accounts in magazines. The seemingly endless documentation of her life provides more data then I could filter, but a focus on her teaching career allowed for a clear storyline to emerge that complements the first-person accounts discussed previously.

Despite the hundreds of printed and electronic sources I came across, I did not find one written work that attempted to address her forty year teaching career primarily, only fragments scattered and hidden among accounts of her professional life that serve as a guide to understanding the depth and breadth of her story as a teacher.

McCarthy noted in her 2006 memoirs that in late 1931, Edith Manning, a teacher in the art department of Central Technical School, was to be married at Christmas. As at that time marriage meant dismissal for a woman teacher, McCarthy knew that her job would soon become open. McCarthy, then twenty-one, contacted her former instructor Charles Goldhamer, who was by then an assistant head in the CTS Art Department. She reflected:

He had taught me at the college [OCA] and was very friendly and interested in my progress whenever our paths crossed. I telephoned him to ask how I should go about applying, and he set up an appointment for me with the art director, Peter Haworth. Mr. Haworth gave an occasional grunt as he looked over the portfolio I had brought, and asked some questions, especially about the outdoor painting I had done, but didn't commit himself right away. (2006, pp. 63–64).

Throughout four autobiographies (1990; 1991; 2004; and 2006) chronicling the various stages of her life, McCarthy discussed in detail the many friendships with staff and students that grew out of the CTS community. She also paid tribute to the legacy of past instructors, and of Dawson Kennedy (1906–1967), she recounted:

A few months after Expo 67, Dawson Kennedy died. It was unthinkable: Dawson had been there, every day forever. He was uncle to a generation of students, darling friend and teacher to me. The keystone had fallen out of the art department. Bloor Street United

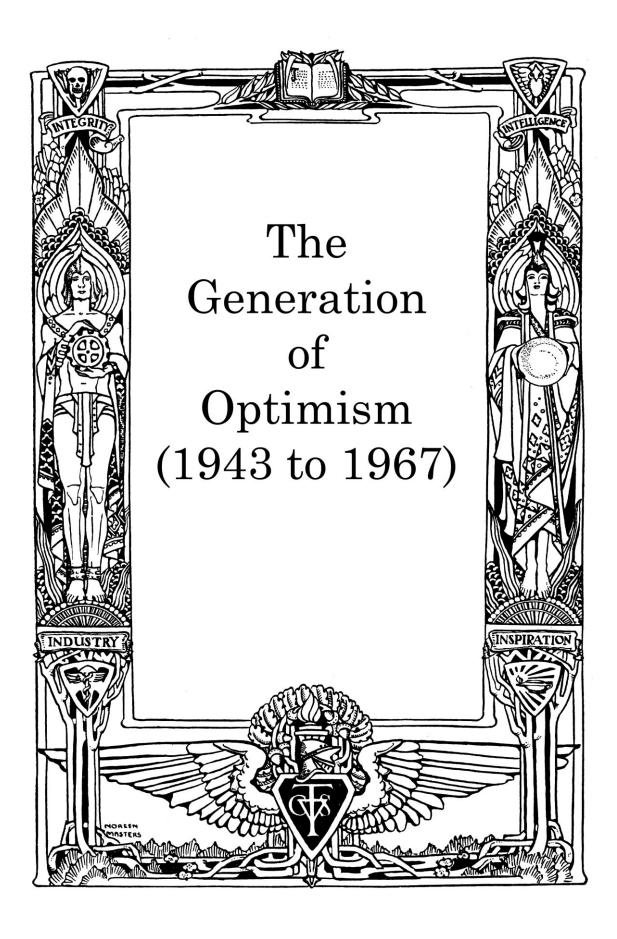
Church was full for his funeral. Students poured in, parking their portfolios at the door. His widow, Kathy, stood like a queen, greeting each of them by name, beautiful in the dignity of her grief. And there were even apt touches of comedy. As the cortege moved slowly across town, two police officers on motorcycles shot past us in every block, ready to stop cross-traffic at the next intersection. Dawson would have loved that, and laughed. (McCarthy, 2006, p. 178)

A prolific painter, McCarthy continued exhibiting up to the 1970s, often at galleries attached to department stores, universities, and art societies such as the Ontario Society of Artists (OSA), of which she became the first female president in 1964. As president of the OSA and a full-time instructor at CTS, she influenced thousands of artists and art students, and she exemplified the tradition of Art Department instructors continuing their professional careers and service to the artistic community outside the school. For example, in 1966 McCarthy organized a weekly radio broadcast, *OSA on the Air*, which began at a Brampton station and eventually moved to Toronto. It was a chance to "interview artists, educators, administrators, and anyone else whom I judged to be interesting and interested," she wrote (2006, p. 173). The ever-dedicated teacher, McCarthy depicted her CTS classroom in her paintings (see Figure 24), adding to the material culture of the lives of teachers in ways that capture the energy of her pedagogic intent and creative spirit.



Figure 23: Doris McCarthy, Painting Class #95, 1946. Image courtesy of Fool's Paradise Collection of the Ontario Heritage Trust, an agency of the Government of Ontario.

Upon McCarthy's death, numerous stories came forward about the impact she had had on the lives of her students. And indeed, in the course of the oral histories I conducted with CTS instructors and graduates, I quickly came to realize that she was a central figure in the stories of her colleagues and especially her former students. Numerous community members spoke of Doris recognizing and fostering their talent, advocating to the school's administration on their behalf, and igniting their passion for art and art history with her revered teaching methods.



Making Connections In Between: Nakamura, Grison, and Meechan

Among Doris McCarthy's students was Kazuo Nakamura (1926–2002), who attended the adult specialized art program at CTS from 1947 to 1951. My interest in Nakamura was sparked by Sue Shintani, a contributor to my oral histories and volunteer in my high school classroom, now in her 80s, who asked if I'd found any information on Nakamura's experience at CTS. She explained that Nakamura had graduated the year she'd started classes, and she was curious about how their experiences compared, given their shared Japanese heritage. Both Shintani and Nakamura were interned with their families during WWII and relocated from British Columbia to Ontario. Shintani's disposition prompted me to explore Nakamura's life and experience in the Art Department (see Figure 25). Much of what has been written on Nakamura highlights his notoriety as a member of Painters Eleven and his difficult and traumatic childhood during WWII (Nakamura, Mighton, Sakamoto and Hill, 2004; Nowell, 2011). There was little I could find on his art school experience at CTS, other than brief acknowledgements without any significant elaboration, until I came across Brian Grison's 2003 Master's thesis Oppression and Transcendence: The Iconography of Kazuo Nakamura's Grids. Grison's thesis does not provide any direct connections between Shintani and Nakamura, but I realized within the first few pages that there were many points of significance found in his acknowledgment and preface sections that allowed me to make connections between the perspectives and common experiences of Shintani, Grison, and Nakamura, all former students of the Art Department. Grison's reflective quotes that I present in this story strand are first-person accounts that speak to a genealogical thread that reaches from Nakamura in the late 1940s to Grison's student experience in the early 1960s, to his researcher reflections in 2003, and by extension, to Sue and now to me, in a way

that brings the conceptual framework of the polyptych to the forefront through the continuous interplay of student and teacher.

Grison suggests that Nakamura was influenced by the styles and techniques employed by his instructors at CTS. Nakamura himself acknowledged that Peter Haworth had guided his art practice and that he had regularly showed his private extracurricular work that had little to do with school assignments to Doris McCarthy, his landscape painting instructor. Grison also notes similarities between particular works by Nakamura and paintings by Haworth, with their strong

sense of the land and their simultaneous depiction of perspective and texture.

Nakamura's sculpture instructor, Elizabeth

Wyn Wood, who taught at CTS from 1927 to

1961, also inspired Nakamura's unfolding art practice, an influence that can be seen in his use of mixed media throughout this career.

Moreover, I found a complexity to
Grison's study that made a deeper
connection to the polyptych structure of my
new history and to the enduring power and
importance of the social and professional
networks formed in the CTS Art Department.
Reviewing Grison's account of Nakamura's
influences and his work on grid paintings, I
discovered a researcher's story that mirrored



Figure 24: Kazuo Nakamura in the sculpture studio in the original Central Technical School building, c. 1950. Photograph courtesy of Elaine Nakamura.

my own in many ways. Grison discusses his personal connection to his research, expressing the belief that he was "destined" to come to the topic, a line of thought that resonates with my own positionality with regard to my research on CTS, although Grison was a student and I come to this work as a teacher.

Grison's connection to Nakamura and his own history in the Art Department confirms the extensive network of links that grew from this program. I feel a comradery with Grison, who also recognizes the importance of the Art Department in his own life and the department's central role in developing Nakamura's artistic talent. He returns time and again to Nakamura's life as a student at CTS in his discussions of the artist's work, making clear references to the Bauhaus influence and curriculum. Grison notes, "At CTS. . .[Nakamura] was exposed to the philosophy and teaching practice of the Bauhaus. Since the middle 1930s, CTS had developed one of the most sophisticated high-school programs that combined fine art and graphic art in Canada" (2003, p. 45). He summarizes the program, and its influence on Nakamura, thusly:

The program at CTS included such subjects as typography, package design, illustration, and graphic design, subjects in which the grid was both a necessary graphic system and a formal design motif. Alongside these applied-art subjects, the [CTS] program included fine-art subjects, such as printmaking, still-life and figure drawing and painting, ceramics, and sculpture. As at the Bauhaus, most of the instructors at CTS, such as Haworth himself, Doris McCarthy, Charles Goldhamer and Virginia Luz, functioned with equal authority in both broad areas of creativity. (p. 48)

Upon graduating CTS, Nakamura and former students Harold Town and Tom Hodgson joined Painters Eleven in 1954 (Nowell, 2011), strengthening the Art Department's reputation as a

leading art school in Toronto. At this time the director of the Art Department was Peter Haworth, who, Paul Duval writes, was "the only master that Nakamura acknowledged" (1972, p. 45).

My conversations with Sue concerning the generation of optimism revealed that significant pedagogic and artistic shifts were underway at CTS during the 1950s, signaling the beginnings of a new institutional era. Not long after Nakamura's emergence on the art scene in Toronto, and shortly after the retirement of Haworth, a new wave of students and teachers who were to rearticulate the relationship between the institution and the wider art and cultural community joined the department. Yet there were still a number of traditional teachers, like stained glass artist James Patrick Meechan (b. 1930), who embraced the culture, high standards, and philosophies promoted in the school's technical program over the dominance of the growing fine arts approach, despite the latter increasingly being showcased at the school given the success of teachers and a growing number of students like Nakamura. Meechan was hired in 1957, only a few years into Charles Goldhamer's tenure as department head, to teach various courses including design and typology. Meechan followed an already long tradition of artist-teachers hired into the Department and encouraged to maintain their professional practice. During his career at CTS (1957–1967), Meechan exhibited widely, becoming a member of the Ontario Society of Artists in 1966 and rising quickly in the organization. At the same time, new students recognized his qualification and skill, as my interview with Barry Oretsky indicated:

Yeah. Jim Meechan—I was always impressed by his skill. You know, he wasn't an easily approachable person, but you knew from every class—when he was giving a lecture or a demonstration—it was amazing! His skill. He could draw—and he gave, it was called *Methods of Drawing. Drawing Methods*. And he had a class called the *Anatomy of Folds*. So we learned to pin cloth to stands, and see the drapery come down, and understand

about points of fall. And we'd draw them. He'd create a test where he would cut up all different kinds of pieces of wood, in different shapes, and cover it with cloth. And you'd put your hand inside, and you'd feel it—and then you'd go back to your desk, choose one of the objects, and choose a single cast light source and draw from your sense of feel. Because you tried to train your eyes, when you look at something, to feel it in its three-dimensionality.

Oretsky and Harold Klunder were classmates in Meechan's drawing class, and Oretsky described knowing Klunder: "...We knew each other; he was just as crazy as I was, but in his own way." yet of Meechan, Oretsky recalled:

"[He] would put the model in different costumes. And we would be at one end of the hallway, and from the end that was closest to Bathurst [street], they'd walk along the corridor, all the way down to the end that was on the Lippincott side. You'd have the 30 seconds of looking at that model—And then go back into the class and draw it from memory. He taught us to train our memory.

* * *

Burgers and Ketchup (Catchup): A Happening at the AGO

Oretsky, Grison, and Klunder were students of Meechan, and were all affected by his dynamic pedagogy. But it was in Meechan's final year at CTS that he was to ingrain himself into the institution's lore in one of the most pivotal public expressions of the clash of contemporary and traditional art practice. It all began on January 27, 1967, when the Art Gallery of Ontario purchased the *Floor Burger* from the Sidney Janis Gallery in New York for \$2,000.

The work, created in 1962 by pop art pioneer Claes Oldenburg, was initially titled *Giant Hamburger*. Floor Burger attracted the public eye (see Figure 26). Outcry in Toronto over the 1966 purchase of Henry Moore's Three Way Piece No. 2 (The Archer) (1964–65), located in front of City Hall, was still fresh in Torontonians' memories and the AGO, worried about the potential controversy that would ignite regarding the acquisition of a giant canvas hamburger, released a press statement on February 4, 1967. The press release includes a quotation from then-director of the AGO, William J. Withrow, which states, "The Giant Hamburger has been bought with funds donated and ear-marked specifically for the purchase of contemporary Canadian and American Art. Never in the history of the Art Gallery has one cent of tax money ever been spent on the purchase of a work of art" (AGO, 1967). The release did nothing to allay skepticism and derision, and even a public protest (Phillips, 2013).

In the 1960s, the Central

Technical School Art Department and the Ontario College of Art were wellestablished centers for artistic training in Toronto, and both were blocks away from the AGO. News of the purchase of *Floor Burger* spread fast through the Toronto art community and into art classrooms, where debates erupted either

criticizing or praising the acquisition.



Figure 25: Floor Burger on display at the AGO as part of the exhibition Painting/Sculpture: Dine, Oldenberg, Segal in early 1967. Photograph courtesy of the AGO Archives.

At Central Tech, Meechan found the Hamburger too much to swallow and decided to take action. As figure twenty-five demonstrates, the public reaction to *Floor Burger* suggests that many agreed with Meechan, viewing it from a distance, huddled in conversation and possibly unsure what to make of the piece.

Meechan engaged his students in conversation around Oldenberg's soft sculpture, and it seems conversation quickly turned into action. Although I could find no record of planning or discussions of their creative protest in internal documents, it is quite evident that students found Meechan's arguments and viewpoints persuasive. I have not found documentation of Meechan's real intention for this Happening, leaving questions as to whether this event was intended as a gag or a serious protest. Nevertheless, the protest represented the hallmarks of Meechan's pedagogic practice, and he led the charge with a vibrant flair and humor, organizing dozens of art students to conduct a peaceful protest at the AGO. Participants in this event created numerous protest signs and built a nine-foot-tall, fifty-pound, exact-scale blow-up of a ketchup bottle, painted bright red and labeled "Made from fresh overripe tomatoes" (Happenings, 1967). The students, along with Meechan, cheerfully paraded the oversized ketchup bottle in front of the AGO and along Dundas Street chanting "Don't burger up our gallery!" They then tried to donate the bottle to the AGO, but this offer was refused.

Toronto's art community savored the Central Technical School protest, and despite the humorous slogans, scaled replica of a ketchup bottle, and playful puns on the protest signs, many said the bottle was not Pop Art—even though it looked like Pop Art—and many more assigned responsibility for these actions to Meechan personally as the teacher responsible for the actions of the students. Painters Eleven member and CTS Art Department alumnus Harold Town (b. 1924) was rather amused by the controversy. He was quoted in an unidentified Toronto

newspaper clipping as saying, "I'm surprised at how many people got mental indigestion from the *Hamburger*." He went on to say, "The bottle was a dreary joke. They were attempting to satirize something that is already making a cutting comment on our society." The reporter then noted that Town stuck his tongue into the farthest corner of his cheek and added: "I thought the bottle was very well made...Sometimes things intended as satire end up as works of art, you know. Maybe the bottle will endure after the hamburger is forgotten."

Meechan and his students unintentionally started a conversation about what art is, and what it could be, in the wider Canadian art and cultural context. A number of artists, critics, curators, and media sources were quick to respond. In a *Globe and Mail* article days after the protest, W. J. Withrow, director of the Art Gallery of Ontario stated, "one of the tests of a work of art certainly is the intention with which it was produced" (Graham, 1967). In an interview published in the *Toronto Telegram*, Withrow explained:

A museum attempts to document various turning points in history. The Hamburger represents Oldenburg's introduction of soft sculpture. You'll find the first plane ever made in a museum, but if someone made a plane like it today, no museum would want it.

(Toronto Telegram, February 9, 1967)

Withrow conceded that the ketchup bottle could be defined as art in the sense that "anything man-made is art," but he insisted it was not "museum art." He further explained that *Floor Burger*:

Invites people to touch it and squeeze it, thereby changing its shape. You may ask, what about the uniformed guards who're stationed by the hamburger to prevent anyone from

touching it? That sets up a conflict then, doesn't it? It creates a tension between what you want to do, and what you cannot do. That's art. (*Toronto Telegram*, February 9, 1967)

Brydon Smith, then curator of modern art at the AGO, told the *Globe and Mail* that "the students' action was marvelous. This sort of art should be controversial" (Graham, 1967), but said that the museum could not accept the bottle because it was not considered an important and original work of art. Smith stated. "The ketchup bottle fails to be art — on several points." He explained to *Time* magazine that "The hamburger is a serious work of art, done by an important New York artist. This other thing is a happening" (Happenings, 1967, p. 54). Smith is also quoted days after the happening as saying that the bottle "is technically well made, looks like a ketchup bottle — in fact it looks more like a ketchup bottle than Giant Hamburger looks like a hamburger. It even has the monumental sense of scale which the Oldenburger projects (see Figure 27). But it isn't art" (Graham, 1967). Smith knew of the background story around the student protest and he noted:

Giant Hamburger was Oldenburg's idea, the ketchup bottle was not the students' idea, the Central Tech students merely executed an idea conceived by their teacher, J. P. Meechan. If the kids had thought it up themselves, it would be their protest against Oldenburg's generation, as the Hamburger represents Oldenburg's protest against his own. (Graham, 1967)

Despite the cold February weather and the rejection of their donation, Meechan and his students were satisfied with the statement they had made. Most of the protesters returned to the CTS art building unaware of the media stir they would cause in the days following the event.

There is unfortunately no record of what happened to the bottle and signs after the protest (see Figure 28). According to *Time* magazine, "the ketchup incident [had] happily helped to ease the city's solemn view of 'art.' Dozens of Torontonians visiting the gallery now ask with relish: 'Where can I see the Hamburger?'—and guffaw" (Happenings, 1967, p. 54).



Figure 26: James Meechan (center) and CTS students at the AGO Oldenberg protest on February 3, 1967. Image courtesy of the CTS Alumni Archives.

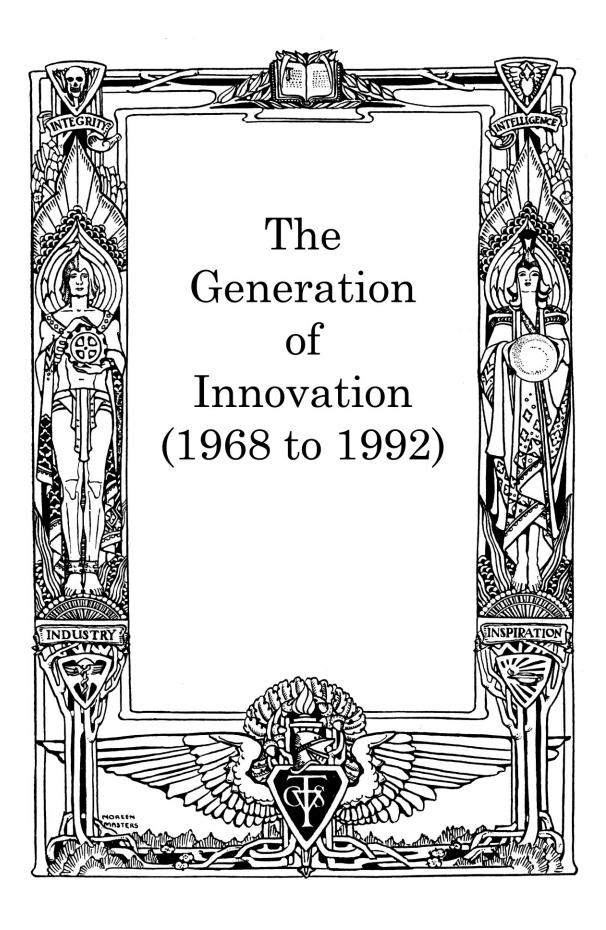
At the end of the school year in 1967, Meechan left the Art Department at CTS and took a higher paying position at Downsview Secondary School in Toronto as art department head. In that same year he also exhibited his stained glass at the National Gallery of Canada's *Canadian*

Fine Crafts exhibition. It is unknown whether Meechan left CTS as a result of this incident and the media story he incited, but his actions with his students resulted in a new public dialogue about art in broader society. This dialogue about the form and function of art has become a cornerstone of art education pedagogy that I share today with my students may ironically be in part to his credit.

Though at the time Torontonians thought *Floor Burger* transgressed accepted standards of what art should be (Phillips, 2013), today "the burger," as it is affectionately known, is one of the Art Gallery of Ontario's most popular works. And the painted canvas sculpture, which recently underwent a major restoration, was among the works included in the show *Claes Oldenburg: The Street and the Store*, which opened at the Museum of Modern Art in New York on April 14, 2013.

The story of the CTS Art Department's student protest will always be attached to Oldenburg's *Floor Burger*. Back in 1967, Oldenburg commented on the protest, saying, "This doesn't hurt my feelings at all. My work is going to get old soon enough. Perhaps they will come my way...They should have made it [the ketchup bottle] out of something soft" (AGO Blog, 2012). This story of a collective student action and the teacher who led the charge brings forward one important legend from the history of the Art Department at CTS. Through this narrative, the artistic attitudes and beliefs indoctrinated in the culture of the Art Department are illuminated with social action. The fight to preserve a modernist view of quality and standards was brought to life by Meechan. Whether students embraced the views or just went along for the fun, Meechan exposed his students to the real-life politics of art and included them in art history as it unfolded. The stories of Grison, Nakamura, and Meechan tie together the oral histories offered

by Oretsky, Shintani, and Klunder to create a picture of an optimistic, flourishing artist community that maintained relationships, lore, and interest in the school long after graduation.



