Undan Snjóbreiðunni

(What Lies Beneath the Snow)

Revealing the contributions of Icelandic pioneer women to adult education in Manitoba 1875 – 1914

by

Jo-Anne Weir

Department of Educational Administration, Foundations and Psychology

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg
Introduction

Women have been involved in adult education activities throughout Canada’s history, yet researchers note their absence within the recorded history (Butterwick, 1998, p. 104; Dewar, 1998, p. 360; Selman, Cooke, Selman & Dampier, 1998, p. 3). Dewar (1998) metaphorically characterizes the experiences of women in Canadian adult education history as being “covered by a blanket of snow” (p. 360). The absence of women’s stories creates an incomplete history of adult education in Canada. The result is a history that is missing many rich examples of uniquely female adult education responses to building communities early in Canadian history. Further examination of this history will reveal “there is much under the snow, and it is beginning to melt” (Dewar, 1998, p. 360).

By 1900, an estimated 10,000 Icelandic immigrants (Kristjanson, 1965, p. 300) had settled in the province of Manitoba. It was the largest Icelandic settlement outside of Iceland. The Icelandic pioneer women and their families arrived with very high rates of literacy and strong Icelandic traditions of literary writing and education (Matthiasson, 1983, p. 332-338). The women were accustomed to holding prominent and respected positions in the home as well as in Icelandic society (Johnson, 1994, p.117). The Icelandic settlements in Manitoba eventually thrived despite considerable hardship. The Icelandic pioneers went on to assimilate successfully into their new country as Canadians and yet maintain their identity as Icelanders. These factors and others point to a group of women worthy of a closer look through the lens of adult education.
A qualitative historical research inquiry is used to “melt the snow” and reveal the contributions of the Icelandic pioneer women to adult education in Manitoba. This inquiry reveals how the women responded with adult education approaches to the challenges they faced. Illuminating the activities and the women involved is one part of the story. The other is to examine the findings within the context of the influences of the 1875-1914 time period. This Manitoba inquiry also makes a contribution towards the recording of the history of women in adult education in Canada.

Problem Statement

Canada has a rich history in the field of adult education. The field has been organized over time “as a way of improving the quality of life, promoting citizen participation, social justice and equality” (Selman, 1995, p.16). Canadian programs such as the Antigonish Movement (Kidd, 1950, p.195), National Farm Radio Forum (Kidd, 1950, p.169) and Frontier College (Kidd, 1950, p.151) have been highly regarded projects in the field and emulated elsewhere in the world. Canadians J. Roby Kidd, Moses Coady, and Allen Tough are internationally respected as pioneers in adult education. However, many other achievements in Canadian adult education have gone unrecorded. A comprehensive history of Canadian adult education still does not exist (Selman, 1995, p.29). There are many gaps, most notably with regard to the contribution of women to adult education.

There are many benefits to documenting the contribution of Canadian women to adult education. Most importantly, such documentation will provide a
more accurate and inclusionary history. Certainly history is best served by providing the contribution of both men and women. This study will help identify the valuable contributions that women have made to communities in Canada, in this instance the Manitoba Icelandic community. There are, however, other reasons to address this absence in a field that has had equal participation by women (OECD, 2003, p. 41). Such reasons include the contradiction of separateness and connection that women reportedly feel as adult learners and educators (Dewar, 1998, p. 359). As well, the disconnect that is evident between the marginalization of women’s activities in a field that prides itself on its history of social justice (Butterwick, 1998, p. 105). Recording the history of the activities of women in adult education between 1875 and 1914 brings to light the nature of these activities, demonstrating their contributions and considerable benefits.

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to reveal and record the contributions of Icelandic pioneer women to adult education in Manitoba during the 39 year period beginning with their arrival in Manitoba (1875) and ending with the outbreak of World War I (1914). This study is a response to the absence of women in the recorded history of adult education in Canada.
Conceptual Framework

As stated in the introduction, revealing the activities and the women involved is only one part of the story of the Icelandic pioneer women in Manitoba. The other part is to examine the findings within the context of the influences of the 1875 – 1914 time period. J. Roby Kidd (1979) believed that to ignore the context of adult education activities is to arrive at answers that are one-dimensional. Consequently, Kidd designed a three-dimensional conceptual framework in 1979 for examining adult education in Canada, entitled Factors Affecting and Explaining Adult Education in Canada. It was the first and only attempt to create a framework for examining adult education in Canada.

By adapting J. Roby Kidd’s 1979 conceptual framework, a more up-to-date and inclusive conceptual framework was created (see figure 1). This revised framework allows for a broader inquiry and captures a greater range of the adult education activities in which Icelandic pioneer women