How Sue Shintani Became a Part of My Teaching Story

Focusing on a transgenerational thread that moves from the present into the past and brings the new history of CTS full circle, I locate Sue Shintani's story in the generation of innovation; but it should be noted that the stories Shintani tells about CTS cross three generations, from the early 1950s to the present. I begin with my story:

In 2005, fresh out of Teachers' College, I was hired to teach photography in the specialized visual art program at CTS, and it did not take long before I was totally overwhelmed

with the responsibilities I had been given. In the first few months of teaching I lost 15 pounds and many hours of sleep. One of the other instructors in the art department, Michael Amar (now retired), recognized that I was struggling and suggested that I introduce myself to "Sue," a volunteer who he said might have time to assist me. I was told I could find her in the ceramic studio at the end of the school day, doing some of her own work (see Figure 28).

During the "open studio" period after school, I took a seat beside Sue with a big brick of clay



Figure 27: Sue Shintani working on a pottery wheel at CTS, 2012. Photograph courtesy of Dustin Garnet.

that I had taken off the shelf. She turned to me and asked what I planned to do with such a large piece. I paused for a few seconds, trying to think of a good response, but then answered, "I'm not sure...something will come." Sue turned back to her own work and said—with a chuckle under her breath, but just loud enough for me to hear—"Idiot." I laughed out loud, recognizing her biting sense of humor, and from that day on Sue and I have maintained a close friendship inside and outside of school.

Sue is an inspiration to me as an artist and teacher. She is a wise mentor, a valued friend, a respected artist to whom I can turn for advice, a trusted confidant to whom I can speak about moments in the classroom. I have known Sue for almost ten years, and that special bond has given me insight into the intricacies of the stories she tells, particularly details that could easily be overlooked without really "knowing" the research subject (the school) and, more importantly, the qualities of Sue as an individual. This knowledge has provided a unique lens through which to view materials in the archives differently, and to search differently, with an emotional as well as an intellectual purpose. Specifically, the information that Sue has provided has led me to ask new questions about the socio-cultural dynamics operating in the art department over time, as well as its relationship with the rest of the building. In the oral history interview I conducted with her early on in my research process, Sue spoke of the department's relative autonomy:

The art department was really kind of, you know, in itself. Mostly we were on the 6th floor...the very top of the school. They had their own art department bubble there. They're different people. A little different from the rest of the people, I think. You know? I think even the teachers—It was like a big family, I think, more so than any other area in that huge school.

Sue was a student at CTS from 1951 to 1957, first taking the general art program and then enrolling in the adult specialized program. When she retired from her career in advertising, she returned to CTS to re-take the adult specialized program in the 1990s. After completing the adult program, she began volunteering in day classes and has been taking night courses consistently ever since. During my interview with Marshal Bilous he remembered Sue as being a valuable presence in the school:

There are always enough good [students] to bring the standard up. I think. And then the others learn from them. I think you should always try to be the best teacher you can, but the young people also learn from the adult students. I mean, you said you talked to—what was her name? The Japanese lady? Sue. I think she was there when I was a student. I think she was in the regular program, back in the '50s. I think. But anyway, she kept coming back. And you know, if someone sits there and makes a nice piece of pottery—a grade nine is going to learn almost by osmosis. He's going to see what's happening. There's a certain quality of student that I think other students feed off.

Bilous' reflection confirms the importance of the unique multigenerational makeup of the CTS student population. All the research gathered from oral histories and documents shows that from the 1920s to the 1990s the adult specialized program was comprised of students between 18 and 30 years old. From the 1990s on, the average age of adult students increased, and by 2014 the majority of students were between the ages of 40 and 60. The instructors within the Art Department were not the only 'teachers,' and a key part of the experience of this site was the informal learning occurring during lunch and after school when many studio spaces were opened to all students of all ages. This tradition, as well as the general mix of adult and high school

students, continues to this day. Sue has maintained a presence in the CTS art department for over sixty years, first as a student and then as a volunteer. Her story is rich with detailed historical accounts of her life and the life of the school, and her perspective has provided a new lens through which to reconsider stories I had previously overlooked.

The exchanges with Sue that I share not only give insight into the culture of the school and Sue's personal history, they also illustrate a conversation between friends. I believe that the depth of my relationship with Sue has led me to model a relational research practice. The relational, writes O'Donoghue (2013), demands "that we pay attention to the possibilities, promise and actualities of our encounters and exchanges with our research participants" (p. 402). We must recognize that "the process itself not only creates the conditions for coming to know, but also creates the object of inquiry" (p. 402). It is essential that the researcher remain flexible, open to new ideas, to the new lines of inquiry that may unravel at any time throughout the research process. Following this line of thought, I discuss how my relationship with Sue set out the conditions for me to reevaluate a specific character in my institutional history: Sue's reflections on her former instructor Dawson Kennedy pushed me to reenter the archives, where I made new and important connections and discovered new objects of knowledge. Sue recalls:

The teachers that I had here were exceptionally brilliant. Brilliant teachers. This goes for Mr. Dawson Kennedy, who was my design teacher. I was just inspired by him. The way he taught, showing, and just what he did for the students. A lot of times he would help us one-on-one. He would come around, and he would sit with us, guide us, and show us and, you know, explain to us how it's done [see Figure 29]. It's just that, to me, he was one of the best teachers I've had. There was one instance that Mr. Kennedy, he was just *positive* that I would win the design competition of Sprint Chocolate. I think he was more

disappointed than I was! I remember that when I graduated from Tech, Mr. Kennedy spoke to my parents and suggested that I pursue further training in the United States. I thought that was very generous of him.





Figure 28: Photographs of Sue pointing out the little sketches that Kennedy would draw on the edges of her paper.

Photograph courtesy of Dustin Garnet.

Dawson Kennedy: A Real Tough Nut

Sue fondly recalled the little sketches that Kennedy would draw on the corners of her work, which helped to her get started on assignments. Her recollections of Kennedy immediately created a link for me to the interview I had conducted with Harold Klunder (see Figure 30) a year earlier. He had also spoken of Kennedy, though his perspective had been very different from Sue's:

There were some people I didn't like. There was a person...Kennedy. I can't remember his first ... Dawson Kennedy. He was a real tough nut. A maniac for—if you didn't get it in on time he'd be on your case, and you'd get really low marks. And lettering—he was fanatical. You know, spacing had to be done a certain way. And everything was done

with designer colors, and a brush, you know. It's hard to imagine now that anyone works like that. But, it was good experience. And maybe I learned a bit from him. You know, because he was so hard-nosed? But in general, I think Kennedy was a very stuffy guy. I didn't get any sense of him as an artist.



Figure 29: Harold Klunder in his studio in Montreal, Canada, 2012. Photograph courtesy of Dustin Garnet.

As the collector of stories, I am positioned as an intermediary, and part of my role includes translating nonverbal cues that come together with the recorded data to produce a holistic knowledge. Absent from this written account of Shintani's and Klunder's descriptions of Kennedy is the tone of voice they used, or the body language and facial expressions. There is a wealth of knowledge to be found by reading both the content of their stories and the manner in which they tell them. Klunder and Shintani clearly viewed Kennedy from different perspectives. For example, after rereading the transcript of my interview with Klunder, taking into consideration my knowledge of his career as an abstract painter, I believe that he saw Kennedy not as an 'artist' but rather as a 'design person.' After rereading Shintani's transcript, I recognized that beyond the warm student-teacher relationship she described, Sue was and still is a perfectionist and enjoyed the particularities of exact technical practice, which resulted in a design career. The knowledge of their two perspectives helped me to understand why one student resisted, while another embraced, Kennedy's pedagogy.

In the above image, Kennedy is shown working with two students in a manner similar to what Shintani had described (see Figure 31). He is showing and explaining the techniques of camouflage painting. This speaks to the time period (WWII) but also to his pedagogical standpoint, which included bringing relevant and practical assignments into the classroom. Shintani's story is different from Klunder's because I am implicated, to a greater degree, in how her story is reconstructed. My intimate knowledge of her character and insight into the conviction and meaningfulness of the stories she shared of her experience and our embedded relationship provided the opportunity to understand her life experiences in ways not always present with all contributors. Howard (1991) refers to this as "empathic experiencing" and Ellis

(1997) writes of a "cognitive awareness...accompanied by emotional, bodily and spiritual reactions" (p. 116). In my view, the stories that I produce weave these other forms of knowledge into Shintani's narrative, using literary tools and devices to plot the story.

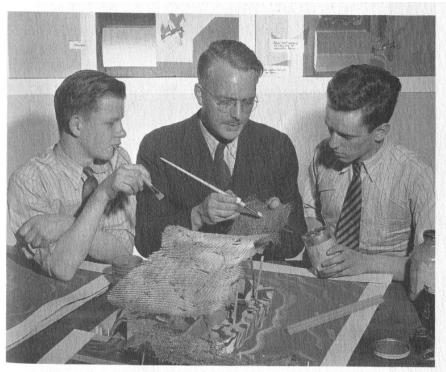


Figure 30: Dawson Kennedy giving a lesson in camouflage to wartime students. Photograph courtesy of the Doris McCarthy Archives, Central Technical School File.

Shintani's positive experiences with Dawson Kennedy came across not only through the words she spoke, but in her tone of voice and in the care she took to relate the stories of her relationship with him. She also chose to mention Kennedy first, before any other instructor, which I interpreted as significant. Sue caused me to consider her account of Kennedy alongside our own relationship and, in doing so, to consider my personal connections to Kennedy as an instructor at CTS, in relation to my own pedagogy and interactions with students. For example, I work closely with students to help them polish their work and require them to critique and rework any issues. This kind of hands-on attention has resulted in my students winning

provincial, national, and international awards. Kennedy's competitive spirit—as seen through Sue's reflections—is mirrored in my own dedication to students today.

My visits to various archival locations had never before focused on Kennedy due to the minimal published sources on his artistic and teaching career. As a result of my interview with Sue, I went back to my interview with Harold Klunder, and then into the TDSB Archives and the National Archives of Canada, to see if there was a more complex story to be found. In my process of gathering materials, I reflected back on the importance of the relationship I'd built with Sue and, as a small gesture, I located Sue's 1952 yearbook, copied images of her, and gave them to her at a later date. It was wonderful to see her reaction to the images, and it was clear she truly appreciated the gesture.

As a result of my interview with Sue, the archives led to some great revelations as I found an extensive collection of materials that pointed to the fact that Dawson Kennedy had been a major force in the CTS Art Department over many decades. He had been a student at CTS under Alfred Howell and Peter Haworth, and after he graduated, Haworth encouraged him to enroll at the Royal College of Art in London for advanced training. Once he'd completed his schooling, Kennedy returned to CTS as a design instructor and, later, the assistant department head. He married another teacher from the department, Kathleen Cooley (see Figure 32), who taught art history, museum studies, and weaving.

After searching through back cupboards and storage spaces in the CTS art building, I discovered an article, titled "Art or Therapy," that Kennedy published in 1961as well as various official administration documents that spoke to his direct influence on the decision to build a separate Art Centre on the CTS campus in 1963. Kennedy and his wife, were both prominent instructors in the Art Department, teaching a range of subjects.



Figure 31: A sketch of the CTS art department staff in 1965, given to instructor Marshal Bilous by former student Mark Thurman. The detail on the right shows Kathleen and Dawson Kennedy. Image courtesy of Marshal Bilous.

A number of the former students I interviewed, including Harold Klunder and Alice Saltiel-Marshall (see Figure 33), spoke of the Kennedys taking on parental attributes. Barbara Bickle, for example, recounted an anecdote about Mrs. Kennedy and her class trips to the Royal Ontario Museum:

When we would go [to the ROM] we would meet on the steps before we went in. And then we'd get our little chairs and go off—and she'd come around. But she used to call us children. "Now children," she would say. And the older students, like Bill, got furious. He did not like that. [Laughs] (personal communication, December 12, 2013)



Figure 32: Alice Saltiel-Marshall in Dawson Kennedy's class (Kennedy in the background), 1966. Photograph courtesy of Alice Saltiel-Marshall.

Sue's account of Dawson Kennedy, along with other reflections from multiple oral histories and archival research, has drawn a picture of a dedicated instructor who demanded excellence and saw the creation of student art as more than self-expression:

Art is not play. It is enjoyable; it is exhilarating; it is so fascinating that artists would work at it for nothing if they could somehow get the materials. But it is work. It is observation, comparison, experiment; the storing of the mind with accurate and indelible

impressions; the relating of all these to humanity and nature until, finally, it becomes one of the highest expressions of the human mind and spirit. Nothing less than these standards is acceptable in art classes. They are the minimum standards set for themselves by artists. There are no others. (Kennedy, 1961, p. 23)

* * *

Memory and Memento: Alice Saltiel-Marshall and the Artistic Community at CTS

In the summer of 2013, I arranged to conduct an interview with Alice Saltiel-Marshall, a former student I found online through her blog

(http://artbysaltiel.blogspot.ca/2011_09_01_archive.html), which contained entries describing

her experiences in the art
program at CTS (see
Figure 34). The many
stories that arose from our
meeting spoke to the
explanatory and expository
power of the smaller,
embedded narratives that
can emerge in the course
oral history interviews.



Figure 33: Interviewing Alice-Saltiel-Marshall in Claresholm, Alberta, June 8th 2013.

Stories communicate ideas,

experiences, and perspectives in relational ways that touch our imaginations. Through storytelling, the commingling of specific and personal moments with the universal and historical

tapped into broader themes and helped to structure my understanding of the history of CTS. As De Caro (2012) argues, "'small' stories of...personal encounters...nonetheless may express grand themes" (p. 274). The stories that Alice recounted during our meeting did just this, guiding the conversation towards themes of artistic community and the ethos of the CTS art program as a site of artistic and pedagogic innovation. As De Caro suggests,

Those grand themes might be hidden below the surface of a more everyday reality, but often stories work for us on more than one level, and these stories [are] in fact powerful statements...rendered not by theorists of education but by men and women who worked in the field mak[ing] them all the more interesting. (p. 274)

The conversation I had with Alice aided me in the task of writing of this new educational history by focusing on everyday experience that provided context to broader social and intellectual dimensions of the CTS art department. Alice's stories brought to the fore a far richer conception of the school's context in the 1960s, with its actors, worldviews, attitudes, and ideologies. By giving thought to the thematic threads running through her stories, I was able to obtain considerable insight into the school culture in ways that linked the school to the significant impact of students on the Canadian visual arts.

The art department at CTS has maintained a relative autonomy in both physical location and administrative structure, insulating itself by holding tight to its mandate of building a sense of purpose and competition that has sustained a high level of quality and craftsmanship for the last century. I believe that the experiences of staff and students in this art department offer a window into a culture that developed and expanded inside of a secondary technical school, but also resided outside of the larger narrative of technical education and schooling. The stories Alice shared, and that I in turn share here, bring attention to the department's educational

significance by illuminating the sense of artistic community in the Art Department. Her reminiscences of Central Tech illustrate how this artistic community was *felt* at a given point in time, and how the culture of this institution has ingrained itself as an important character in her personal and professional lives. The following stories come together like a patchwork: it is imperfect and may never be complete, but it will always serve as a starting point for new connections to other stories.

Alice's story of stories

Alice Saltiel (now Saltiel-Marshall) was born in downtown Toronto at the end of World War II to a working class family. She describes her childhood as "impoverished, economically and intellectually." Both of her parents had received little education and she remembers being "bounced around in rental situations," growing up in "twelve different residences in Toronto" and feeling like "a nomad, but not by choice." School provided a sense of continuity for Alice, and it became quite clear throughout our conversation that the lineage of teachers in her life provided strands of stability and guidance.

After attending public middle school, Alice enrolled in the regular high school art program at CTS, where she would attend classes from 1962 to 1966, on the advice of her 7th and 8th grade teacher. During this time, a confluence of leadership in the CTS art department, the Toronto School Board, and both the federal and provincial governments came together to build a state-of-the-art new technical fine art building, which officially opened in May 1964, just steps away from the main school. Alice provides an exciting perspective of artistic community before the Art Department moved to the new art building:

The main building has six levels....including the dungeon. On the fifth floor there's a corridor which runs perpendicular to the length of the school, which runs north/south, and up there, there were six studios. And the steps leading up to it set it apart. It was almost attic-like except not, because it was big and spacious. And there was a large enough hallway, and one deep sink that everyone went to and cleaned up at. It was like the water fountain or something. But my recollection of up there is sweet. It was like we were special, you know? We were on the top floor, we didn't have to interact with any of the others. Of course we had to go down there for our other classes, but I think we all thought we were pretty elite.

Alice's experience parallels what I have seen year after year as students come through the art program and continue to return and visit. The Facebook pages and websites students use to stay in touch and the reunions and art show openings organized and executed by past and present instructors and students all attest to a vibrant artistic community that extends far beyond the walls of the school. Alice also remembered what it was like after the Department's move to the new building:

There were little cliques within the classroom, as there would be anywhere in life. And there were a small core of kids who got together socially outside of school. A very small group. Because, you know, at the time there was just one grade going through, so about 30 students, and we would spend our academic time together as a unit....So, we played as well as went to school together. Not all the time and every time—but there was a lot of closeness.

As a teacher, I asked Alice about competition among classmates and whether students influenced one another in terms of work ethic, similar to what I witness in my classes today:

Oh, healthy competition going on all the time! Yeah, yeah, yeah. I was, you know—we had a star student, in my opinion. Mark. He came into the program driven to draw, make art, period. And so that was his whole focus and thrust. He happened to be the best all the way through, and it always irked me, but you know, I tried and I tried. And at the end I came out third in the class of 15. Yeah. But even Mark got beat out in the end by Sally, because she was just that innovative in her approach. Oh yeah, it's on the report card! Wait till you see. I was ranked third in the class of fifteen (see Figure 35). And that's how it comes...it would never happen today. It's just not politically correct anymore. But that's how it was—so different....So you wanted to be number one. And you tried to be number one. But darn it all, that Mark took it every semester and every year, except the last one.



Figure 34: Alice's Class photo from 1966. Alice is in the bottom row, second from the right and Mark Thurman is in the top row, third from the right. Photograph courtesy of Alice Saltiel-Marshall.

During our interview, Alice expressed her belief that the teachers also made the art program come together and motivated a common purpose toward excellence. Artist-teachers like

Virginia Luz, Dawson and Kathleen Kennedy, Robert Ross, and Doris McCarthy occupied the large sky-lit drawing and painting studios located on the third floor of the new building. Alice reflected on the nature of the artist-teacher:

How could you be a teacher of art without being an artist, I feel. So, it was mandatory, and if I think about today—I didn't think about it then, but we just knew that they were all practicing artists....for example, someone like Doris McCarthy would often give us slide presentations of where she'd been and what she'd painted.

While discussing her experience with Doris McCarthy, Alice recalled one specific event that speaks to how the art department strove to foster in students a mindset and capacity as artists, and the value of building a solid work ethic:

So, we were instructed to go out and buy a yardage of canvas, buy some stretcher bars, assemble them, get your gesso, get your rabbit skin glue first. You know, build your own canvas from start to finish. They told us how. Go out and do it. So, we all went home and did this. All but one student. She came with a prepared one from the store. And Doris just ran up one side of this person and down the other, in a rant that was unbelievable....

It was part of our training to learn how to build your own. Whether you went out and bought prepared canvases later in life, it didn't matter. You should know, as an artist—as a painter—how to do it. And this girl was affluent, her family was affluent, and so I guess she just took the easy way out. From what I remember Doris said, "You know, it doesn't matter if you have the money to go out and buy one. I want you to learn how to do it. And that is why I asked you to do it. Why didn't you do it?" And so it was quite—she got that out of her system. I was not from an affluent family. It was a scramble to get the components. And I don't think that buying a prepared canvas was necessarily

cheaper. It's just that she took the easy way out, and that was not going to happen in Doris's class.

Alice spoke in rich detail about many of her former teachers and peers, showing the enormous impact this art department had made on her life. Her stories illuminated how entrenched the perpetual tension between applied and fine art, which had existed in all the previous generations, became during this one, in part because of the new building. The new CTS art building allowed for the expansion of course offerings that continued the Bauhaus-style curriculum. The introduction of new craft-focused courses such as metal work and fabric painting, as well as photography, ensured not only that the Art Department not only kept up with the times in the 1960s but that it had world-class facilities. This allowed CTS graduates to remain competitive in the changing landscape of the industrial arts and design.

Within minutes of meeting Alice and seeing the passion with which she spoke of her former school, I began to see a theme emerge around the concept of artistic community. During the course of our visit, Alice shared an extensive collection of student art, documents, books, and photographs from her school days, all carefully preserved in her studio. The first pieces of memorabilia she showed me were her photo albums. As I flipped through, she started to describe the various pictures, stopping at one grouping to recount what I consider one of the most powerful stories of community that she brought forward. This story struck a relational chord for me as I reflected back on friendships I have maintained since high school. The significance of this story over others is its rich links to the central theme of the relationships that form the heart of my new histories. In her own words, Alice offered a transgenerational perspective with

insights about the familial bonds that were nurtured between classmates and teachers in this unique department.

The Island

We were a special class, I think. Fifteen kids with Jocelyn Taylor as our home room teacher. I assumed she called all her first year (grade nine) students "my little rabbits." It was years later that I learned it was only us. For academic subjects we would come down from the loft at the very top of the old building, to classrooms on the other floors where we would join the other fifteen students also enrolled in the regular art course.

In 1962 we studied our art subjects in the six studios in the tower of the old building. After Christmas we moved into the new, glorious "art building." At the time it was not called The Art Centre, but it did mark the beginning of a new tradition: The first Island Party occurred June 5, 1964. The tradition continued twice more in 1965 and 1966. After a noon dismissal from the last class of the year, we would make our way to the ferry terminal with all we needed for a picnic, plus the contents of our lockers [see Figure 36].



Figure 35: Photographs of Alice and friends on the ferry to the Toronto Island in 1965. Photograph courtesy of Alice Saltiel-Marshall.

The parties were always in the same isolated spot on the south side of Hanlan's Point. We'd build a fire to roast hot dogs and marshmallows. Ritually, academic notes were tossed on the fire, but we never burned our art work. Murray was among the musical classmates who brought guitars and regaled us until well after dark. We'd be sure to catch the last ferry or else we were faced with an expensive water taxi back to the city [see Figure 37].





Figure 36: Photographs of Alice and friends on Hanlan's Point in Toronto, 1965. Photographs courtesy of Alice Saltiel-Marshall.

It was Mark who conceived of our 20-year reunion. He enlisted Gaye and together they rented the Algonquin Island Clubhouse on Ward's Island because there wasn't a suitable facility on Hanlan's Point. Much effort was put into locating classmates. Not all could be found, but of the 26 who were, a remarkable 22 attended, many bringing their spouses and families. Two chose not to respond to the call out or to attend and two were living far away, one in Yellowknife, and the other in Rhode Island. However, in support of the reunion, they sent the \$20 we'd requested to contribute to cover the cost of hosting the event.

On Sunday, September 21, 1986, the weather was cool but lovely. Most cooperative for our reunion, it enabled us to mix and mingle indoors and out. It was a pot luck and BYOB affair. We had the clubhouse from noon to 11PM. How sweet it was to once again watch the sun go down on an island party. I'd had random communication with a few classmates, mostly in the early years after graduating. Mark has always been the glue holding us together. It is him with whom I have remained in touch with regularity. It was almost an out of body experience to encounter the many kids I hadn't seen in all those 20 years [see Figure 38]. Not all our classmates went on to make art their career, but many did. It was delightful to learn the paths that had been taken.



Figure 37: Alice's CTS classmates and their families at their 20-year class reunion, September 21, 1986. Photograph courtesy of Alice Saltiel-Marshall

Late in the afternoon, [former CTS instructor] Paul Summerskill took all of us by complete surprise. On a table outside, he laid open a portfolio and picked up one drawing, or art project, after another, calling the name on each piece, just as our teachers used to do back in class. Each student stepped forward to be given twenty-year-old art! It's amazing that he kept the art work. He later told me how often teachers would hold over graduating class student art work for the following year's school art show. I'm not sure this was the case with the art Summerskill handed out at the reunion; my three pieces were from first and second year. We had to have been some kind of special class! [see Figure 39].



Figure 38: Paul Summerskill hands out artworks he had saved for 20 years. Photograph courtesy of Alice Saltiel-Marshall

Being the organized Virgo that I am, I prepared two albums to bring to the reunion. I got all shy and never did show the one which told my story since graduation. I eventually brought out the book which showcased my paintings. For the most part I received the praise I sought. The competitive spirit that was very much alive and well during our school years reappeared in a comment made by one classmate about how I must project images. Inside I was crushed as I defended myself and proclaimed the truth. I have never used a projector in my work.

This was our only reunion but it remains a powerful punctuation mark of the importance of the fellowship and friendships of the same kids who grew up together moving through those four special years in an art course which compares to no other. It

added to the indelible memory of a most wonderful time in my life.

Revisiting the reunion

About four months after my interview with Alice I came across an abandoned file cabinet being used as a sculpture stand on the top floor of the CTS art building, and in this forgotten space, I discovered a cache of files and old slides from past instructors. In one of the folders I found an invitation and other materials used to help organize Alice's class reunion. The effort and joy that was put into executing this reunion was enormous; it can be clearly seen through the design of the maps, invitation, survey, and other planning documents I uncovered. I made sure to scan copies and send them to Alice. For almost a year now Alice and I have kept in contact, updating each other on events in our lives. Sometimes it is hard to keep track of her, which no surprise is given the following reflection from our visit:

- ASM: Yeah, well, things that I have come to see and do. One: being an art student has given me a key to life that I would never—I would never have this life without it.

 And then I met and married Bill, who has wonderful ideas, and great adventures, and I'm just along for the ride. And I still am. I'm hooked.
- DG: How much of that do you attribute —that, you know, persistence, drive to keep bettering yourself as an artist—how much do you attribute to your time at Central Tech?
- ASM: A good chunk. A good chunk of it, for sure. But I think I may be ADHD, so I like to bounce around. But you're right—when we're in school, the idea was the four years of learning, right? Why would you stop because school is over? The idea is to continue. To continue to explore, experiment, and build skill. And *do* art. Yeah.

You know, I can think about this now intellectually, but I guess I didn't at age 17 and 18—they were preparing us for a way of living...Life as an artist.

Alice's story is one that I share with my students as part of the legacy of CTS, knowing that in this act, there is a gift that cannot be transmitted through curriculum alone, making our relational connections across history richer for the stories of the generation of innovation. Alice's bond with former teachers and fellow students from the art department at Central Tech is clearly displayed through her dialogue and stories. Her vivid accounts attest to the importance of the culture and community forged at Central Tech. Even more so because her recollections do not exist in a vacuum, her stories interweave with other forms of knowledge—with official records, memorabilia, and other forms of material culture: for example, a poem Alice wrote that I discovered in a storage closet on the third floor of the Central Tech art building, which had been saved, along with some newspaper clippings, from the occasion of Doris McCarthy's 90th birthday:

Doris McCarthy

I know Valdy won't mind
If I borrow the line
About his father's shadow
Being as large as Manitoba;
It applies to a mentor of mine

The thick ponytail swinging
Her small frame would bounce
Purposefully down halls
Of an institution I cherish
Departing a graduate in 1966
She gave part of herself
That I could take with me

It was twenty six years later



Figure 39: Alice's first meeting with Doris McCarthy, 26 years after graduating from CTS, at the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, June 20, 1992. Photograph courtesy of Alice Saltiel-Marshall.

When I learned she was coming Right here; to the heart Of where I make all my art I hunched to be shorter To look her straight in the eye Dazzling fire so bright there

And now each time we meet I'm recharged by her spirit Her achievements are countless There is no doubting her merit Penetrating it all Her celebration of life And so it is true; It's the singer, not the song.

-Alice Saltiel-Marshal

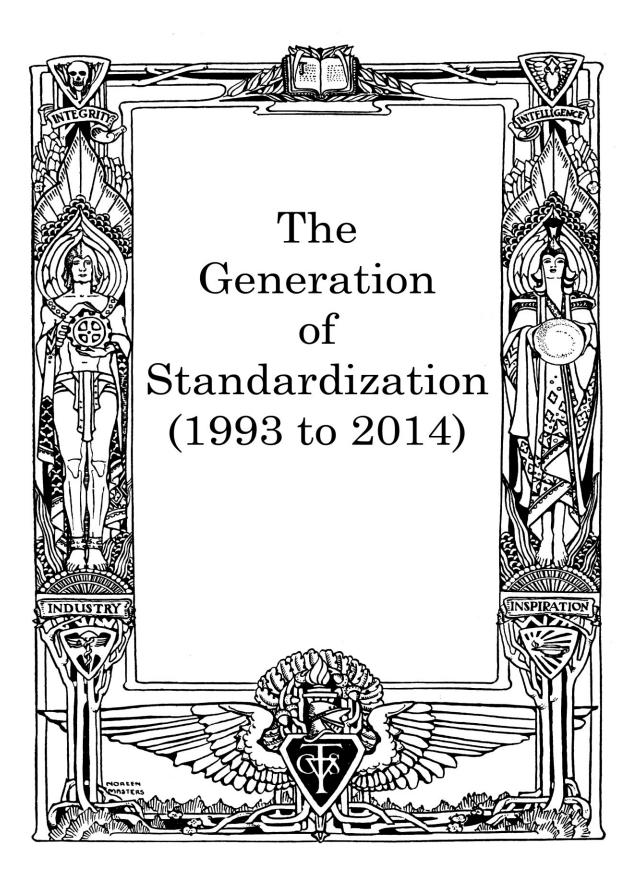
After finding this poem, I sent Alice a scanned copy by email, and she responded the same day, her email attesting to her excitement. We spoke soon after, and Alice described her deep connections to Doris McCarthy and Paul Summerskill, two of her former instructors. Alice also promised to send me images of her with Doris and other teachers over the years. I had no idea what to expect or when to expect the photos, but sure enough I received a package with show catalogues and a CD. The CD contained 67 images that were scanned and labeled. Alice, who does not do things in half measure, followed up with an email that narrated the images she sent.

Alice also sent copies of correspondence from Doris, including letters and cards. These documents present a depth to the relationship the two shared as well as insights into the networks of artists that remained connected to the Art Department at CTS, often long after graduation or retirement, and often over great geographical distance. Even after Alice and her husband moved from Ontario to Alberta, she remained connected to CTS in general and Doris in particular.

Alice's photos and recollections tell of numerous meetings in various locations where she and Doris painted, ate, and laughed among friends (see Figure 41). The closeness Alice felt with former classmates and instructors based on their shared experience built a network or sense of community that endures to this day; and yet this history is largely absent from the official record of Central Technical School and the broader discourse of art education history.



Figure 40: Alice and Doris at an opening of an exhibition of Doris's work at the Wynick/Tuck Gallery, March 6, 2004. Photograph courtesy of Alice Saltiel-Marshall.



Networks of Gratitude: Stories of Friendship

In the course of my research I have collected a number of historical documents from the art building's third floor storage room, a veritable treasure trove of unorganized student art, old electronic equipment, and art supplies. After about an hour of cleaning and organizing the space, I came across a water-damaged cardboard box stuffed with about fifty legal-size file folders filled with documents. One of the great discoveries from this cache was a Christmas letter from past graduates, sent from their place of employment (see Figure 42).

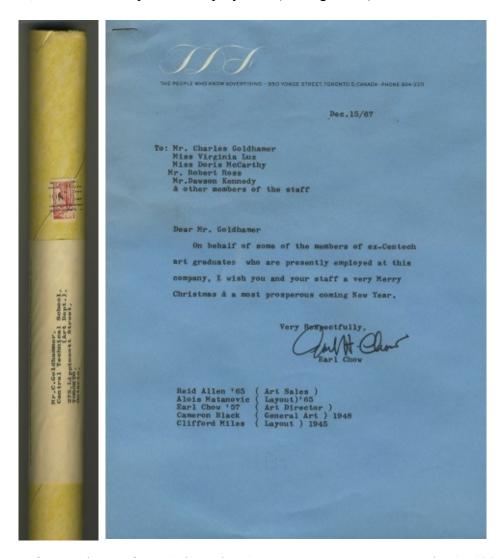


Figure 41: Letter from employees of TDF Artists Ltd. to Art Department Instructors, December 15, 1967. Document courtesy of the Art Department Archives.

The discovery of the letter from TDF Artists is evidence that this specific company had been hiring graduates from the Art Department for almost a generation. For me, the initiative to send a holiday greeting to a school art department speaks to the community and family formed at CTS, but also to the extensive networks connecting the Department to industry. While there have been many acclaimed Canadian fine artists who graduated from the Art Department, there have been significantly more who have filled important roles in arts-related jobs, and what links all of these graduates together is the network of personal and professional friendships constructed within the Department and maintained decades after leaving. But this discovery also coincided with my last interviews concerning the most recent generation of the art department, and with the realization that these letters and historical documents, much like a time capsule, embodied the spirit of a generation that was no more.

'To Hell with Fills': Cori Gould and Three Letters in Support of the CTS Art Department

For years after Alice Saltiel-Marshall and Doris McCarthy reunited, they maintained contact by sending short letters and postcards with personal updates and images of their latest work. Just before Christmas in 1996, Alice received a letter from Doris that foreshadowed the inevitable struggle the Art Department would face (see Figure 43):

DORIS MECARTHY MEADOWCLIFF DRIVE SCARBOROUGH, ONTARIO MIM 2X8 Dear trans, alice - That's a computer glitch -Don't be too shocked if you get a letter one of these days asking you to tell the board of education of a new mega-Toronto that the Art Department of Central Technical School is a good thing and should not be ruined. There is talk of closing all special art courses. This is the kind of thing that our horrible new Conservative government is abolishing. It's "back to basics" and to hell with the "frills". I am too angry about what is happening to write about it. But the head of the art department of C.T.S. came to see me yesterday and the news today is that amalgamation is going ahead regardless of what anyone says or does. However perhaps the new over-all board may listen unless Harris packs it with his own yes men. The word is that it will be appointed not elected. Can you imagine? This is really a thank you for your card, and news of your wonderful trip and the really lovely photographs. You will have you material to challege you for a while and its good to know that you are going to have a studio worthy ofthe job. Does your new address mean that you and Bill are moving or just that you are going to have mail delivery? In the fall my great-niece brought her one-year- old for a weekend. It was as hectic as I anticipated, complete mobility and no inhibitions, but I cherish one memory especially, roller-blading the length of the boardwalk at the Beach with Baby Duncan in his stroller whizzing along in front of me and giving me just the support I needed to trust myself on roller blades. Last month I was out in Winnipeg showing at the Upstairs Gallery there and in North Bay where they had mounted a mini-retrospective, so I have not slowed up yet. Ginny will be here for Christmas with my usual collection of old friends who have no family commitments. will be lovely. I hope yours is as blissful and blessed, Love - Dond. I just love your card - It's a troumph.

Figure 42: Letter sent by Doris McCarthy to Alice Saltiel-Marshal during Christmas 1996. Letter courtesy of Alice Saltiel-Marshall.

McCarthy's letter to Saltiel-Marshall is significant in that it demonstrates the networks formed, perpetuated, and utilized to mobilize action and to share information to protect the

beloved art department. It also introduces the major theme of *resistance* that characterizes much of this more recent generation—one that would ultimately become a generation of standardization. When Cori Gould became the head of the Art Department in 1994, after eight years as a craft and design teacher in the school, she brought not only significant knowledge to her role but also a fighting spirit and strong will. At this time, provincial educational politics were volatile, and much like McCarthy had foreseen, Gould understood that any broad cuts to education would show their first effects in the reduction of arts education. Looking ahead to

impending cuts, Gould (see
Figure 44) began
organizing a strategy to
address the possible crisis
head-on, requesting letters
of support from past
department heads Virginia
Luz and Marshal Bilous as
well as other former
instructors and graduates to
help build an argument for
the maintenance and
preservation of the Art
Department.



Figure 43: Cori Gould, May 30, 2004. Image courtesy of the CTS Art Department Archives.

"The Blind Bumbling of Boorish Bureaucrats"

As Bilous wrote in his letter to the school board (see Figure 45), the absolute devastation of the public education system in Ontario was nothing short of "the blind bumbling of boorish bureaucrats." Having been a high school student at the time, though not at Central Tech, I recall the education policy in 1990s Ontario much as Bilous describes, with schools undergoing significant shifts. As a teacher, I witnessed a second wave of cuts in the early years of the 21st century. Changes occurred in many areas, including curriculum, program structure, provisions for student diversity, accountability, governance, funding, standards of teacher professionalism, teacher working conditions, and school safety as political control over the provincial government shifted from David Peterson's Liberal Party (1986–1990) to the New Democratic Party led by Bob Rae (1990–1995) and then to the Conservative Party under Mike Harris (1995–2002).

The Harris government swept into office in June 1995 under the neo-Conservative ideological banner of "The Common Sense Revolution" (Gidney, 1999). While the party's policy platform had little to say specifically about education, its overall message was clear: Reduce government bureaucracy and spending, cut taxes, eliminate the deficit, and rationalize government services. Harris envisioned at least a \$400 million reduction in annual spending for education alone (public, private, and post-secondary). While promising to protect "classroom funding," the Harris government targeted spending cuts through reductions in non-classroom personnel and administrative costs, and through measures to reduce duplication of services across school boards (Paquette, 1998).

John B. Davis Director of Education

The Three Year Special Art Program at Central Technical School is unique in Ontario and, in fact, Canada. It's reputation is literally world renowned. The list of it's famous graduates comprise a Who's Who of artists in Canada. Students taking this program are primarily graduates from other high schools in Metro who come to C.T.S. instead of attending the Ontario College of Art or a Community College, plus adults returning to get an art education.

I was one of those students. Without Central Tech I would not have been able to study art. As a graduate from Jarvis C.I. in 1950, my choices were either the Ontario College of Art or the Special Art Program at Central Tech. Coming from a large working class family in "cabbage town", OCA was not an option.

After successfully completing the Three Year Special Art Program in 1954, I was immediately hired by Domtar Packing as an artist-designer. I eventually applied to the Ontario College of Education, received my teaching certificate and was hired by the Toronto Board to teach art at Central Tech. In 1989 I was promoted to Head of Art. I retired in 1994.

Over the years the program has been imitated, without success, by other schools and Boards of Education. It has also been attacked by people who know nothing about art or art education. Yet, somehow, it has persevered. I have watched with wry amusement as administers and trustees escorted V.I.P.'S from Europe and Asia through the school to show off the "jewel in the crown" of the Toronto Board only to have the value of the program questioned again and again. It seems the importance of the program must be proven to each new administration.

Now because of blind bumbling by boorish bureaucrats in Queens Park the program may again be in jeopardy - perhaps even cancelled because of it's very uniqueness and excellence.

I urge you to save this program. The art department has evolved and adapted to the needs of students for over seventy-five years. I have every confidence it will continue to do so.

Yours truly,

Marshal Bilous, Former Head of Art.

c.c. David Moll,
 Chairman T.B.E.
 Cori Gould, Head of Art.
 John Campey, Trustee.
 Tam Gossen, Trustee.

Figure 44: Letter of support written by Marshal Bilous, 1996. Photograph courtesy of the CTS Alumni Archives.

The government expected school boards to make the cuts. Administrative costs, teacher preparation time, and teacher benefits were named as desired targets (although the legal complexities of modifying collective agreements effectively ruled out the latter). A majority of boards responded by announcing teacher layoffs, plans for major cuts in programs and services, and increases in local property taxes to offset the cuts in provincial grants. These strategies were contrary to the government's promise to protect classroom funding and to ensure more equal student funding across the province, and were used to justify more direct government intervention to reduce the costs of education (Sattler, 2012).

In January 1997, Bill 104, the *Fewer School Boards Act*, was passed. This legislation followed from a government committee report in January of 1996 that recommended a massive reduction in the number of school boards as well as changes in the financing of education (Ontario School Board Reduction Task Force, 1996). It reduced the number of boards in Ontario from 129 to 72 and renamed them "district school boards." The legislation had a powerful impact on the Toronto public school systems: It required consolidation of the six Toronto public boards into one district board serving over 300,000 students, making the Toronto Board the fourth-largest school district in North America. Consolidation of school boards was supposed to reduce administrative costs and as well as duplication of services.

Almost a year later the Harris government passed Bill 160, the *Education Quality Improvement Act* (1997). Bill 160 brought closure to years of study and debate about disparities in per-pupil funding associated with unequal access to local property tax revenues by jurisdiction (public versus Catholic boards) and by location (urban versus rural). Under Bill 160, the government completely centralized control over education funding. Bill 160 removed the power

of school boards to manipulate the education portion of local property taxes to offset or supplement provincial grants. Property tax levies were then dictated by the provincial government. Funds generated through both personal and commercial property tax revenues were collected, pooled, and redistributed on an equitable basis to English and French, public and Catholic school district boards (Graham & Phillips, 1998; Bedard & Lawton, 2000).

Within days of Bill 160's enactment, the government announced plans to increase the number of teaching days the following year, to reduce preparation time for high school teachers by 50%, and to increase the instructional time requirements for high school teachers. The government claimed that these teachers would spend more time with students. Teachers argued that they would have to teach another half course, which would increase the number of students taught and the marking workload with less time for preparation (Morgan, 2006). True to its intent, the new formula did create more equal per-pupil funding regardless of board type and location. Many of the English public boards, however, suffered reductions in funding, while the Catholic and French language boards enjoyed gains. The implications for the boards that lost out in the funding equalization process were enormous, since funding losses of up to 10% meant that they could no longer offset the losses by raising local taxes (Anderson & Jaafar, 2003). Cori Gould had faith in the Art Department's students, staff, and alumni to step up to the challenge of preserving its legacy. While maintaining a comprehensive plan for the recruitment of new students, Gould and her team of dedicated instructors made a concerted effort to bring media attention to the program. The department hosted gala dinners and notable alumni contributed pieces to art auctions to raise funds. Gould also led a mailing campaign, reaching out to all known alumni to inform them of the threat. Former CTS instructor and department head Virginia Luz also (see Figure 46) lent her voice to the cause, penning a letter in praise of the CTS art department that enumerates the contributions she made to the many generations under her tutelage and contextualizes the social value of the school to art and culture in Canada.

113 Delaware ave.. Torouto, Out., M6H 259 Teb. 29, 1996

Cori Gould,
art Heal,
The art Centre,
Central Technical School,
Tas Bathurot St.,
Toronto, Out., M55 2R5

Dear Cori Gould:

Your letter concerning the possible dismantlering of The art Department of Gentral Technical School, shocks and dismarp his.

The art Department has been recognized as one of the wort suportant schools for the visual arts in Canada for over 75 years. The creative achievements of cts' Starf have received acalain both in Canada and abroad. Its graduates have held many of the most responsible positions in art and design for industry. Commerce. Government agencies and educational institutions in Canada as meel as in other Countries, and many of its graduates are included among Canada's recognized leaders in the Fine arts.

when I was in what is now called Grade 13, I decided that I wanted to be an artist. On the advise of experts in the field, I curalled in the Special art course at Central tech because of its excellent reputation,

rather than the Callege of art, and it is a decision I have never regretted. Following my graduation in 1932 I worked in several Toronto studios as a successful young commercial artist. In 1940, I started my career as a teacher on the Staff of CTS art Department, of Far 34 years I taught I clustration to hundreds is gifted, talented Students

2

as a former teacher (1940-1974), former assistant Head (65-69'), and as former Head 1969-1974), I feel I must speak out against terminating either the Four year Course or the Special art Programme. The Students in both Courses benefit greatly from the presence of each other-especially the students in the Four year course, whose work is greatly up-graded by the examples of the work of the older more unique in the educational system.

Drealize that with present economic Situation, the Board Must make powe changes. Considering the Significant Contribution this school has made to Canadiane Culture to disappearance would be little short of a tragedy. I sincerely hope that the Board will do all it can to beep this wonderful school alive and throwing

with best wishes

Virginia Lung R.C.A.

::

Figure 45: Virginia Luz's letter in support of the Art Department, February 29, 1996. Photograph courtesy of the CTS Alumni Archives.

Like Bilous, Luz was a key voice in this transgenerational act of resistance for a number of reasons: she had been a student of the program before becoming an instructor, then assistant head, and, finally, department head of the Art Department. With nearly forty years of service each, both were firmly ensconced within the Art Department's tradition and legacy of planned leadership succession and apprenticeship. The letters of support from Luz and Bilous were included in the package of materials Gould sent to superintendents, trustees, politicians, and media in the late 1990s. Each of these letters tells one individual's story, but together they provide a broad lens into one institution's struggle against educational change in Ontario.

The systematic dismantling of the education system ultimately led to a flattening of programs like art education and to the erasure of long-standing traditions at CTS: the adult education program, which had operated for over 100 years, came to an end. It was inevitable that the political climate of Ontario from 1993 to the present would result in this generation becoming a generation of standardization. Despite Gould's struggle to secure the culture of the Art Department, she realized that the program's lineage and the importance of maintaining it were going to be lost. She recounts:

When I first started — when I became head of that program — Doris McCarthy came up to me. It was first year as head of that program. And it was during the art exhibition, so you'd get people like Doris, and all these people, coming back to visit, Former students who were now big names in the art world. And my first year, Doris McCarthy walked up to me and said, you know, "I'm Doris McCarthy, what's your name?" And I said "Cori Gould." And she said, "What's your background? Where do you come from? And what do you do?" You know? "What are your ideas for this program? And how do you feel about this?" And it was like she was putting me through an interview as to, "Where are

you at with regards to this program? And do you have the credentials to do what needs to be done for this program?" And I saw Doris for many years after that, you know, and I got to know Doris. She wanted to know that there was a leader in the Art Department who was invested in that program as much as they were.

It was a tremendous motivator. I mean, I grew up in Toronto. I always knew about Central Tech and I knew of its reputation, but to have Doris come up and virtually say to you, you know, "We're passing on a legacy to you. We're passing on a history to you. You need to know what this is all about." It was a tremendous motivator! It was the reason that I got into the political arena that I got into, and wanted to go forward and fight for that program. It moved me to—I wanted to see the program remain. And I saw its demise; I saw what was coming. And I knew what was coming, and I didn't believe staying under the wire, and hiding, would do it. Now, as it turns out—I don't know whether putting it on the radar was the right or wrong thing to do. I don't know if it makes any difference in the end. Because I see what's happened anyway, and it's happened across the board, to all schools. Not just Central Tech, you know? But I was prepared to fight for whatever we had to do. I just didn't want to see the demise of the program. You know? I think it had produced too much—and meant too much to so many people—to just throw up my arms and say, "Oh well, what can you do? You can't fight City Hall." Which—you can't. But you can try. And that's always the artist's position—I have to, sort of, move in and show what, you know, I see. So it was my way of saying, you know, if I have to become political to do this then I will become political to do this.

A story of educational change

Numerous oral histories and informal conversations with former instructors from the late 1990s to the early 2000s, when I became a teacher at the school, describe a stressful work environment, something I well remember as a new teacher. A number of former instructors have even spoken of what they perceived as deliberate bullying of Art Department instructors within the school. At the same time, administration was responding to the imposition of change from the new district board, and the internal struggles in the art department were compounded due to major cuts to education under Harris. External forces of change were kept at bay but only for a time with a seasoned team of instructors and an outspoken leader who engaged with alumni, the media, and politicians to ensure that the program was maintained. Gould became the last champion of the Art Department in the tradition of the past leaders like McKay, Howell, Haworth, Kennedy, McCarthy, Luz, and Bilous, taking the brunt of the educational change forces directly. In 2003, she was removed her from the position as the Art Department head and placed into the Special Education department as a teacher. She chose to retire soon after.

When I joined the department in 2003, the seeds of change were laid in a number of ways that marked a shift from the long tradition of the art department operating autonomously within the school. For example, control of hiring decisions shifted from the department to the school's administration; the department heads were appointed by administration rather than succession planning from within; and teachers were hired first for teacher training, with artistic qualification coming second, a reversal of a practice that was nearly a century old. This kind of restructuring as part of the sudden and dramatic organizational change reflected the broader politics within education in Ontario, as dictated by government. Between 2004 and 2010 the department made an informal decision to rely on its artist-teachers to maintain their specialty areas, but at the same

time, the changing demographics of the school, as it was reconfigured within a new paradigm of education in the province, did not facilitate the proactive recruitment and active promotion of art education as in the past. Declining enrolment began to be evident. The maintenance of ties to alumni, the concept of grooming an assistant head, and the importance of keeping up with new artistic technologies was no longer possible in the ways it had been in the past.

Amidst years of increasing standardization, in 2005 there was an influx of funds to the Art Department when the TDSB gave special status to the CTS art education program along with other arts-based schools around Toronto. This marked another shift in the definition of the department and the school within a system that was still in flux. These funds contributed to the needed maintenance of equipment and to ensuring that specialty areas were well stocked with supplies. On the surface, the façade of a fully functioning art program was maintained for many years, but beneath the surface signs pointed to major departmental crisis.

In a span of a half a decade, between 2008 and 2014, three quarters of the Art

Department staff retired. Most of these instructors had dedicated up to 30 years to the

Department and many were part of the apprenticeship legacy that had long contributed to the

Department's longevity. With such a significant loss of teacher talent, specialized curriculum

that maintained both streams of applied and fine art was phased out and new arts curriculum

from the Ontario Ministry of Education was introduced in 2010. Ministry documents did not

provide guidance on specialized or technical art programs. The requirement of teachers to abide

by Ministry standards pushed innovative and alternative programs to standardization across the

TDSB. There was no longer a curriculum or program mechanism in place to maintain the unique

qualities of the Art Department.

In 2012 a second wave of cuts began as the Ontario government slashed funding to education once again, and the TDSB's financial crisis has led to deep cuts and strict accounting (Ferguson, 2012). The high school student population in Toronto continues to shrink (TDSB Census, 2013) and competition among arts schools to recruit students is readily described by teachers as intense. Adding to this scenario are increases in violence at CTS, including a school shooting (in the main building of CTS) on September 30, 2010 (Poisson & Robson, 2010), a lack of French immersion courses, and a disproportionate special education population, all of which were cited by concerned parents of prospective students during grade eight promotional events as reasons for steering their children away from CTS. Even environmental policy changes have contributed to a new orientation for art education. For example, in 2014 the department chose to cease operation of the cone ten gas kiln. Grandfathered through different Toronto Board policies and maintained for over 75 years, the CTS gas kiln is the only one of its kind in a Toronto secondary school. The change from cone ten to cone six means the end to uniquely designed glaze recipes handed down by some of the greatest Canadian potters in history, including Robin Hopper and Sir Roger Kerslake.

Put simply, the significant changes to the Art Department and its instructors during the generation of standardization created an atmosphere of uncertainty in a department that was once the jewel in the crown of the TDSB.

Transgenerations as a Form of New Histories: Why These Stories?

I propose in this collection of new histories to take a narrative approach to historical analysis. This approach is founded in the understanding that people's lives in history are polyphonic, dialogical, unfinished, and unresolved. I describe my approach as nonlinear storied

inquiry in that it seeks to question established truths embedded in the narratives of the past. A storied inquiry thus suspends the narrative focus on beginnings, middles, and endings and makes room for new and varied voices. Informed by Foucault's notion of genealogy, I have utilized traditions, perspectives, ideas, values, and beliefs as objects of storied inquiry that demonstrate how, through relationality, "experience is portrayed as a mimetic circle where endpoints lead back to pre-narration" (Jørgensen & Boje, 2009, p. 32). I argue that a storied historical account is that result of complex chains of interactions, negotiations, and struggles. Genealogical scrutiny shakes up the mimetic circle, opening up new interpretations of history by revealing the power relations embedded in the conditions in which history is storied and re-storied. Stories are never "alone but live and breathe in a web of other stories" (Boje, 2001, p. 18). The stories I construct, when "compared to narratives ... are certainly more dialogical and polyphonic [and] tend to be surrounded by scaffoldings of emergent contexts and deconstructionist critique as if they were always under construction" (Jørgensen & Boje, 2009, p. 34). Cunliffe, Luhmann and Boje (2004) write that "genealogy emphasizes the context and spaces where life is storied, and re-storied" (p. 272). This is a viewpoint that makes life more dynamic, liquid, polyphonic, and paradoxical.

Creating a space where people's stories emerge as an organic, fluid movement, constitutes the substance of how my new history decenters this institutional history of art education. Not only by bringing in the absent, and often voiceless, but precisely through the process of intuition and interpretation, I have been able to "reveal complexities of human experience that challenge the categories with which we are accustomed to thinking about the world" (Scott, 2011, p. 207). My purpose in this chapter was to write a history of education from a bottom-up, everyday perspective. I wanted to know what narratives people construct about their time at school, about later educational choices, and about the ways art education has been of

importance, or not, to their lives. The overall purpose of these stories is threefold: to reflect on the application of my polyptych visual rendering to the contemporary history of art education and on the possibility of improving my knowledge about the meaning of art education in people's lives, while also providing an alternate version of the institutional history of the CTS Art Department.

In the following polyptych, I map the stories of this chapter visually to demonstrate how the interrelationships among and between generations form a rhizomatic structure (see Figure 47). I conceptualize my new history as a three dimensional story space where storylines within five generations intersect, diverge and then converge again. The composites of individual teachers, students, archival documents, photographs; and exemplars of material culture, are linked through storylines of place, time and significant events that shift in and out of chronological order. The macro view I present highlights how generations in this case are configured out of chronological order to show the transgenerational threads that exist with, in, and through stories.

In this way, the results of my historical research shed light on new subject positions, motivating art education historians to reimagine the ways our histories are made and remade with every encounter with oral histories, archives, and material culture. Historical facts do not simply exist in an archive, waiting to be identified and interpreted; such facts construct the present and are brought to life by the act of storying lived experiences. The research I have conducted alongside Sue, Alice, Harold, Barry, Barbara, and the fifteen other participants who informed my new histories contributes to a kind of social history that draws upon theoretical and methodological insights from other disciplines, stretching boundaries and interweaving disciplinary interpretations.

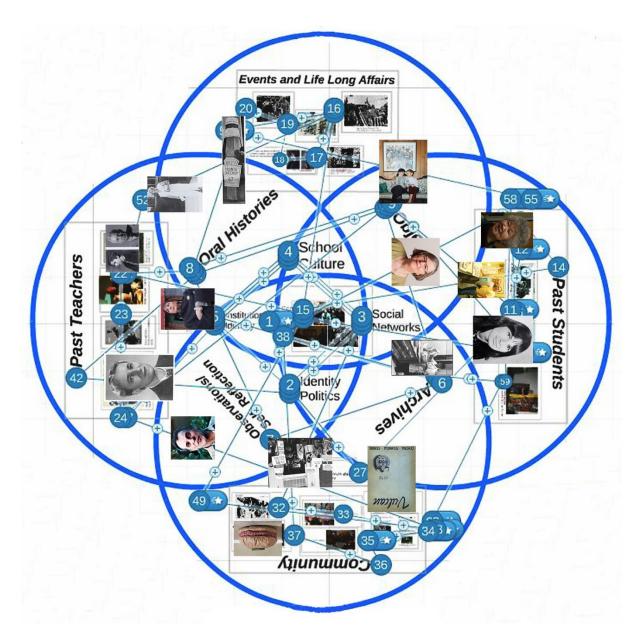


Figure 46: A macro view of the polyptych architecture depicting the sources of data and a mapping of the networks and thematic threads which connect and run through the new histories constructed for this study. Image courtesy of Dustin Garnet.

My work raises not only historical questions, but epistemological ones: "new questions not only about what we know, but how we know it" (Rousmaniere, 2001a, p. 652). Through a close examination of my relationship with all members of the school community, near and far, I offer a perspective of my location within my school, as well as within the strands of archives, oral

histories, and material culture, braided together to form an embedded relational perspective. This line of inquiry deliberately blurs the boundaries between storytelling, traditional qualitative research, and historiography. The stories I map in this polyptych structure are a choreographed "dance of compatibility between the fragments of a known past, and a world constructed through reasoned imagination and grounded speculation of the historian" (Bolin, 2009, p. 110).

CHAPTER FIVE- AN ANALYSIS OF THREE PERSPECTIVES ON NEW HISTORY

Although it is impossible to "know" the past or to claim to present a complete 122-year history, the stories selected in this study represent a kind of purposeful sampling, in which the stories were identified because of pedagogic characteristics that represent a wide range of experiences related to the school over time. Stories were chosen based on the following criteria: 1) if the story provided insights into the social, economic or political climate of the school; 2) if the story generated a relational understanding of the individual storyteller to students, teachers and/or administrators; 3) if the story represented a specific time period that would add to the breadth of the history of the Art Department; and/or 4) if stories covered significant events in the Art Department's past. Through the lens of new histories, I have been careful not to reduce my data to one kind of story; instead, narratives are composite stories that include photo elicitation, oral histories, previously published materials, as well as archival documents and material culture objects. Such an approach encourages maximum variation in the stories and I believe it has generated a series of representative stories from three historical perspectives; personal points of view, and external and internal institutional points of view. These perspectives represent three streams of this new history and operate as organizational elements across data sets, resulting in a narrative configuration with complex and diverse forms and storytelling approaches. They have thus facilitated the composition of numerous interrelated stories from this institution's past.

In the following sections, I will provide a detailed breakdown of the definitions of the three data sets (oral histories, archival documents and material culture), how I set boundaries for each data set, and how I made discretionary choices when sorting data as an embedded researcher (Creswell, 2013/1998). Following this discussion, I will provide an overview of my use of the tools of document, content, and thematic analysis, showing what, why, and how my

data was analyzed. The three data sets presented in my research illustrate different kinds of stories told from different perspectives, and how from these data sets, I generated the four core categories of my study: identity politics, institutional identity, school culture, social networks. Triangulating the historical dimensions of oral histories, archives and material culture has generated rich accounts in Chapter 4 (Stake, 1995; Eisner, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 2009), providing greater reliability within the stories I tell.

The first data set is made up of personal stories collected from oral histories (Appendix 2). These first-person stories are derived from interview transcripts from which I specifically searched for individuals directly connected to the CTS Art Department over its long history. In situations where individuals produced a mass of additional related documents, my purposeful sampling resulted in collecting data that spoke explicitly to the connections of individual people in the Art Department and that data helped to build a narrative timeline of events from the past. I engaged in member checking during the interviews themselves, restating information and asking follow-up questions to clarify, as well as having the participants review the transcripts. The stories collected from oral histories were also verified by an examination and comparison of external and internal documents to corroborate specific dates and facts.

The second data set is made up of external institutional histories produced from public documents. Institutional stories derived from sources such as newspaper articles, art show promotional materials, local magazines and newsletters, and art history textbooks provide source data for these stories (see, for example, Nakamura and The Burger stories). Document and content analysis steps were rigorously followed to corroborate specific dates and facts.

The third data set is made up of internal institutional stories constructed from nonconfidential Art Department documents such as letters of thanks and support, as seen in the stories forming the generation of standardization. Internal perspectives are found in hundreds of documents, as well as my own experiences as an embedded observer and instructor at CTS. This data set also includes private information in the public domain such as personal websites, published biographies, yearbooks, student art, blogs, social media profiles and various forms of material culture. Document and content analysis are also used to verify facts in the internal institutional stories presented (see, for example, the letter "To Hell with Frills"). Each of the three historical perspectives provides narrative threads that unspool to produce various forms of stories, adding to the complexity of my new history and aligning with my visual rendering of the polyptych.

Tools of Analysis

The process of comparing and contrasting public and private perspectives in my data sets provided openings through which to identify convergences and divergences in stories. In this case study, oral stories serve as the in-between spaces between public and private documents and objects. Oral stories act to mediate the scope of understandings available in personal and institutional contexts. The process of filtering public and private perspectives together through oral histories triangulates my findings and served as verification of my interpretations.

Document Analysis

I began my analysis by reviewing documents, either printed, electronic or visual, reading and making notes on the kinds of documents collected and then on the macro-content found within (McCulloch, 2004; Bowen, 2009). I conducted document analysis to begin to understand how primary source documents provide insights into the many dimensions of life at the school,

which then generated questions for my interviews and provided the basis for considering the purpose of the documents in the construction of the school's identity over a century.

In my document analysis, I examined and interpreted documents to highlight textual meanings, gain socio-cultural understandings of a given time period, and develop empirical knowledge through documents (Bowen, 2009). As a result, I have developed three summative lists of documents: historical photos; newspapers, articles, and other public documents like community newsletters and magazines; and yearbooks, student art, and assorted material culture

such as address books, art show invitations, and flyers. All materials chosen for document analysis are publically accessible through sixteen archival locations across Canada (Appendix 3). In most cases, these documents contained summarized descriptive records that put documents into context, but sometimes there were no records at all, as in the case of student art and photography. For example, Barbara Bickle shared a piece of her student art collection from the 1960s (see Figure 48). The piece had no identifiable information or marks, but I recognized this image in other student's work like Sue Shintani and Alice Saltiel-Marshall. After discussion with all three participants I learned that the image came from a series of



Figure 47: Barbara Bickle's student art from Kathleen Kennedy's Museum Course. Image courtesy of Barbara Bickle.

museum trips with former instructor Kathleen Kennedy. The recognition of similar artistic content across two generations of students work added to the confidence of my document analysis.

Document analysis generated baseline information such as names, dates, places and events. I examined documents as expressions of the socio-historical and cultural context of the school over time, "understood with reference to their author/s and to what they were seeking to achieve, in so far as this can be known" (McCulloch, 2004, p. 5). As May (2001) argues, such an approach ensures that documents are examined through a lens which focuses on the creators, readers, and cultures in which they are found. This is "fundamental to how we see our surroundings and ourselves" (p. 178). I employed document analysis as a cyclical process of reading, rereading and interpreting. This process combines elements of content and thematic analysis to create a "first-pass document review, in which meaningful and relevant passages of text or other data is identified" (Bowen, 2009, p. 32). Following this form of data analysis, I identified pertinent information and separated it from that which was not pertinent, such as newspaper articles from a variety of sources. Hundreds of articles were located on past graduates and the articles I chose to include made mention of their connection to the Art Department. If there was no reference to CTS or their past education, I did not include them (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). As an added dimension, and in an effort to bring greater rigor to the process, notes and files were created to document materials not used in this study. The notes were further examined at the final stages of analysis to ensure that relevant documents were not overlooked.

In additional to textual documents, visual images, particularly photographs, constituted a key data set within document analysis. The analysis of photographs cannot be separated from the analysis of the history of the institution in which they were produced. With respect to the CTS

Art Department, I took the position that the majority of photographs collected from institutions and archives were "produced with the intent of their inclusion in some form of official administrative documents of [the] school and were circulated among those who were involved with the inspection, authorization, and recognition processes" (Pessanha, 2013, p. 219). A small number of photographs came from personal collections that include snapshots of fellow students and teachers in both formal and informal situations. I have interpreted images by examining who was in the photo, the time period, the event or action that was taking place, the location of where it was found and the notations provided as a way to inform the content of stories (Stanczak, 2007; Banks, 2008). Margolis and Fram (2007) state:

...scholars writing about the history of education emphasize written texts—formal curricula, school board minutes, inspectors' reports and learning as assessed mental processes—photographers and visual artists depict the physical arrangements, postures and facial expressions of bodies within socially constructed spaces (p. 193).

For me, historical photographs from the Art Department at CTS operate as "a bridge between the past and the present" (Grosvenor, 1999, p. 86). I am also mindful that this bridge can entrap a historian who, conscious of the informative status of the photos, may be induced to equate the photograph with historical truth because of the closeness to the past that such visual images appear to bear. Images of art, people, places, and events acted as clues and did not end inquiries about them, leading me to pose further questions as to who selected the content to be photographed, and how it was selected, acquired, and used. As Margolis and Fram (2007) explain:

[photographs] ...record visible elements of school climate, e.g. architecture, furniture and the rituals of schooling. Artwork and photographs reveal effects of schooling on the body

(and of the body on schooling), but remain mute about what goes on inside the heads of teachers or students (p. 194)

The use of photographs as a data source has corroborated significant details in my research adding a greater level of confidence in the stories I construct.

Content Analysis

Working with a broad definition, I applied content analysis as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use" (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 18). Content analysis was applied to internal documents (including letters, memos, curriculum binders, promotional materials, and non-confidential administrative correspondence); and analogue or digital pieces of data including video and audio clips.

The process of content analysis that I undertook consisted of several steps. These steps were revisited and repeated many times, as emergent insights dictated, at least until the final research report was complete (Campbell, Pound, Morgan, Daker-White, Britten, Pill, Yardley, Pope & Donovan, 2011). For the purpose of my study, I have adopted directed content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) in which my preliminary coding started with themes that emerged from initial research findings in the oral histories I conducted (Appendix 2). Then, during content analysis, I immersed myself in the data by reviewing my coding multiple times, which allowed more refined categories to emerge across the three data sets. Systematic content analysis was applied to the documents as well, to analyze the various texts through written communication, images, audio/visual and material culture. I utilized an inductive approach to coding data by first making observations, noting patterns, and then making possible hypothesis while working with

primary and secondary sources. This bottom-up process identified key information and ideas as primary content, and contextual information as secondary content to add to the reliability of my interpretations. For example, during my search for documents within the art building, I found a poem written by Alice Saltiel-Marshall for McCarthy's ninetieth birthday (see the story "Memory and Memento"). I sent the poem to Alice by e-mail and she responded by providing the context for the poem, the location where it was published, and confirmed for me the presence of key themes such as social networks and school culture that have been maintained long after graduation.

Quotations from oral histories and points of data from various documents have been used to verify themes; as well, I have incorporated methods of data display including charts, and conceptual networks in the form of diagrams (Miles & Huberman, 1994). When presenting my content analysis results, I have aimed for a balance between description and interpretation that is fundamental to creating an artful new history that embraces the authorial and the ethical qualities of writing such a history of art education. My content analysis generated rich descriptions in stories that allow a better understanding of the basis for an interpretation, and "sufficient interpretation to allow the reader to understand [my] description[s]" (Patton, 2002, pp. 503–504).

The analysis of material culture (Bolin & Blandy, 2011) played a significant role in understanding objects as forms of data. Following Fleming (1974) and Prown (2001), I have developed a rigorous analysis of objects with the knowledge that an artifact is a manifestation of the beliefs and values of the culture that created it. There were five steps I followed in this process: 1) description based on observation: a physical inventory of material, dimensions, and iconographic content; 2) deduction based on direct sensory engagement: consideration of what an object does and how it does it; 3) speculation involving creative imagining and free

association of ideas to formulate theories and hypotheses; 4) emotional response: linking the object to experiences and feelings; and 5) inclusion into the larger study through triangulation of the material culture with oral histories and archival research to determine the validity of the hypothesis I made. For example, I conducted content analysis on yearbooks and replica sculptures forgotten in the art building's back storage rooms. Yearbooks provided invaluable contextual information related to specific generations. One example is the 1944 Vulcan Golden Jubilee Edition, where I found a section with a Peter Haworth essay entitled "The Arts at War" which provided insights into the many war-related activities of the Art Department during WWII and listed its achievements over the year. Another example of material culture analysis was conducted on damaged marble and plaster sculptures. These once valued replicas have been damaged and defaced over time. Through analysis of archive records and an interview with Marshal Bilous, I was able to learn that many were purchased from the Royal Ontario Museum as instructional tools throughout the second half of the twentieth century. Some had instructor's names on the bottom and the location where they were originally kept. As well, the style and period of art history represented by the sculptures gave further insights into the curriculum offered at the school during different generations.

Thematic Analysis

In my thematic analysis, the importance of a theme is not necessarily dependent on quantifiable measures, but rather on whether it captures something important in relation to the overall research question (Spencer, Ritchie & O'Connor, 2003; Braun & Clarke, 2006). I employ thematic analysis to analyze classifications and present patterns that emerged through the coded data across all three data sets. Moving away from counting explicit words or phrases, I focused

on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas (Namey, Guest, Thairu & Johnson, 2008). Codes that I developed for categories were then linked to raw data as summary markers for later analysis, which included "comparing the relative frequencies of themes or topics within a data set, looking for code co-occurrence, [and] graphically displaying code relationships" (Namey et al p. 138).

The main purpose of this procedure is to build reliability into theme-analysis coding. The checking and verification by interviewees demonstrates and confirms the details of textual excerpts and images. For example, during an oral history interview with Marshal Bilous, he and I reviewed his personal archive and came across an image of "The Burger" student protest at the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO). Bilous told me a story about the event in 1967 and recounted that it was "picked up" by major newspapers in Toronto and internationally in *Time* magazine. Curious to know more about this event, I went to the archives and found three Toronto newspapers and the *Time* article in question all featuring the story, as well as a CTS yearbook that referenced it and an online article from the AGO, in addition to confirming its accuracy through informal discussions with retired CTS instructors. After piecing together a fuller picture of the details, I returned with the narrative I had uncovered to Bilous, who reconfirmed facts and added a few more details. The story of "the burger incident" places the CTS Art Department in the thick of the conversation around how art is defined, as well as underscoring themes of artistic community, student involvement, and respect for authority. I verified my interpretations by correlating document, content, and thematic analysis.

In practice, thematic analysis was achieved by coding the three data sets representing personal, external, and internal perspectives. For example, within a conversation there may have been many moments of interaction which piqued my curiosity. After repeated listening and transcribing, I was able to winnow data notes into categories based on patterns in the data (storylines), and recorded the frequency of the recurrence of codes in each set. Twelve primary storylines then emerged from the coded data. When more than one code corresponded to an individual data element, it was tagged with multiple codes. Data that was coded but did not find a corresponding link was sorted and then compared to all data elements during the final stages of analysis. The final check of excluded materials allowed openings for the possibility of new

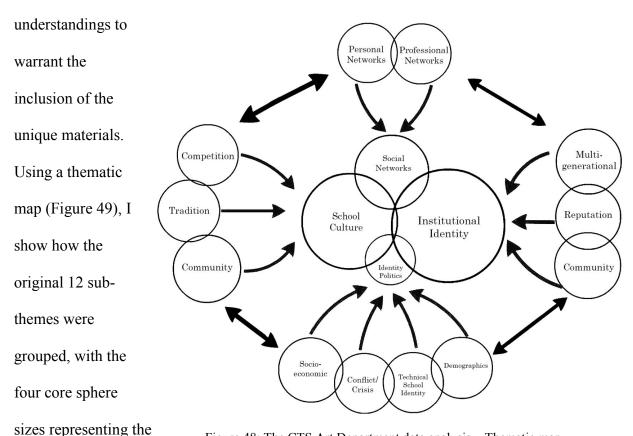


Figure 48: The CTS Art Department data analysis – Thematic map.

amount of data collected in each category.

I then compared the storylines of each sub-theme and recorded the links between them. Many storylines intuitively tied together and reduced the twelve themes into four core categories of stories. The four categories were decided upon through a process of grouping themes together that I felt had some form of correspondence. The resulting groups naturally formed broad categories that represent the individual themes inside the categories. The process of thematic analysis is particularly well-suited to my study as a method of examining the data in order to discover common themes and categories from more than one participant (Crawford, Brown, & Majomi, 2008). The twenty oral histories from my study have been analyzed thematically, resulting in 12 themes that I grouped into the four core categories of my data analysis. The four core categories were then used as codes to organize all other data in the study. All data was coded with at least one code, but when data corresponded with multiple categories it was assigned multiple codes.

Analysis Spiral

Building on the thematic analysis and recognizing that there is no "one-size-fits-all" approach to data analysis, I adopted Creswell's (2013/1998) illustrative schemata of a spiral in which he recommends a process of "moving in analytical circles rather than using a fixed linear approach" (p. 142). I began at the bottom of the spiral, gathering data, reviewing transcripts and documents (textual and visual), reviewing objects as part of material culture, and listening to audio recordings of oral histories. I proceeded upward through various stages of data management, writing, reading, reflecting, and memoing, then on to the art of describing, classifying, and interpreting, categorizing, and comparing. Finally, at the top of the spiral, I represented and visualized the data until a written account (see Chapter 4, "Stories") was

sufficiently developed to present the findings. The spiral image highlights the non-linear, iterative nature of my data analysis, aligning with my polyptych visual rendering. The coded data across all of the data sets (personal, external, and internal) have undergone multiple modes of analysis — document, content, or thematic —and were filtered into the four core categories which construct the basis for my new history. The final step in my analysis was to compare the three historical perspectives and their forms of historical stories in order to verify my interpretations of the Art Department's history. By adopting an analysis spiral, I also recognized that photographs often represent data coded with multiple codes because the visual information aligns with multiple categories. For example, in Alice Saltiel-Marshall's story I used an image of Doris McCarthy and Alice during their first meeting, which occurred a generation after she graduated. This photograph provided information on both the categories of social networks and school culture.

The four core categories that have emerged in my study — institutional identity, identity politics, school culture, and social networks — in no way represent the totality of themes possible in a study of this scale, but provide the primary elements of my historical interpretation. Using multiple forms of data analysis, I uncovered findings and created narratives of research (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) that are grounded, and according to Clandinin and Connelly, more likely to be valid than a singular, linear analysis. These four categories have been clustered together in such a way that many intersections are created across the stories. These intersections are between spaces, undefined and open, inviting imagination and inquiry, and yet systematic and definitive of generations that chart the genealogy of the school. From the intersections of categories, my constructed historical stories operate to bring rigor to analysis, generating confirmation that my methodology and new histories are actually being articulated throughout

my study. My qualitative data analysis combines both "scientific rigor and artistic aplomb" (Chenail, 2012, p. 248) to produce a systematic yet creative product which is framed through a polyptych structure of historical stories. As a storyteller, I write the stories of others as the primary analytical instrument (Patton, 2002), and I tell stories from the history of the Central Technical School Art Department by employing a customized thematic comparative analysis. Analysis, like theory and methodology, can be crafted into a customized form (Szczepaniak, 2010). The complexity of my study demands an analytical architecture that is conceptually aligned with my methodological framework and my new histories as a theoretical lens.

School culture.

The Art Department at CTS developed into "a school within a school" as evidenced in the stories, and with this, I argue it developed its own unique culture, mostly independent of the larger high school. School culture is a theme informed by an indoctrination and acculturation of the traditions, values and standards of the department. This main category is composed of subcategories that include data encompassing student and teacher competition, art and social traditions, and how the art education department operated like an artistic community. Segregated from the main population of Tech students, the Art Department was originally located in the basement of the first Toronto Technical School (1892-1899), then an empty pool in the Stewart Building (1900-1914), the top tower of Central Tech (1915-1963), and, finally, in its own building on the campus of CTS (as of 1964). The isolation of its physical location through time and the autonomy of the Art Department administration led to the perpetuation of formal modernist values (with regard to curriculum and pedagogy and technical skill) despite shifts to contemporary art practice elsewhere in the latter part of the twentieth century. There was an

intimacy created in the seclusion among fellow artist-teachers and the students they taught. My interpretation of the CTS Art Department's culture is constructed using 357 pieces of data, which includes the oral histories, constituting the second largest data set in my research.

The first subcategory, competition, refers to any public or internal rivalry, such as Alice's story. I define rivalry as competition for the same objective or for excellence in the same field. My analysis has shown a healthy competition between students within the CTS Art Department. External competitions to design posters, as well as the Canadian National Exhibition sculpture contest and various art association competitions, were entered by students at CTS on an annual basis. In Alice's story, she retells the story of her rivalry with a former student and the competition to be ranked top in the class.

The second subcategory, tradition, includes data addressing commemorative events and internal histories. I define tradition as a long-established or inherited way of thinking or acting imprinted into continuous patterns of culture beliefs or practices over time. For example, the traditions of the Department have been passed on from the opening of CTS in 1915 to 2003 through a series of planned and sometimes unplanned leadership successions. Traditions have morphed over time as a result of technical and fine art tensions which can be seen in phasing out courses of study like weaving and metal work, puppetry, and fabric painting. The push toward standardization in the Ministry of Ontario art curriculum and widespread retirements within the Art Department have left a scattered few instructors with knowledge of the past and a majority of new generalist art instructors and leaders with little appreciation of the school's legacy. With all of these changes came the erosion of connections to traditions, industry and the art community.

The third subcategory incorporates data focusing on community, with a specific focus on the close working and artistic relationships within the Art Department, which continued to thrive over time given Norma's story in the 1920s and Cori's efforts to safeguard the department in the early 2000s. Community in this case constitutes feelings of fellowship with others, as a result of sharing common attitudes, interests, and goals.

Institutional identity.

The institutional identity of the Art Department is a main category of my analysis, composed of subcategories that examine the department's reputation, connection to industry, and unique multi-generational program. The category of institutional identity is recorded in 533 pieces of data and constitutes the largest collection of the four categories that emerge through my analysis.

The first subcategory, reputation, consists of any data from personal, external and internal sources, as well as material culture addressing the quality of CTS students, staff, and artwork.

Data from this subcategory speaks to widespread beliefs about the department: how the department has been viewed by the TDSB, the Ontario Ministry of Education, and the public.

For example, as former student Harold Klunder explained:

...the feeling at Central was that OCA [Ontario College of Art] was kind of a party place, that it wasn't overly serious. But that was partly promoted by the staff, I think. They didn't go around talking about it a lot, but it was clear that—we do it this way here. That kind of attitude...And [it] was pretty clear from the beginning, that you didn't slough off, or you didn't do a simplification of something just because you thought it was a nice thing to do.

The second subcategory, connection to industry, groups data that links to the direct and indirect relationships between artistic industries and the CTS Art Department. For example, the Christmas letter (see the Story "Networks of Gratitude") from TDF Artists sent to the Art

Department which gave thanks to the instructors and indicated that five current employees and past CTS graduates were hired between 1945 and 1967. As well, archival research has uncovered letters to the Department from businesses requesting cooperative education students and offering jobs during the summer (1940-1980).

The third subcategory incorporates data which makes reference to the multi-generational quality of this institution, as evidenced in Sue's story, among others. Newspapers, photographs, and a variety of documents point to the "unique synergy" (Knelman, 2004) of adult and high school art education at CTS. Both adult art education and high school art education developed in tandem, starting with the 1914 amalgamation of the Toronto Technical School Board into the Toronto School Board. Various day, night, and summer school credit programs were designed for all age levels. High school students could take general art courses or could apply for the specialized program. Adult day students were part of a three-year program and taught by the same instructors. Daily "Open Studio" periods after school and during lunch breaks were opportunities for students of all ages to mix while working on art. Although there are many other aspects that factor into an institutional identity, it was these three key aspects of institutional identity that emerged in my case study and which represent the parameters of my analysis.

Identity politics.

Identity politics is a mode of organizing information that is intimately connected to the perception that some social groups are oppressed (Foucault, 2010/1980). Applied to this study, identity politics is informed by political activity within the school and examines shared experiences of injustice felt by students, teachers and/or administrators, accounting for personal perspectives, and to some degree internal institutional perspectives. Working with this definition, it was a challenge to collect the 173 pieces allowing me to speak to the issues in this category. I

believe this challenge was the result of a number of factors. Firstly, due to the filtering of archival collections commonly practiced by archivists and administrators (Burton, 2005), the vast majority of documents I located put forward a positive description of the department. In the case of the alumni association, retirees and graduates included documents not found elsewhere for posterity in their archive, but there were very few confidential or personal files included that might present another point of view. This fact encouraged me to investigate why stories are told in particular ways and what omissions or gaps may potentially exist in the CTS story. Collected data was aggregated by scanning to determine whether it fell into one of four subcategories: conflict/crisis, socio-economics, technical school perceptions, and demographics. The following explanation of the subcategories outlines the criteria I applied to determine the suitability of the coded data to the category of identity politics.

The first subcategory, conflict/crisis, refers to any recorded disagreements, unfair treatment, or stressful events between, staff, administration, industry, and government with regard to the Art Department at CTS. Examples of this are found in copies of petitions from students and staff specifically from 1963, 1973, 1997, and 2003. These documents were saved in the alumni archives to record the departmental struggles over cuts to education or administrative disagreements.

The socio-economics subcategory groups any data addressing the social and economic status of teachers and students. For example, past instructors and students often made mention of their socio-economic status during interviews; for example, Alice Saltiel-Marshall reflected back on her early life, stating:

I come from an economically deprived—and intellectually dull—family. My parents—my father had Grade 10, my mother Grade 6. So, impoverished. Really, inner city people, never owned their own home. And there were many years that my father didn't have a vehicle.

The ongoing tension of technical versus fine arts in the school's history, and the notion of fine art being superior to technical training, emerged as a key subcategory of identity politics. For example, Harold Klunder discussed how he perceived the experience of being at the school:

Well, I think the understanding was clear, in a sense, that everybody—as an artist, you had to work hard. And it was coming from somebody who was an artist. Like, I knew very clearly that Doris and Virginia Luz were both very active artists. And I think that it made a [positive] difference to me.

Students like Harold and Alice both expressed the importance of advancing as a fine artist, in part for professional recognition, as promoted by the school, and in part as a means of moving up from their working class backgrounds, an experience shared by a number of other students and teachers.

Finally, the subcategory of demographics relies on data relating to the school's population over time sourced from archival documents. Demographic change, for the purpose of my analysis, refers to influences of immigration, gender, multiculturalism, and population increases and decreases at CTS. While I have not taken up numbers within my stories, I have used the information to inform the validity of oral histories and other documents. A study by Heap (1991) discusses demographics at TTS and CTS from 1905 to1920, and a student report outlining the change of ethnic demographics from the early to latter half of the 20th century was found in the alumni archives room. Early TTS calendars from the 1890s to 1910s include tables that break down the ages of the students, their professions, and courses taken. Comparing these

documents, I learned that major shifts in gender occurred during both world wars, with more women in classrooms during these times, and it was not until the 1980s that the balance of male/female students became more equitable. As well, I noted that there were constant waves of immigration after WWII that changed the ethnic makeup of the school, and in the 1970s there was a huge swelling of population at CTS with the baby boom generation (1946-1964). Other sources of documentation on multiculturalism are found in a variety of media, including a recorded CBC Radio interview with host Mary Ambrose and Canadian designer Chris Yannif at the CTS 75th anniversary in the spring of 1997, in which he reflected on this dominant perception:

I've always been proud....Whenever people ask, "Did you go to University of Toronto or other schools [to get training]?" I said "No, I went to Central Tech! [with emphasis]" proudly, because as far as I'm concerned we learned more about life than some of these other schools...Because I think you're mixing all races. I mean in those days you had Polish, Ukrainians, Blacks, you know...I think the racial mix is wonderful and I think that helped me get a better understanding of all people from all walks of life...I mean there is no secret that we were the lower middle class that came to Central Tech...you came from within this area.

These sources offer insights through which I have gained a better understanding of the perspectives that constitute identity politics, including some of the biases inherent in different stories and perspectives, as well as more reliable judgments about the social status of students and teachers at CTS over the last one hundred years. In this case, identity politics is a category central to understanding the individuals connected to the Art Department and its changing social

composition over time. Specific points of data have been grouped in a table to organize the themes that built a rationale for the category of identity politics.

Social networks.

The thousands of art students who have taken day, night, and summer school courses in the CTS Art Department have created a vast web of connections, not only on the local and national levels, but quite literally stretching across the world (see Appendix 5). In the course of conducting my oral histories, I collected long list of names and locations which I mapped visually as a means to begin to assess the impact of one school over time. I recognise, however, that this is a very partial and limited list, from which many more polyptych connections are surely possible (see Figure 50). The theme of social networks is the fourth and final category that emerged through my data analysis. There are 239 links in the data to social networks that are found in quotes, oral stories, and a variety of public and internal material culture objects, including photos, letters, newspapers, artworks and documents. It could be argued that between all of my collected data, thousands of social network links are to be made. To refine the data down to key examples, I have developed parameters that define my selection criteria. The data concerning social networks was divided into two subcategories: personal networks and professional networks. The following explanation will outline the criteria I applied to determine the suitability of the data in this core category.

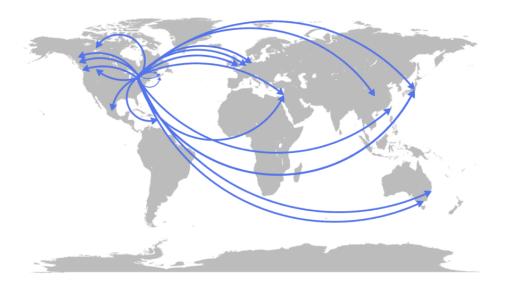


Figure 49: A diagram depicting a sample of artists who left Toronto after retiring or graduating from CTS.

The first subcategory, personal networks, includes data related to the interpersonal relationships formed at CTS, many of which continued well after graduation or retirement, and arguably all the stories reflect personal networks to a direct or indirect degree. I have recorded seven marriages between past instructors and between adult students, for example Dan and Nisha Ferguson met as adult students (1986-1989) and then upon graduation, married and moved to Mexico to pursue their professional practice as ceramic artists to this day (http://www.danishasculpture.com/index.html). Another example is from Alice's story, in which she recounts her class reunion twenty years after graduation.

The second subcategory, professional networks, was formed by gathering all available data on the professional activities of instructors and graduates, as well as any business ventures, art societies, guilds like the Canadian Pottery Guild (co-founded by Zema Haworth and a few of her former students), and art collectives that were started by individuals from the Department, where again, aspects of professional networks were evident in all stories. As the stories also demonstrate, while the two subcategories of social networks established here are useful for my

purposes, the personal and professional networks formed at the CTS Art Department are in truth not so easily distinguished; instead, they blend together to create a complex web of relationships and impacts, only a sample of which can be explored in this study.

Validity and Verification: An Ongoing Process

The standards of quality and verification with regard to qualitative historical research are in constant flux (Jenkins, 2003; Munslow, 2012). Qualitative research standards and methods of verification shift over time as procedural evolutions occur in the fields of historiography and education. What remains constant is a process of verification which Creswell (2013/1998) explains as "a *process* that occurs throughout the data collection, analysis, and report writing of a study and standards [are] *criteria* imposed by the researcher and others after a study is completed" (p. 194). In this case study, I apply protocols of validity (Creswell, 2013/1998), which for the purpose of my historical research, refers to the conformity between my interview transcripts and notes and the data located in primary source material such as documents, letters, or other reports. After conducting my interviews, I attempted to locate whatever official records might be available to either corroborate or raise questions concerning details within the stories told by the participants.

The first of the verification procedures I employ in my research is triangulation, which entails the use of multiple and different sources, methods, investigators, and theories to provide corroborating evidence (Merriam, 2009; Golafshani, 2003; Stake, 2010). Eisner (1991) argues for a type of triangulation based on a "confluence of evidence that breeds credibility, which allows us to feel confident about our observations, interpretations and conclusions" (p. 110). The second procedure is what Creswell refers to as member checks, which call for the researcher to

solicit participants' views of the credibility of the findings and interpretations. Taking the data, analysis, interpretations, and conclusions back to the participants allows for new "critical observations or interpretations" (Stake, 1995, p. 115). All of the participants who contributed oral histories to my research received their transcripts for approval. Stories that included a participant were approved as well, to ensure their words were kept in context. The third procedure I have adopted is the use of a rich, thick description in the writing of the stories, which is the basis for my polyptych construction. Adopting multiple storylines and forms of storytelling aligned with the conceptual framework of new histories and the emplotment of characters, as well as the polyptych architecture which has added a visual rendering of my data. Such detailed description "enables readers to transfer information to other settings and to determine whether the findings can be transferred because of shared characteristics" (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper & Allen, 1993, p. 32). Multiple historical stories have been constructed from my three data sets to provide a detailed and extensive description of the physical context of the Art Department, the student experience and culture within the department, and the artist-educators who led and maintained its success.

The significant overlap of the criteria identified in this study with those identified in other studies of educational change (Goodson & Anstead, 2012; Hargreaves & Goodson, 2006; Goodson, 2010) indicates that my analytical process is potentially confirmable by an external review: that is, by other researchers who review my data sources. As well, the detailed documentation of my data handling also provides means for confirmability checking (Creswell, 2013/1998). In this way, my analysis speaks to issues such as transferability, faithfulness, and dependability, and whether or not I have established trustworthiness (Aguinaldo, 2004; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Golafshani, 2003). As a qualitative researcher, I provide thick descriptions so that

readers are able to make decisions to see whether the results of my inquiry are transferable. My analysis has been faithfully derived from the data and verified for consistency against different data sources. To confirm trustworthiness, I constantly posed questions to myself about neutrality. For example, how could I establish the degree to which the findings of an inquiry are determined by the participants and conditions of the inquiry and not by the biases, motivations, interests or perspectives of the inquirer (Lincoln & Guba, 1985)? As a qualitative researcher, I recognize my thoughts as an inalienable factor that guides my interpretation. The recognition of the inevitability of subjectivity also yields to the process of triangulation, which involves the use of multiple sources, methods, investigators, and theories (Creswell, 2013/1998) to ensure the credibility of the research.

Examining Findings: Four Categories of Interpretation

I carefully designed the data collection and data analysis procedures to ensure the credibility of the research results, using strategies of: 1) an analysis spiral in which data saturation was achieved as the information gathered became increasingly redundant; 2) sharing authority with participants in the creation of the oral history (Frisch, 1990; High, 2014); 3) triangulation; and 4) a host of verification methods. I did so purposefully, knowing that sometimes, as Danto (2008) describes, interviewees "re-write" history and, without necessarily being aware of it, change or embellish their stories after meeting the interviewer in order to shed a better (or worse) light on themselves or historical events than is accurate. Danto emphasizes that, because of the inaccuracies of memory, "oral history must be evaluated and judged for its accuracy as much as any other historical source, even documents found in an archive" (p. 99). The oral histories of the students and teachers from the

Art Department are "not meant to be read as an exact record of what happened nor [are they] a mirror of a world 'out there'" (Riessman, 1993, p. 64). The process of comparing and contrasting public and private perspectives through external and internal documents and material culture as well as interviews, provided openings through which to identify potential gaps in narratives.

Oral histories form the primary source of my information and analysis, and because of this significant contribution, I focus this interpretation on oral histories, with supporting documentation and information from archives and material culture. Oral histories were deliberately distributed equally between former students, teachers, and Art Department heads to ensure a balanced telling of the past from multiple experiences and perspectives, supplemented by documents and objects. Interestingly, a third of the participants (6) occupied both student and instructor roles, reinforcing the core categories of school culture and social networks, as well as aspects of institutional identity and identity politics. Overall, the stories that the participants told varied in length and content. During oral history interviews, I also utilized photo elicitation (Prosser, 1998; Tinkler, 2013) by sharing photos of CTS teachers, images of the inside of classrooms, and various images depicting student art or events that occurred earlier in the lifetimes of the subjects. Rose (2011) explains that photographs are the most common form of prompts in elicitation interviews and Harper (2002) states that "photographs can jolt subjects into a new awareness of their social existence" (p. 21). Photographs certainly generated conversation and more story threads, and it was through photographs that the density of social relations emerged with the polyptych framework, bringing the oral, visual and textual dimensions together. For example, students were not able to give insider insights into the administrative politics but have described in different ways what the effects of those policies and politics felt

like in practice. These accounts were often prompted by a photograph. For example, Klunder recounted the experience of moving into the specialized Art Building:

The experience was somewhat precious, I think, when the new building opened and it was artists with other artists. And the instructors had a better time in that building because they didn't have to deal with anyone who wasn't teaching art. So that was a shift—it was a welcome shift. And I liked the new building a lot immediately. It just felt, felt like the place.

Generally past instructors did not have insights into the administrative affairs between the Art Department and the rest of the school either, and department heads divulged little information on the day-to-day processes of the classroom. The focus of department heads was instead on the educational politics of the school and department, as Marshal Bilous and Cori Gould indicated in their interviews. The richness of all the interviews in this study depended on such factors as health, age, comfort with the interview process, when they graduated or retired, the strength of their memory, their current attachment to the school, and their position or role within it. Oral histories, documents and photographs show that up till the 1970s, Art Department students stayed together in groups when they took other academic subjects. During the 1980s, art students in the high school program were mixed into the main population; as a result, students in the art program pre-1970s may have had a much more limited perspective of the day-to-day life in other areas of the school, and at the same time, a much stronger identification with the Art Department.

School Culture

The first storyline centers on the work ethic of students and teachers in terms of competition. Documents, including open letters and speeches to students as well as curriculum documents and report cards, show a concerted effort on the part of the school's administrators and instructors to create an atmosphere of possibility, discipline and focus. Competition was encouraged (see Figure 51) by way of a ranking system on student evaluations as well as numerous art competitions and internal awards that were consistently offered.

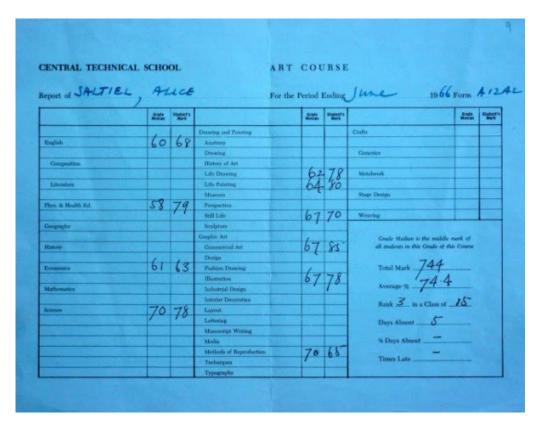


Figure 50: Alice Saltiel-Marshall's last high-school report card from 1966. The document indicates that Alice was ranked third in a class of fifteen. Document courtesy of Alice Saltiel-Marshall.

Many students knew of the instructors' artistic careers outside the Art Department, which garnered respect from students and often a desire to work harder in the hopes of gaining such recognition. Oral histories from former high school and adult graduates also spoke of the

powerful lectures given at the beginning of classes, which motivated a sense of purpose for the task at hand. Most importantly, concepts of quality and standards were indoctrinated not only through the pedagogy and curriculum, but by means of example. Internal documents including resumes, departmental histories, course notes, student art, and images of teachers working with students show instructors as professional artist-teachers who led by experience.

Narratives of community are one of the most consistent themes found in the oral histories I collected from students, teachers, and department heads. Participants who volunteered for an interview spoke of the network of friends they made and maintained from the Art Department. Many who had been students in the program could list the majority of their classmates and teachers from memory, despite many decades having passed. In fact, Barbara Bickle was the only graduate (1969) who offered a name of a former classmate who might have a negative perspective of the school. I contacted the individual and was politely told they would not participate. Given the number of students, staff and administrators that are part of this history, it is a fair assumption there is a full scope of experiences, positive and negative, but in this case study, the stories were all positive. In turn, instructors and department heads described the closeness many felt in the building, which was the basis for defining the culture for art education. For example, in oral histories, Barbara Bickle and Sue Shintani spoke of the ability to know everyone in the department due to its small size, and characterized the atmosphere in the art building as warm and safe. Memoirs from Doris McCarthy (as an instructor) and Joyce Wieland (as a student, 1948) spoke of a family of artists that would compete with and support each other.

The elitism that developed within the Art Department as a result of its achievements is evident in the tone and content of memos sent between the department and the main building administration. There was a sense (on the part of the Art Department heads) that the

department's achievements should permit it a certain amount of autonomy. Memoirs from Doris McCarthy (1990) and internal departmental documents show various "power plays" by the CTS and Toronto Board of Education administration to rein in the Art Department's autonomy (Appendix 6). Some examples include unreasonable requests for teachers to return art building keys at the end of every day and for decision-making authority as to the "type" (referring to social class) of student who could attend the art school from outside the neighborhood.

This sense of belonging to a subculture or community was manifest too in the actions of the department in relation to the school as a whole. Bob Stumpf, a former head of the English Department at CTS, retold a story of how, in the late 1960s, the Art Department, led by Charles Goldhamer, Virginia Luz, Doris McCarthy, and over ten other instructors, would enter the auditorium *en masse* during staff meetings and would sit as a group in the front row as an antagonistic way to "make a statement to the principal." The united strength of the Art Department was indeed a prevalent theme in many of the department head and instructor interviews. Stories from former art students show that they would typically socialize amongst themselves at lunch time and after school, and even today, the majority of art students maintain proximity to the Art Building during non-instructional time.

From the storylines of competition, tradition and community, there are two key findings in external histories of the Art Department: the numerous success stories of its students and teachers, and beginning in the mid-1990s, the department's struggle to maintain its very existence. A variety of published accounts including newspaper articles, art history texts, and Canadian artist databases such as the Canadian Heritage Information Network's (CHIN) Professional Exchange (2014), confirm that of the thousands of art students who took courses at Tech, well over a hundred became noted Canadian artists, representing Canadian visual culture

across the world. Also, artist websites and radio shows have pointed to the CTS Art Department as a point of pride for former graduates. For example, during my data collection I located a website with an interview of former adult student Michael G. Hughes (adult student c. 1990), who now lives and works in Florida (see http://www.artinstructionblog.com/artist-spotlite-interview-with-artist-michael-g-hughes). In this interview, Hughes states:

I attended one of the greatest schools in Canada, The Central Tech Arts Center. After graduating from 3 years of full time study at Central I came out a different person with a creative attitude towards anything I approached, not just in art but in business, problem solving or life in general. Murray Hadaway was the one teacher at Central who had the most profound effect on me in this regard. He had so much energy and enthusiasm and took an out-of-the-box approach towards teaching. In fact at one point I was going to quit the school because of money. Murray recognized something was wrong and when I told him he asked me to do renovation work to his studio for extra money after classes – he kept me in.

Passing accounts like Hughes' are easy to find on dozens of artists' web pages when searching the names of past instructors. This recognition of former instructors speaks to a culture of pride that was developed and maintained not only because of the education they received, but the relationships they built, which helped to form their values and character. Instructors and graduates of CTS have been founding members or presidents of major associations and artist groups like the Ontario Society of Artists, the Canadian Sculpture Society, and the Canadian Craft Guild, since its inception. The extensive networks the school maintained with local and national art communities added to its elite reputation for each of the five generations.

Personal archive collections from past Art Department heads show a concerted effort to maintain address books and newspaper clippings of accomplishments by art students and staff of the time. Yet another example of the sense of community that CTS fostered is the multiple occurrences of students becoming teachers in the department, which points to the existence of an apprentice system: Marshal Bilous (retired), Michael Amar (retired), Murray Hadaway (retired) Judi Gillies (current) and Adam Brockie (current) are all examples of this trend. Between 1930 and 1975, Noreen Masters, Virgina Luz and Elizabeth Wyn Wood (all deceased) are three other examples of this trend from the past. At least six other instructors, technicians, or long-time (10+ years) volunteers are known to have attended the CTS Art Department as students starting in the 1950s to the present. Several informal semi-structured interviews with retired instructors, including Richard McNeill, Ed Bartram, Michael Gerry, Lanny Shereck, Michael Amar, and former students like Susan Collette, Barbara Bickle, and Mary Elizabeth Duggan, point to a sense of "family" or community that people want to stay a part of as they become artists in their own right. Numerous internal histories and memos have pointed to a strong artistic community that is vibrant and unique because of the diverse programming and multigenerational population.

Institutional Identity

The reputations of the artist-teachers and a perceived sense of elitism developed in the CTS Art Department at the beginning of the 20th century. The monumental sculptors, legendary painters, and ground-breaking craftsmen who taught in or graduated from the department set a standard in the arts community and artistic industries. Internal documents include evidence of art displays in corporate and cultural centers, as well as a consistent record of supplying highly

technically trained artists to business – a reputation and status CTS maintained for nearly 100 years.

A major storyline of connection to industry occurs throughout the Department's history, and this connection included a scope of topics, including professional competition outside of the

school that ultimately centred on institutional identity. For example, department head Peter Haworth had a series of complaints sent to the Toronto Board by members of the stained glass industry for both receiving a teacher's salary and competing against stained glass artisans in 1939 (see Figure 52).

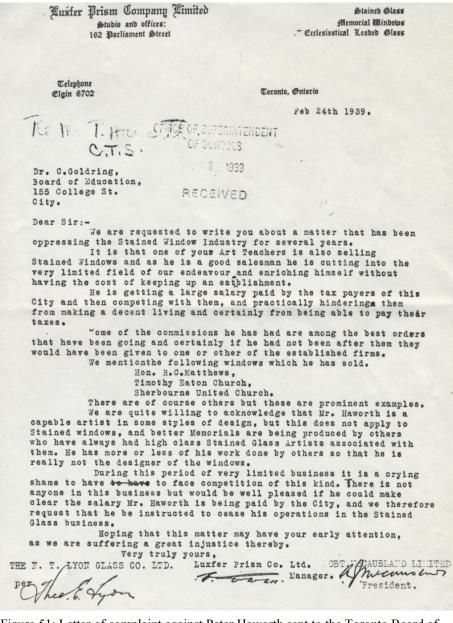


Figure 51: Letter of complaint against Peter Haworth sent to the Toronto Board of Education, February 24, 1939. The letter is signed by owners of three major stained glass companies in Toronto. Document courtesy of the Peter and Zema Haworth Papers. Box 4, File 1

Barry Oretsky and over a dozen participants in my study credited the confidence they gained to become a full-time visual artist to instructors who led by example as practicing artist-teachers. Most graduates spoke of extremely influential and caring instructors who supported them well after graduation with connections to jobs and networking. Graduates of the program and department heads spoke of the valuable networks that extended out from the program into the artistic industries. Many graduates recalled the value their CTS Art Department diplomas had in securing them employment. Former ceramic instructor Robin Hopper asserted that there was a unique learning community among most instructors and a shared goal to maintain standards and quality:

At that time [1968-70].... I mean we were all pretty much specialists. And you know, this was another wonderful thing. If you're lucky you get one or two art teachers [in a high school], and they are usually, sort of, high-level specialists. Well these people were all high-level specialists! And certainly to be in with that sort of group was really great. So having the opportunity to spend time talking with them, and whatnot, it was good. But it wasn't overbearing. Faculty meetings were a joy.

Alice Saltiel-Marshal, Barbara Bickle and Susan Collett even spoke of social events outside of school involving both adult students and instructors, which further reinforced the multigenerational aspects of the Art Department. Such strong bonds between students, teachers and external members of the artistic and industrial community served to reinforce the perception of the CTS Art Department as a distinct and distinguished institution housed inside a much larger school.

Identity Politics

Resulting from classic technical art training that evolved out of the Industrial Revolution (Chalmers, 1993; Pearse, 2006a), CTS was and still is an alternative to collegiate public schools, providing both academics and technical training in a variety of specialty art areas. The physical description of both CTS and its Art Building stands in contrast to the way that the CTS students were and are often perceived outside of the school. My document, content, and thematic analysis of secondary sources confirms that the dominant public perception of CTS has long been of a school with a "rough" culture fueled by working-class students coming from urban areas (Stamp, 1982; Smaller, 2003; Gidney & Millar, 2012). The stigma of attending a technical school, or specifically CTS, has been addressed in newspaper and journal articles and books over the years, as well as in radio reports and television news clips. This public perception coexists with another public and equally powerful counter-narrative about the great achievements, war contributions, and honors that have been consistently bestowed on CTS students and graduates.

In the course of my interviews, I noted that all participants were aware that there was a generally-held view in greater Toronto that the school was composed of a lower socio-economic status, with a large population of students from blue-collar families, something noted by Chalmers of technical institutes in Ontario as far back as the 1850s (Chalmers, 1993). The discovery I made was that despite this public perception of the school, almost all participants in my study, regardless of age, immediately corrected this negative stereotypic view. Participants believed that this reputation was exaggerated and not in fact accurate based on their lived experiences. Participants also spoke of students known to "huff paint" and "smoke pot" down in the laneways, but most believed these were relatively minor issues, and ones that were common to all schools. There were no accounts that I became aware of that implicate art students in any

serious misbehaviour; instead many accounts from past students that spoke to the control and discipline that past instructors demanded. For example, Barry Oretsky remembered his experience with instructor and department head Charles Goldhamer:

Charlie Goldhamer was a real character. And was not a nice man to a lot of people. A few people must have said that. Because he didn't tolerate people who weren't really committed. He was a war artist! A serious guy, in his own way. But Charlie would come around, and he'd say, "You know what? You should forget all this and go be a grease jockey." ... he would come around the class—Methods of Reproduction—and he'd look at people's work, and if he thought it was crap, he'd tear it up. Yup. He'd just say, "This is crap." Well, some would cry. Because this was a class of all guys. And this was Central Tech—these were not. These were tough guys. In those days... Yeah. This was Central Tech. This was not a picnic. And his philosophy was—and he said this eventually. He'd say if somebody told you to go jump in the lake and you went and jumped in the lake, then you deserved to be wet. And if you let somebody tell you that you can't be what you want to be, then you don't deserve to be it. That was his philosophy. If you don't take it seriously enough to defend what you are, then you deserve what you get. So he would come along the tables, and look at people's work, and he'd—two guys over, he tore up someone's work. And I had spent forever on the particular piece that I was working on. And he came by and he looked at it. And I said to him, "If you touch it, I'll break your arm."

There were many other examples of identity politics, including issues of gender. For example, Klunder reflected on his perceptions of Doris McCarthy:

I mean, Doris McCarthy was someone who wore a burlap skirt. She didn't wear a sweater set, you know, 50s thing. She was really clearly a different kind of personality—than what I remember of sisters and stuff. Totally different from that. And Hamilton [where I am from] was still the backwoods, kind of, in a way—it still was working class. But she clearly had a kind of—I don't know if it was a worldview, but definitely a wider sense of what an artist was, which I think was a huge inspiration to women artists and—people like Joyce Wieland and people like that were very taken by her, I think, because there was an alternative to how things were generally. I mean, you know, in the 1960s women wore sweater sets. In baby blue or pink, you know? And she was kind of rough-edged. She'd wear a man's shirt sometime. Just a different take on it, and very ahead of her time in that sense. And she remained that way. Unless she was pontificating at an opening, then she'd be wearing her royal clothes…kind of thing. Which I also kind of liked. I mean, you took her seriously. She was an actor doing an artist, kind of thing.

The complexity of identity politics makes visible the contradictory internal-external experiences, the counter-narratives and the layering of stories that offer a scope of characterizations of the school.

Social Networks

Most of the oral histories I conducted, and as evidenced in the stories, confirmed public perceptions of the Art Department's illustrious past. All participants spoke of well-known artists who were either students or instructors. The new insights that were raised on this topic were extensive. Almost every participant spoke of classmates or instructors who "made it" as an artist. Many of the names brought forward speak to the diversity of artistic jobs and prominent

positions held by Art Department graduates. As a researcher, I am equally interested in the many who have been recognized in diverse ways beyond the singular fine arts discourse for their contributions to art and culture. For example, among CTS graduates are a number of Ontario College of Art and Design University (OCAD-U) and Nova Scotia College of Art and Design (NSCAD) instructors (current and past), a past director of the National Gallery of Canada, syndicated political cartoonists Terry Mosher and Duncan Ian Macpherson, prominent Canadian art historian Paul Duval, presidents of major Ontario and Canadian art associations, and art directors of major magazines and television shows, just to name a few.

The artistic community that formed over a three- or four-year period at the school inevitably carries on generations later beyond the building. I have documented well over fifteen solicited and unsolicited letters of thanks sent to the Art Department attesting to the life-changing experience the program provided. All of the letters, to some degree, spoke to the sense of community in the department, the longing to return, and the close friendships made with both students and staff. While examining the letters of thanks and support sent to the Art Department I was struck by their length, the intimate stories and feelings they related, and the seriousness and the passion that was conveyed through them. The following letter reproduced below is from former student and instructor Tim de Rose, who provides one of the most engaging of these letters for my study:

February 6th 1996

To Whom This May Concern

Recently the possibility of Central Technical Schools Art dept. being further striped of courses or closed due to financial restraints and cut-backs was mentioned to me. I can only hope that its value and contributions can be recognized in time before it's too late. As a graduate from CTS (64 to 69), I feel compelled to write this letter.

Before going to CTS I had difficulty fitting into the main stream academic programs from very early grades. My "talent" was considered a disability in main stream schools. By the time I got to grade 9, 1 was getting into all kinds of trouble, from being suspended seven times (in the first three months), was finally expelled from grade 9, and ended up in the courts. I was out of school for a year when I heard about the CTS Arts programme.

My parents arranged for an interview with the Head of the Art Department, Mr. Charles Goldhamer. He looked at my meager portfolio, and read my documentation, he accepted me into the four year programme on probation. At the time, I had no idea of how great an opportunity I was being given.

Although I still had problems with the academics my art instructors were real working examples of what I should strive to be as an artist. Eventually I transferred to 2nd year Special Art and felt for the first time that I could succeed, and started to consider myself a young learning artist. In 1969 after graduation, I became a technician and part-time teacher, and worked for the CTS Art dept. for five years. I formed a strong love for the Art dept. and the family of people that worked there. I now realize the battles that these people fought for me and all the others like me, nourishing and encouraging young people to follow their own paths and continue to learn.

Whenever I talk to other graduates of the CTS arts programmes there is always a great sense of pride in the shared history and accomplishments ~ There are few public schools like this in our system and it is not at all like the rest of Secondary School Art programmes.

To encourage and teach art you need a space, teachers, equipment, and a viewpoint all of these things exist at CTS.

I am a full-time studio potter, and make all of my livelihood from making and selling pottery. All of the things I do from day to day in my job were learned at CTS. The commitment and determination to succeed were given to me by the spirit at CTS. I have made pots for 25 years and feel that my work and lifestyle are owed to the all of the people at CTS that worked so hard to turn me around.

I can only wish that my letter can add to the voice I hope is opposing this idea. It would be a shame and a great loss to dismantle this unique place. Once this school is gone there will be nothing to replace it.

Tim De Rose Ceramic Artist De Rose's personal and impassioned letter of support speaks to the impact of the relationships he built and maintained as a student, technician and alumni, but also shows how the school, its culture, and its instructors, imprinted on students who now write their personal histories with the Art Department as a main character.

CHAPTER SIX- A STORY OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

There is a notable lack of detailed, rich historical accounts of high school and adult art education programs in Canada. This is a significant omission for a country known for progressive educational practice (Pungente, Duncan & Anderse, 2005). As paradigms for art education change, histories of art teaching and learning have taken different forms. My research has investigated the historical evolution of CTS as a specific case study with a multi-focal lens analyzing oral histories, archives, and material culture, giving context to the teaching and learning of technical and fine art at CTS. Through these sources of information, I drew on stories as forms of narrative inspiration, presented creatively as 'illuminated description,' whereby the "reader is immersed in the situation, vividly pictures the people, hears the voices, and is moved by the experiences" (Richards, 2005, p. 196).

The outcomes of this study contribute to the field of art education by expanding on significant historical issues specifically addressing the domains of art, education, social structure, and culture. An examination of school culture, the importance of role models, and historical methods associated with contextual research, rendered in this case as a literary historical narrative, have resulted in findings that provide practitioners of history and art education an innovative interpretation that moves beyond traditional modes of retelling the past.

The educational significance of this research adds to a conversation about curriculum, schools, and educational change. The perspectives embedded in the new history I bring forward are formed in the multiple tensions between art and craft, industrial and fine art education, and shifts in educational standardization. These tensions are shown through the everyday lives of the people who have been and are a part of this Art Department. The stories of art educators and

students are the heart of the CTS legacy that spans over one hundred and twenty-two years, and brings forward and celebrates "the moving undercurrents of ordinary art educators...who in actuality lived out very extraordinary but sometimes unnoted lives" (Bolin, Blandy, & Congdon, 2000, p. 6). These are the stories I strive to tell because within them lies much more than individual oral histories. The new history I construct speaks to a transgenerational artistic culture built on relationships and networks that directly contribute to shaping the visual culture of Canada.

As the oldest secondary technical art education institution for adults and high school students in the country, the significance of CTS lies in the impact it has made to Canadian art and its importance as a model for understanding the broader educational forces of political, economic, and cultural factors, artistic biases and predilections, and postsecondary pedagogical practices which affect the evolution and progression of art education in Canada. The Art Department is a model of an innovative school department that was allowed to grow and develop interdependently within a larger learning institution, fostering a strong artistic culture. A comprehensive account of this institution is warranted not only because of the richness of its departmental culture but because it illuminates a rarely occurring link between technical and fine arts training (Stankiewicz, 2009). Typically, secondary fine arts education in Toronto in the 19th and 20th centuries was skills-based, characterized as following the South Kensington model, while technical art education focused on design, developed with influences from the Arts and Crafts movement and the Bauhaus; the CTS Art Department provides a model of the merging of these two previously distinct spheres. The stories of the CTS Art Department help to define the character of technical art education and place it on a parallel tracks with the development of teaching fine arts in our program.

There are three outcomes from my study that I will discuss in this chapter: 1) how a historical resource of oral stories, archival documents and material culture can be assembled into stories; 2) how a new histories account was developed of the specialized technical fine art program at Central Technical School by focusing on key students, teachers and events; and 3) how by writing an account of the program at CTS into the history of art education, I bring forward life stories of key students, teachers, and administrators who were and are part of this history, but remain absent or little known within the field of art education.

Why the Stories of CTS Matter

With a belief that stories matter, my investigation into the history of CTS was informed by continually asking myself which stories should form part of my research and why, and how such stories could help students, teachers, and researchers gain better understandings of the long and rich history of art education. Some major areas that remain to be investigated are the individual lives of many more instructors who taught in the Art Department, a night school and summer school art program, and the contributions the Art Department made to the larger structure of CTS. For example, art students and instructors were known to participate actively in the production of the yearbook; they designed and produced stage sets for school productions; and they participated in cross-curriculum projects conducted with other school departments. Each project is worthy of a study unto itself. The scope, depth and breadth of such research demonstrates how and why the use of stories challenges classical historical source criticism. Based on my research, I believe stories keep history fluid and changeable depending on the context and the questions, arguably an advantage since studying narratives is a qualified way of coming to terms with an ever-changing, ever reconstructed reality (Scott, 2011; Gallagher, 2011).

Like Labonté (2011), I focus on histories of the "people whom the grand narratives of academic historians tend to neglect, the lives of ordinary people" (p. 154). Labonté writes that "in the hands of a storyteller, these ordinary lives become extraordinary, exuding moral and social lessons that any other form of information sharing would be unable to express" (p. 154). This emphasis on personal experience and voice is found in empowering approaches to education. As Paulo Freire argues, one of the first acts of empowerment that people can use to manage their own lives is "speaking the world," by describing their experiences in their own words in environments where their stories are listened to and respected by others (Freire, 1968; Freire & Macedo, 1987). As stories are shared between people, "they become 'generative themes' for group reaction, analysis and action" (Labonté, 2011, p. 156). Examining history through the personal stories of the men and women who are connected to the Art Department at CTS is an opportunity to develop original interpretive tools enabling a deep reflection into the implications of the setting and situation in which art education happens.

Walter Benjamin conceives of the historian-storyteller as part of an artistic tradition. "Storytelling," he writes, "is always the art of repeating stories" (Benjamin, 1968, p. 90). Through the intricate dynamics of presentation and interpretation, storytellers open the imaginations of readers and listeners; in this way the "story's richness and germinative power endures" (p. 90). Benjamin focuses on the relational aspect of storytelling, arguing that "narrative achieves an amplitude that information lacks" (p. 89). Contextualizing them within the framework of a story breathes life into facts and observations, bringing a greater understanding or meaning to the information. Relational storytelling draws the reader in, spurring a deep involvement due to some personal connection or familiarity that is also universal. The storyteller provides an account of phenomena that evokes empathy, yet the story is complex enough to

change our understanding or challenge it. A story that is relational, says Benjamin, will "claim to a placein the memory of the listener" (p. 91). This empathy and involvement on the part of the reader or listener, I believe, "is the mark of successful exposure to a literary work of art, a strong feeling that we have entered a world and that it speaks to our own condition" (Pariser, 1988, p. 15).

Relational New Histories

My proposition to adopt the approach of new histories is predicated on investigating the complex processes that intimately link art education to the situational learning context. Christou (2010) argues that "in order to discover where we are, it is essential that we consider where we came from, who came before us, and how our living, learning, and working environments were shaped" (p. 65). I believe these considerations have not been sufficiently explored in the history of art education, and this history should be emplotted in ways that provide multiple forms and contexts of relational experiences of the past. The institutional history I have constructed "serves as a site of knowledge and meaning making—as a place from which we can engage in a series of reflective, reflexive, and relational acts" (O'Donoghue, 2009, p. 357). While the stories may trigger the reader's curiosity and open up a space for individual engagement, they also create the conditions for the artistic processes I employ, in this case through a polyptych rendering, to make this new history a site of ongoing inquiry. For both the maker and the audience, such interpretive acts and actions highlight the relationships in and between the conceptual, the theoretical, and the practical. At the same time, I strive to find ways of generating and conveying ideas in ways that demonstrate a certain degree of "productive ambiguity" (Eisner, 2005, p. 180). Ambiguity is a necessary condition of the work. Meaning is open, unfixed, and fluid. The stories I construct

bring forward voices that speak to a range of experiences, alternate perspectives, and "alternative realities, enticing readers into vicariously experiencing educational events and confronting educational issues from vantage points previously unavailable to [them]" (Barone, 2001, p. 25).

As a result, the stories that form this new history not only move forward and backward along a linear chronological axis but also rotate in a circular fashion, turning inward to form accounts of leadership and community within the school and outward to spotlight external pressures and forces affecting the department. The polyptych of stories provides documentation of the Art Department, but also engages in a longitudinal and retrospective examination of change through the eyes of teachers, administrators, and students. I am personally joined with the stories, not only because of my active participation in the research process but because I live in and with the history of this art department. This intertwined dimensionality of our lives in the CTS Art Department is at the heart of the stories I construct. I view the new history that I produce as an extension of my lived experience becoming a teacher at this school over the last decade, and I anticipate continuing to investigate this body of research for many years to come. I feel responsible for it and to it, I care for it, and I hope my research embodies all of the aspirations, passion, and reliability I model for it.

Much has been written around the concept of storying data as a way to provide clear and concise interpretations of research (See Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009; McCulloch, 2004; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). I have employed stories in my work as an artful literary tool, framing and organizing the events of multiple accounts in a customized architecture. The collection of stories in my polyptych asks the reader to become engaged with names, dates, places, events, and themes as they reappear throughout multiple stories in ways that mirror the complexity of our lives, rather than being shaped into a singular storyline that connects point A and point B. The

reader builds a rich, multidimensional 'picture' through the conceptual links found between stories that are not always fostered in a traditional history. Unlike traditional history, story has permeable borderlines: "It is at once larger and smaller than itself, it is entangled in a play with other "stories," is part of the other, makes the other a part of itself etc. and remains utterly different from its homonym, narrative" (Derrida 1979/2004, p. 82).

The polyptych visual rendering facilitates the telling of these stories by delineating my new history in ways that render a multiplicity of stories and story forms. Through cycles of analysis I have identified myriad linkages, networks and relationships between stories, within and across the polyptych panels, resulting in a collection of stories that highlight waves of educational change. The reality of educational change, coupled with my own location as a teacher at the school, has sparked a personal motivation to bring forward an account that makes links between the past, present, and future in order to gain necessary perspective on educational change. Utilizing recent studies on educational change conducted in Ontario and around the world (see, for example, Giles & Hargreaves, 2006; Fink & Brayman, 2006; Labaree, 2006; Goodson, 2010, Goodson & Anstead, 2012), I draw parallels between these accounts and the Art Department at CTS, and I show in this significance chapter a storyline which follows the course of educational change forces.

Accounting for CTS in Canadian Art Education

The historical legacy of the CTS Art Department matters to the wider field of Canadian art education because it presents a case study that not only offers a transgenerational account of art education in Toronto, but also brings the theory of new histories and the genealogy of ideas into the field of Canadian art education history. Through my examination of this institution I

offer an ongoing picture of education change. Educational history is a negotiation of micro and macro forces of change and stories of networks and relationships of teachers and students (Soucy & Pearse, 1993). Change forces and the individuals affected by them are inextricably linked, and through the following summary I demonstrate how this symbiosis has impacted the shape of art education at CTS. This study inscribes the history of the CTS Art Department into the history of art education in two distinct ways: First, my research encompasses literary, artistic traits of storytelling which unfold a non-linear chronology; and second, this examination of the full span of the program's history is presented with a conditional understanding that history is always only a partial view of individuals, facts and events. It is precisely the process of having information unfold organically and fluidly, where history is unfinished, that enables a new history like mine to reorient a historical perspective that is in a constant process of becoming.

The relational nature of this dissertation permitted the generation of relationships and comradery with participants based on transgenerational threads of connection. These threads formed the beginnings of an expanding tapestry of stories that encompasses five generations. The unique perspectives and personalities I found in oral stories as well as archival documents, and the passions and feelings shared in the memories of my participants, often through material objects, introduced a different kind of knowledge and a new lens through which to view the change forces affecting the Art Department over time. This less positivistic and more arts-based orientation enabled my personal connections to form part of the research, adding to the already rich aesthetically-informed data sources, motivating me to produce a new history that neither blindly valorizes nor objectifies the art institution at CTS, but instead respects its rich history and attempts to present the contextualized memories and lives of those connected to this site of art education.

Preserving a Legacy Against Forces of Change

For over a century, in all its various forms, the Art Department at Central Technical School has made a significant contribution to the cultural life not only of the city of Toronto and province of Ontario, but of Canada as a whole. The department has been a site of advanced professional art training, producing a roster of illustrious Canadian artists, designers, and educators. Over the long history of the school, alumni have achieved success in every facet of the visual arts. The extensive program and course offerings, coupled with a rigorous curriculum, have always been a unique feature of the department. After locating Art Department curriculum documents spanning over one hundred years, I can state with confidence that the programs offered did not, and still do not, fit any mold or model in the Toronto public or private secondary system. This institution has always stood apart from its comparative schools in terms of structure, pedagogy, and community. The Art Department flourished for most of its existence because of its dual commitment to both applied and fine art and its mix of adolescent and post-secondary students. The hybridity of this institution is, in my opinion, a primary reason that it thrived for so long and continues to perpetuate relationships that stretch across the world.

Part of protecting the legacy of CTS is the recognition that the practice of art education is not isolated or insulated from both wider ideological shifts in society and internal changes within school boards and individual schools. For this reason, the history I construct builds upon an understanding of both micro and macro forces of educational change, providing a multidimensional context. By adopting I apply Tyack and Tobin's (1994) concept of the "grammar of schooling" to the evolution of the CTS Art Department over time. Tyack and Tobin analyze the impact of different reform movements from the early 20th century by relating change to change-agents, arguing that beginning in the late 19th century, movements that reinforced an

existing, taken-for-granted "grammar" of subjects, classes, lessons, age-grades, and testing that defined public education were frequently adopted and institutionalized in ways that heavily shape the picture of education today. By contrast, innovative reforms that emphasized interdisciplinarity, advocated an open plan, or mixed up the standard age divisions challenged the existing grammar and, as a result, enjoyed only localized or temporary success. As the latter model suggests, in my case, CTS is an exception to the rule.

In turn, Hargreaves and Goodson's 2006 study "examines perceptions and experiences of educational change in eight high schools in the United States and Canada among teachers and administrators who worked in the schools in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s" (p. 3). The project seeks to tell a story of action within a theory of context, involving significant and sometimes "epochal changes in the wider social, economic, and political landscape that have affected schools as institutions and the lives and missions of those working within them" (p. 8). The change forces that Hargreaves and Goodson identify include waves of policy reform, changes in leadership and leadership succession, changing teacher demographics and their impact on teachers' generational missions, shifting student and community demographics, and changing patterns of relations among schools. While at any given time a multiplicity of change forces may be in effect, Hargreaves and Goodson write that these five "most significantly affected the structures, cultures, and identities of the schools over time" (p. 13).

Drawing on the epistemological groundwork of educational change researchers, I have found that these change forces can be successfully mapped in relation to the history of the Art Department at CTS. Much of educational change research focuses on a thirty- to forty-year span of time (Goodson, 2010), whereas my research highlights five generations of students, teachers, and administrators through stories of lived experiences. I have characterized these five

overlapping but distinct generations as follows: 1) the generation of development; 2) the generation of vision; 3) the generation of optimism; 4) the generation of innovation; and 5) the generation of standardization.

Examining Forces of Change at CTS

Unlike many studies of educational change (see Gold & Miles, 1981; Smith, Dwyer, Prunty, & Klein, 1987; Fletcher, Caron & Williams, 1985), I believe the Art Department at CTS enjoyed a prolonged 'golden age' that I argue stretched from the late 1920s to the late 1990s. The factors that weakened the sustainability of the Department began to come to a head in the 1990s but only became apparent in classrooms near the beginning of the 21st century. Changing leadership, the gradual loss and replacement of key faculty, and changes in the size or composition of the student body, created an attrition of values and beliefs that led to the Department's seemingly inevitable decline—and, now, its evolution into another kind of school and art education department altogether. The following section draws upon the discussion of educational change forces and processes that have affected the growth and decline of art education, as evidenced by the Art Department at CTS. This story is my interpretation of what has happened based on my research, what is happening based on my experience as a teacher, and what will (not) happen without champions of art education, drawing on the Art Department as my exemplar of practice.

Policy Reform

For much of the 20th century the Art Department at Central Tech was lauded as the most innovative public art education program in the country due to the policies and practices in place in the department, such as its specialized program offerings and control over hiring instructors. Each generation (to different degrees) has functioned in relation to the competitive pressure

within the school and external to the school, but today the evolutionary changes and standardized reforms—most notably the cuts to education made by the Harris government in the late 1990s and the amalgamation of Toronto school boards in 1998 (MacLellan, 2007)—have left the CTS Art Department almost indistinguishable from other conventional high-school art programs. Such critical incidents or changes in the external context of the Art Department were especially imperiled by standardized reform movements in recent decades. The move toward standardization meant that the Department was forced to scale down its programs as the number of instructors was cut from fifteen in the early 1990s to eight by the early 2000s. The instructors with the least seniority were removed first, ensuring that the department's traditions and legacy were not readily passed along to future generations of teachers and students. Special letters of permission given to uncertified artist-teachers were retracted, thus barring many gifted artists from teaching in the art building. A focus on accountability, assessment, and evaluation mandated by the government and school board forced the department to streamline curriculum in efforts to fall in line with new policies. Documents and oral histories show that the reduction of the Department's comprehensive curriculum was resisted by a unified and dedicated departmental team up until 2003. After 2003, external and internal change forces became too powerful and the champions of the department retired. According to participants, the removal of Cori Gould as Art Department head left a leadership vacuum and a fractured and unsettled professional environment. Multiple oral histories describe the reluctance of the senior instructors to guide the department during this time, resulting in the principal's decision to hire someone new into the Department's leadership. This shift is echoed by researchers in Britain (Ball & Bowe, 1992; Whitty, Power, & Halpin, 1998) and Canada (Hargreaves, Shaw, Fink, Retallick, Giles, & Moore, 2000), who have noted the tendency for large-scale reform to displace locally

initiated innovation and to reassert and reinforce traditional grammars of schooling. As these educational forces exert their cumulative effect, parental expectations, pressures from surrounding institutions, and some new administrators' and instructors' own traditional inclinations draw the Art Department's center of gravity back toward the conventional grammar of art education.

Leadership and Succession

One of the most significant events in the life of a school, one that is most likely to bring about a noticeable shift in direction, is a change of leadership. Hargreaves and Goodson (2006) note that, "although waves of reform exert the greatest and most immediate pressures on whole systems, it is changes of leaders and leadership that most directly and dramatically provoke change in individual schools" (p. 18). Fink and Brayman (2006) show how leadership succession can be planned, to foster continuity, or unplanned, creating a higher chance of discontinuity in a school's path of change. Up until the 1950s, the Art Department at CTS enjoyed a relative amount of autonomy with regard to the hiring and promotion of instructors. Such leadership practices were unique to the department, and there was a constant core of senior instructors who stepped up as leaders. Spillane and Halverson (2001) call this extensively distributed leadership—a system that allows the whole staff, and not just one successor, to move the department forward. But by the end of the 1990s, department heads were rarely consulted in the process of hiring new instructors. Leadership succession plans serve to foster connections between successive generations of leaders with regard to identification, recruitment, preparation, placement, induction, and ongoing in-service education. Yet the educational literature

concerning successful leadership succession (Morris, Crowson, Porter-Gehrie & Hurwitz, 1984; Hart, 1993) provides little comprehensive guidance.

In discussions of the Art Department's leadership in the present and the past, many oral history participants spoke of memorable leaders stretching back to the beginning of the 20th century. These artist-teachers were remembered as larger-than-life characters who were deeply involved in the school's community and who remained long enough to make a lasting impression. The natural and organic flow of information and traditions between instructors and leaders was absorbed into the community culture of the institution. Unfortunately, over the first decade of the 21st century, almost all of the senior instructors retired, and the responsibility for promotion from within shifted from the department to the school administration. The extensively distributed leadership concept, which was a building block of the department for a century, has effectively been redefined.

Drawing on Wenger (1998), I argue that the succession of leadership in the Art

Department throughout the 20th century was determined by *insider knowledge* gained by
individuals only after becoming known, trusted, and accepted by fellow instructors and by
corresponding *outbound knowledge*, which is needed to preserve past successes, keep
improvement going, and leave a legacy. For example, Charles Goldhamer exemplifies both
insider knowledge and outbound knowledge. He was hired as an instructor at CTS in the 1920s,
became an assistant head as well as an official Canadian war artist in the 1940's, and then
ascended to Art Department head from 1955 to 1969. Goldhamer embraced the legacy that had
begun with Alfred Howell and been continued by Peter Haworth, and he was chosen to become
the department head because he was respected, trusted, and well-liked by his fellow artistteachers. He also showed respect for the school's legacy, a fact that is evidenced in many of the

stories told about him, including the gesture of inviting Haworth to open the new CTS art building in 1964.

The creative leaders who shaped the Department motivated and assisted their instructors to work through issues of educational reform by building cultures of collaboration and by employing social networks to protest internally and externally as needed. Changes at the turn of the 21st century point to succession based on *inbound knowledge*, where leadership was arguably brought into the department either to maintain the status quo or to impose change unilaterally. Fink and Brayman (2006) have noted in their research on school leadership succession that "in recent years, studies have focused on educational leadership as a culture, a collective phenomenon distributed across space. But very little attention has been given to the equally significant issue of how leadership is arranged and articulated over time" (p. 64). Leadership in the Art Department has been fundamental to the artistic legacy that was built and maintained at CTS for most of five generations. Internal historical notes and administrative documents show that close attention was paid to succession planning within the Art Department from the 1910s to the 1990s. The leaders from these generations shared a commitment to and advocacy of specific values and beliefs. These beliefs seemed to be in tune with the strict, formal, and modern approach to art education.

Changing Teacher Demographics and Missions

External and internal policies began to erode the professional community among teachers in recent decades as instructors within the department were no longer given preference for leadership roles. Significant retirements at CTS left a once-great institution with a paucity of artist-teachers and champions of the Department to promote and fight against cuts to art

education. The Art Department has had to bend and twist, led by teachers who may be best described as creative problem solvers in order to survive the challenges faced from the 1990s to the present. As Fink and Brayman (2006) state, as early as the 1970s "...increasing erosion of leaders' [and teachers'] autonomy has forced more and more [department heads] to use "instrumental" and managerial tactics to achieve the short-term shifts that comply with standardized reform" (p. 86). Fink and Brayman (2006) also argue that demographic changes as the baby-boom generation ages have produced "an increasingly rapid turnover of school leaders and an insufficient pool of capable, qualified, and prepared replacements" (p. 63)— not a resounding endorsement for teachers today. The Art Department reflects these demographic changes, most notably in the retirement of most of its senior staff over the past ten years. All of their replacements have been career art teachers with various art backgrounds, including some with a Bachelor of Fine Art and Ministry of Education specialist certification. The hiring of new teachers has followed strict union rules enforced over the past ten years stating all teachers holding visual art qualifications should be able to teach any visual art course. This has allowed generalist art educators to teach specialized art courses regardless of the instructors' experience or ability. Despite arguments for exceptions for technical schools to hire specialists, there has been no change in policy. Through documents and oral histories, I have learned that over half of the instructors hired before 1990 were working artists who went back to school for a one-year or intensive summer certification to teach in a technical high school. These artist-instructors brought a unique element into the school that remains different in orientation than that of even the most dedicated generalist art educator. Oral histories repeatedly pointed to the impact that practicing artists had on the motivation of students and the professional environment within the Department.

For nearly 100 years, the Art Department at CTS was a professional learning community that seemed to have the capacity to offset many of the change forces that threatened the sustainability of innovative efforts. This was accomplished by a team effort on the part of all instructors to maintain high enrolment in the program. For example, extensive archival documents show that former department heads Peter Locke and Cori Gould distributed responsibilities for recruitment, which included contacting schools to provide information, organizing grade eight tours and activities, and producing promotional materials. Another way that the Art Department community sustained itself was the professional pressure among colleagues to maintain high standards. In numerous oral histories and informal conversations, former students and teachers recalled that the annual Art Department show was attended by elite members of Toronto's art community, successful alumni, as well as Ontario College of Art students and instructors. This sense of expectation helped to maintain a competitive spirit between Art Department instructors and students and ensured that only the highest quality work was displayed. Many photographs, videos, and oral accounts—from the opening of the art building in 1964, to the annual art shows up to 2003, describe and depict the main fover of the art building as filled with visitors during the opening keynote speech. By contrast, the 2014 annual exhibition was the first ever without a prominent guest speaker, and it was attended by more current students from the main CTS building than outside guests.

Throughout the twentieth century, CTS instructors and leaders effectively slowed the evolutionary attrition of change by renewing their teacher cultures, distributing leadership, and planning for leadership succession. They also learned to manage their "foreign relations" (Sarason, 1972) with the community and the TDSB. But in recent years it has become clear that the standardized reform agenda is actively undermining the efforts and successes of this truly

creative community of students and their teachers. A number of factors demonstrate this breakdown in networks of community and, by extension, in the legacy and tradition of the CTS Art Department: 1) valuable relationships with feeder schools have not been maintained; 2) cuts to guidance councilors across the TDSB virtually stopped word-of-mouth advertising within Toronto middle schools; and 3) reduced collaborative time and increased paperwork has minimized instructors' interactions with each other and their students. In the past, the Art Department instructors and department heads were able to engage over a longer term in all aspects of the department's affairs, from governance, to curriculum, to teaching and planning for the future. In large part this is due to advocacy stemming from a dense social network of graduates and former instructors. When under pressure, the department was able to reach out beyond its own boundaries in an activist way and to network with Toronto's artistic community, alumni, and other similar schools as sources of support. As Oakes, Quartz, Ryan, and Lipton (2000) observe, such political activism and its importance in sustaining innovation is a missing ingredient in the more technocratic literature of educational change. Yet, by the beginning of this century, even the Art Department's capacity for networking and activism was failing with the passage of time.

The Art Department at CTS once embraced what Wenger (1998) calls communities of practice. The learning community in the Art Department emphasized three key components: collaborative work and discussion among the instructors, a strong and consistent focus on teaching and learning within that collaborative work, and the collection and use of assessment and other data to inquire into and evaluate progress over time (Newmann, King, & Youngs, 2000; Newmann & Wehlage, 1995). The Art Department at CTS may not be brought back to the height of its past successes, but instead of trying to bring about "quick fixes" in this generation of

standardization, I believe there needs to be an attempt to rejuvenate a flexible and adaptable community of practice, allowing for sustainable improvements that can endure over time.

Through teamwork and dispersed leadership, the Art Department could develop the professional capacity to engage with the forces of educational change and make decisions expeditiously.

Shifting Student and Community Demographics

In contrast to many past studies of educational change, the study of the Art Department at CTS focuses on a single department within a larger school. While Central Technical School as a whole experienced change over time in its student composition and in the community it serves, the Art Department changed very little. According to oral histories, archival documents, and an analysis of photographs, the students and instructors within the Art Department were predictably western European, predominantly English, leading up to the Second World War, given the sociocultural and political constructs of Canada. This changed slightly after World War II as many displaced Japanese people moved to Toronto and enrolled their children in schools. Waves of immigration began to be seen in the department during the 1950s with a huge influx of Italian immigrants, then Hungarians, Ukrainians and people of other eastern and western European backgrounds throughout the 1960s. In 1971 the federal government announced its support for a policy of multiculturalism, which paved the way for more immigration of Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, and ethnic Chinese people from Southeast Asia by the end of 1980 (Adelman, 1980; Sunaharah, 1981; Iacovetta, 1992). Toronto's massive urban expansion from the 1990s to the present is reflected in a great increase in immigration from Caribbean populations (Satzewich, 1989). According to the 2006 Canadian census, 45.7 percent of those in Toronto were born outside Canada (https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/assa/97-557/p24-eng.cfm). And that inflow of immigration has come from every corner of the globe. Yet despite the great diversity among students that attend CTS today, the population of the Art Department's high school specialized program is predominantly European. This gap in the student population is not evidenced in any formal way. For example, I have found no written documents that account for the disparity in multicultural makeup between the Art Department and the rest of the school. Some speculation on reasons for this disparity could be related to cultural values (hooks, 1995) or to socio-economic concerns and career planning. Yet this is also true of the teachers, with no visible minorities on staff. Regardless, I have found no mention of discrimination within the Art Department, and from my personal experience I have only known its students and staff alike to be tolerant and accepting.

Changing Patterns of Relations Among Schools

Public and private art schools in Toronto are remarkably diverse and form external networks that affect one another across space as well as time. Innovative schools are constantly competing and being compared against their surrounding and more traditional counterparts. The CTS Art Department was a singular entity in Toronto offering only specialized visual art courses to both adults and high school students. This singular status was maintained for just over three generations until competing 'arts-based' high schools were created in the 1980s and 1990s. In the twenty-first century, globalization and standardization have forced schools to become more like quasi-markets (Whitty et al., 1998), promoting greater choice between schools such as CTS and its neighbors. Yet running parallel to the appearance of increased choice, Hargreaves and Goodson (2006) note that:

Abstract forces of standardization [continually reassert] the traditional grammar of schooling and undermin[e] the capacity of schools to be truly different. The defense of innovative identities under these circumstances turns into a struggle to protect distinctive, alternative, and even rebellious spaces against the tightening grip of standardization and the competitive forces of the market (p. 28)

The art department has attempted to be competitive against arts-based schools in richer Toronto enclaves, but while the technical art facilities at CTS are unparalleled within the school system, the recent truth is that the campus of CTS saw 51 expulsions and suspensions relating to weapons and 135 expulsions and suspensions relating to drugs and illegal substances between the fall of 2008 and the spring of 2014 (Parness & Mangione, 2014a, 2014b). These TDSB statistics make CTS the top school for illegal school activity in the city. In many instances of documented educational change (Fink, 2000; Evans, 2000; Fullan, 2003; Hargreaves & Moore, 2004; Baker & Foote, 2006) there is a clear reaction to negative forces like illegal activity and program cuts. This process involves a tightening of interrelations among schools in which space and status are increasingly intertwined to perpetuate their existence. This has not happened in the case of the Art Department because it is a separate building, attached to a larger campus, yet the negative reputation of the school as a whole extends to the Art Department by association.

In light of the social problems faced by CTS, the challenge for the school in the future is to find a means to become, as Senge (1990) advocates, a 'learning organization' that is part of an increasingly complex, knowledge-using society (for additional examples see Fullan, 1993; Leithwood & Louis, 1998; Mitchell & Sackney, 2000). Hargreaves and Goodson (2006) explain that these types of organizations offer "innovative structures and processes that enable them to develop the professional capacity to learn in, and respond quickly and flexibly to, their

unpredictable and changing environments" (p. 126). The trajectory of educational change in the case of CTS depends on the capacity of the school and its departments to create environments in which professional communities of practice can flourish by relaxing regimes of standardization. Hargreaves and Goodson (2006) point to "England, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and Singapore [who] are already signing on to the knowledge economy by moving in this direction" (p. 153). School improvement advocates have recommended that effective schools should also operate as strong professional learning communities (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999; Kruse & Louis, 1995; McLaughlin & Talbert, 2001). The learning community in the Art Department embodied all the characteristics necessary to sustain itself for well over one hundred years, but at the turn of the twenty-first century the rapid pace of multiple change forces made it impossible for the department to resist the process of standardization. Now, the Art Department has come full circle and, looking forward, must re-establish the practices of the past to sustain itself in the future.

As a teacher in the CTS Art Department, I believe that its success as a learning organization depends on its capacity to secure sufficient "learning space" from reform pressures in order to find the time and latitude to learn, flex, adapt, and regroup, in an era when even the availability of time has been standardized by policy mandate. Rather than asking whether the artistic knowledge community found in the Art Department can eke out an abbreviated existence in the face of standardized reform, it is perhaps more important to challenge the inflexibility of standardized reform movements in general, given the demonstrable limitations of such curriculum design and instructional delivery. In its early days, the Art Department at CTS explicitly challenged the existing grammar of art instruction for adults and high school students in Toronto. Its innovative identity was a source of inspiration in efforts to resist and subvert the

impact of reforms, yet this identity also made the department vulnerable and a target for standardization. The Art Department was very different from its more conventional counterparts in the school district. For example, the mix of adult and high school programs running concurrently, an extensive selection of specialized art courses offered, and the requirement that specialized high school students take almost fifty percent of their credits in visual art are all unique to the department—and these have been the first elements to be cut in the current tidal wave of educational reform.

The Art Department: Reflections and Importance

Based on my research, I believe that the CTS Art Department up until the early twenty-first century was the only public art education department in Ontario that transcended the politics, policies, influences, and demands that by and large shaped the forms of public art education in the province. Despite multiple school-board amalgamations, debates around educational politics, and economic hardships, the department that I document has maintained longevity and success for almost five generations because of its past commitment to the maintenance of tradition and because it has been a nexus of community for champions of art education who have nurtured it over time.

In the course of the CTS Art Department's history dozens of instructors and thousands of students have shared in the experience of living within a legacy. External forces of change molded the form and evolution of the institution, but without the champions and gifted instructors who shaped their lives within this school, there would be no legacy to protect—no heart at the center of what many have called their family, community, and home. These everyday art educators made a commitment to a life of service and a mission of nurturing students' artistic

talent. They formed reciprocal relationships that inspired a culture of striving to work hard and live with generosity, empathy, and dedication. The historical stories I have constructed—such as those of Alice Saltiel-Marshall and Harold Klunder—led me to question how these individuals' lives and careers would have would have developed without pivotal figures like Doris McCarthy and Dawson Kennedy. Would Alice have shaped her life around creating and teaching art if she had attended a small high school's generalist art program? Would Harold have pursued his dream of becoming an artist if McCarthy had not recognized his potential and passion and encouraged him to achieve greatness? These are questions which we cannot answer with any certainty, but as an instructor within the Art Department and a storyteller of its history, I know that the effect of this department as a learning community has long been to instill a sense of purpose and pride. The stories of students, teachers, and administrators that I have shared are evidence of a culture that undoubtedly influenced students and teachers alike to participate in a network of artists and learners striving for excellence. As conductive links between individuals, relationships have always been at the core of the new histories I write, where writing history is a matter of embracing voices as well as facts and events. People, and not change forces alone, constitute the means to access a deeper, more relational understanding of educational history. The extended family of Art Department instructors that stretches over one hundred and twentytwo years adopted a conception of art education that until recently motivated a willingness to view their mission as more than just a job teaching art. The stories that these relationships between art educators, their students, and the community tell are too numerous to be contained within a single study, but these relationships do generate a way to tell this history differently. People are ultimately the legacy of the CTS Art Department.

My localized new history focuses on the particular in the history of art education, engaging in a new kind of historical conversation, one that encompasses the emotions, the relationships, and the mundane moments of the lives lived through the Art Department. This way, relationships retell history in different, alternate ways, and, like all history, my emplotment of characters, events, and time periods will always be inherently incomplete. Educators and students like Cori Gould, Barry Oretsky, Marshal Bilous and Sue Shintani, among others, have offered a way into thinking about what it means when instructors dedicate their life to the good of their students, to a public life. Pinar (2011) discusses public service from a perspective of ethics, in which creative and extraordinary individuals practice acts of resistance and civic responsibility favoring those whom they serve. He calls these actions "strategic declarations of independence from powerful others" (p. ix). Trafi-Prats and Woywod (2013) argue that "these strategic acts unfold within the gaps and the limited possibilities for subjective and collective life (biopolitics) that dominate educational policies obsessed with outcomes" (2013, p. 12). My stories help to illuminate the acts and actions of such a commitment to a public life and to describe the lives of students in ways that their teachers could never fully imagine. The stories I have produced for this new history not only provide a genealogical record of the ideas, values, and beliefs embodied in a significant Canadian art education institution, but also offer a glimpse into how its tradition and legacy were grown and fostered. Engaging in the history of art education is vital to understanding not only how and why the field developed, but also where the field could or should go in the future (Urban, 1990). This account speaks to many areas of contemporary art education research and practice, as well as modeling the ways in which historical stories of art education can be linked to critical thinking about educational contexts and spaces. The new history I have brought forward also represents a transmutation towards a more

self-conscious, critical awareness of myself as an artist and researcher, and of my teaching (Carr, 1977). In the process of creating this heuristic "composite portrait" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 39), what I paint is a "synthesis of my experiences" (Telles, 2000, p. 259) in becoming a teacher and teacher educator, and of becoming more self-conscious about and critically aware of myself, my life-world, and my teaching. For example, as an art educator at my research site, I have become more aware of the intellectual and pedagogical tension between the modernist and postmodernist orientations affecting my curriculum and instructional development, and, most importantly, the value of relationships of caring in the learning and teaching equation (Witherell & Noddings, 1991).

The study of art education history through storied accounts provides art educators with the opportunity to develop the interpretive tools that enable us to reflect deeply upon the settings and situations in which education happens. I argue for a history of art education presented as a connected and practical body of knowledge, for it emerged and continues to emerge from the lives and experiences of actual art teachers and art learners (Garnet, in press). These conversations do not necessarily end with a right answer, compliance, or consensus, but rather "promote multiplicity, paradox, and an altered view of the world" (Trafi-Prats & Woywod, 2013, p.13). Christou (2010) writes that education history "can be a powerful tool for exploring our stories and our place in the world, but it is, like all bodies of knowledge, rendered meaningless unless it is wedded to human activity and experience" (p. 67). The study of art education history fosters habits of mind that are desirable in art instructors, including purposeful inquiry and critical reflection (Kliebard, 1995). A forward-looking, hopeful, and imaginative vision for art education requires a robust understanding of the past and of the evolution of ideas that will lead this field into the future. Many have come before me in the exploration of the importance and

power of stories to illuminate our educative lives by producing artful records of history, and perhaps, as Arendt states, "human essence...the essence of who somebody is—can come into being only when life departs, leaving behind nothing but a story" (Arendt, 1958, p. 59). If we begin with a premise that "historians are storytellers" (Scott, 2011, p. 204), then storytelling is central to the writing of history because story is a way of making human experience meaningful. The storyteller pulls from their own experience or those reported by others and in turn makes it the experience of those who are listening (Benjamin, 1968). Indeed, the "ability to produce stories," is the way we "become historical" (Arendt, 1958, p. 97).

END NOTES

¹ The recognition of new histories in historical writing can be seen chronologically in the work of Collingwood (1946), White (1973), Atkinson (1978), Fogel and Elton (1983), Tosh (1984) and Seixas (1999).

² On material culture as landscape, see Bender, 1993; Feld and Basso, 1996; Bender and Winer, 2001; Lachapelle, 2011. On material culture as architecture, see Buchli, 1999; Gasparini and Vick, 2008. On material culture as social memory, see Samuel, 1996; Sutton, 2001; de Jong and Rowlands, 2007.

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Order of Canada Recipients

Art Department - 14 Order of Canada Recipients

Terry Mosher Appointment 2002 Student 1960-63		SIKH? JEN? RASTA? MUSLIM? GR CRIVARY MATUSALER COLIEGE IN For the WINTER? Editorial Cartoon 2014	Political Cartoonist
Aba Bayefsky, Appointment 1979 Student Early 1940's	NO.	Yokohama Man Sitting Profile c 1992	Painter
Alfred J. Casson Appointment 1978 Student 1915-18		Little Island (nd.)	Official Canadian war artist
Duncan I. MacPherson, Appointment 1987 Student Early 1940's	MEALD PANN BILL EXTRACT CAPITACE BIG CAPITAN BIG CAPIT	Many of the "deal confineds" cashed off on Communication when they bred with It. MACLEAN'S MAGAZINE, JULY 1, 1931	Political Cartoonist

Storm over the Fields, 1937	Official Canadian war artist
Interliner AIR CANADA WAS ARREST OF THE STREET OF THE ST	Graphic Design
Side Show Performer	Painters 11
	Stewart & Morrison Air Canada 1970

Joyce Wieland Appointment 1982 Student Mid-1940's		REASON PASSION 1968	Artist
Al Green, Appointment 2002 Student Mid-1960's			Sculptor
Bruno Bobak Appointment 1996 Student 1939-42	c 1940	COMFORT c. 1962	Official Canadian war artist
Frances Helen Dafoe (b. 1929) Appointment 1991 Student Mid-1940's		Figure Skating and the Arts Eight Centuries of Sport and Inspiration By Frances Dafee Instruction by Dick Button Schiffer	Artist, Designer, Olympian,

Lawren Stewart Harris Appointment 1969 Student Toronto Technical School 1900	AlgomaCountry	Group of Seven
Illingworth Kerr Appointment 1983 Student 1924	Forest Reserve 1973	Painter

Art Department - Oral Histories

Name	Pic 1	Pic 2
Norma B. Lewis Student 1925-1928 Formal Interview		Histoire House, Quebec OSA Annual Exhibition 1933
Mary Elizabeth Duggan Student 1970-73 Formal Interview		Between Rock and a Hard Place [©2011, all rights retained], 51cm X 51cm,
Harold Klunder Student 1963-66 Formal Interview		"The Poet's Garden no 1 Self Portrait", oil on canvas, 78"x78", 1985

Michael Gerry Student 1971-73 Instructor 1978-2010 Formal Interview	44"h x 40"w
Michael Amar Student 1967-70 Instructor 1989-2008 Formal Interview	Luminosity of Darkness, 2010
Lanny Shereck Student 1971-74 Instructor 1978-2009 Ongoing supply teacher Formal Interview	market space 1 photo collage 16x16 inches
Marshal Bilous Formal Interview Student 1951-54 Instructor 1964-1994	

Ed Bartram Instructor 1972-86 Formal Interview	"La Cloche Range #2", V.E. 5/15
Barry Oretsky Student 1961-65 Formal Interview	Venetian Interlude 30X40in
Cori Gould Instructor/Head 1987-2003 Formal Interview	
Robin Hopper Instructor 1967-70 Formal Interview	

Susan Collett		
Student 1979-82		
Formal Interview		
Adam Brockie	Ô	110
Former high school, adult student. Now full time sculpture technician		
Formal Interview		
Alice Saltiel- Marshal Former student 1960s		
Formal Interview		"SNOWBOWL, The Skyline Trail, Jasper N.P"
Sue Shintani High school and adult student. Now volunteer.		
1950s-present Formal Interview		

Mary Bartram Former adult student 1974-76 Formal Interview		Clan Destiny, 1978 etching aquatint
Bob Stumpf CTS 1960s to		
2014		
Formal Interview		71
Barbara Bickle		
Adult student 1966-69		
Formal Interview		
Ulf Bein	All la	
Instructor 1990's to present		
Formal Interview		
Renata Podlog Night School		
Instructor		
1980s - present		
Informal interivew		

Richard McNeill Instructor 1970's- 2010

Informal interview





Archive Locations

Archive Locations holding materials related to the CTS Art Department

#	Archive	Location
1	Beaverbrook Art Gallery Archives	Fredericton, Nova Scotia
2	Whyte Museum Archives and Library	Banff, Alberta
3	Vancouver Art Gallery Archives	Vancouver, British Columbia
4	National Canadian Art Gallery Archives	Ottawa, Ontario
5	Canadian National Archives	Ottawa, Ontario
6	Canadian War Museum Archives	Ottawa, Ontario
7	Queens University Archives	Kingston, Ontario
8	Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library (UofT)	Toronto, Ontario
9	The Toronto Reference Library	Toronto, Ontario
10	Central Technical School Archives	Toronto, Ontario
11	Art Gallery of Ontario Archives	Toronto, Ontario
12	University of Toronto Archives	Toronto, Ontario
13	OISE UofT	Toronto, Ontario
14	Toronto, Ontario	Toronto, Ontario
15	Toronto Archives	Toronto, Ontario
16	Toronto District School Board Archives	Toronto, Ontario

Directors of the Art Department

Art Department – Directors of the Art Department TTS to CTS

Art Department Head	Term
A.F. Macallum*	1900-1908
W. S. Kirkland	1908-1913
Alfred Howell	1913-1929
Peter Haworth	1929-1955
L.A.C. Panton**	1949
Charles Goldhamer	1955-1969
Virginia Luz	1969-1974
Donald Neddeau	1975-1978
Wyndham Lawrence	1978-1982
Peter Locke	1982-1987
Marshal Bilous	1987-1994
Cori Gould	1994-2003
Michael Porco	2004-2011
Dori Vanderheyden	2012-

^{*} Records show that the Toronto Technical School opened in 1892. From 1892 to the year 1900 there were technical art instructors but no designated department head.

^{**} Records show that L.A.C. Panton was the head of the Art Department during 1949 but I have found no records of when he started or stopped. The inference I can make is that Panton "filled in" for at least one year as Art Department head while Haworth was commissioned to paint Canada's war contributions.

National and International Networks

Names collected exclusively from oral history interviews and thank you letters sent to the Art Department.

Participant name (source)	Reference	Reference location /
		Approximate Time
John Williamson	Alice Saltiel-Marshal	Yellowknife, Canada
John Meanwell	Barbara Bickle	BC
Bill Kort	Barbara Bickle	China
Harry Kuperhause	Barbara Bickle	Berlin and Israel
Doreen Foster	Richard McNeill	P.E.I. Canada
Raymond Lokker	Ed Bartram	Tokyo, Japan
Rocco Turino-	Richard McNeill	London
Mike and Rosa Edwards	Richard McNeill	BC.
Eric Nabor	Richard McNeill	BC.
Raymond Purdey	Richard McNeill	Deakin University Australia
Mrs. Wilkins	Art Centre Archives	Saint Kitts- West Indies
John Shaw	Richard McNeill	PEI, Canada
Barbara Duckworth	Barbara Bickle	Australian
Alice Saltiel-Marshal	Alice Saltiel-Marshal	Alberta
Robin Hopper	Richard McNeill	Victoria
Barbara Bickle	Barbara Bickle	Halifax
Dan and Nisha Ferguson	Ulf Bein	San Miguel de Allende Mexico
Sylvia Stone	Ulf Bein	New York
Sarah Maloney	Richard McNeill	Nova Scotia
Ron Hayes	Richard McNeill	New Brunswick
David Toledano	Ed Bartram	Israel
Luna Luna	Ulf Bein	England
Mark Sharula	Mary Bartram	Finland
Wally Ballach	Mary Bartram	France

Protest Letter 1963

December 4th 1963. Signed by fifteen day school and twenty-two night school instructors who diplomatically protest arbitrary rules set down on the new art building instructors.

Memorandum to the Principal
From the Members of the Art Staff:

Sir:

When we moved to the new Art Centre you invited us to tea and explained the measures you were taking to maintain administrative contact between the old and the new building.

One of these was that you wished us to sign the register and collect mail and keys in the old building. It must be admitted that we received this news with misgiving but no comment was made. We decided to try to follow your wishes in the hope that time would provide a less onerous solution.

Unfortunately, there is no sign of this taking place.

We are not sure that you are aware of the physical burden that this particular rule places on both the day and evening staff.

Many of us transport heavy and bulky materials back and forth from our homes and studios. This is especially true of the evening instructors who do not possess the storage facilities which are available to the day staff. Books, drawings, charts, frames, special paints and painting materials, craft materials, still life objects, tools, projector slides, - the list is endless. This is a part of the personal nature of Art and Art instruction. We do not complain but we think the condition should be recognized and all reasonable measures taken to ameliorate it.

On arrival we park on Borden Street, walk through the basement and up one flight of stairs to the front desk, down another flight, north one city block and up the ramp carrying whatever we may have brought of the things listed above.

This has been difficult enough during the season of good weather since Easter but, with the onset of winter and the extra burden of winter clothing and snow boots, it will shortly become unbearable.

The evening instructors are under a double pressure for they have to tidy their rooms, gather their belongings - some of which are being used by the classes until the last minute - rush over to the main building with their registers, sign, and get out to the parking lot, all within a certain time.

In view of these considerations, none of which was mentioned at the meeting in April, we hope that you will be willing to review the position and relieve us of an unnecessary physical strain which does nothing to further the effectiveness of instruction but, rather, has the reverse effect.

We respectfully submit the following alternatives for your consideration:

- 1. Relieve the day Art Staff of the necessity of signing the Register and make the Head responsible for reporting absentees to the Office.
- 2. Do away with the day Staff registers entirely (as has been done in most schools).
- 3. Have a clerk or caretaker carry the evening registers to the Art building and remove them in the morning.
- 4. Deposit the keys of the Art building in the Head's custody, to be distributed by the Caretaker on duty.

(3)

We are certain that a fair solution of this matter is attainable and earnestly ask your goodwill and good offices.

> Signed, in order of seniority: Charles Goldhamer ; Dawson Kennedy Doris McCarthy Robert Ross Virginia Luz Jocelyn Taylor Donald Neddeau Ninette LaChance Wyndham Lawrence James Meechan Paul Summerskill Gordon Barnes Kathleen Kennedy: Kathleen Kennedy
>
> Julius Griffiths: gulus guffilt andrew Fussell

Andrew Fussel

(4)

Evening Staff: Dennis Coles Ruth Douet Marjorie Elliott Augustin Filipovic : Auriju Andrew Gillespie James Gordaneer Maud Higley Rosemary Kilbourn Warren Luckock Robert MacIndoe John Mattar Donald MacKinnon : Rut McMeil Ruth McNeill : Mary Milne Mary Milne William Muysson : nancy Powels Nancy Pocock Donald Rosser Keith Scott Nicholas J. Staples: Nicholas J. Sta Arthur Thorne Valius Teleforas Sam Zimmerman

DECEMPEN 4 TH 1963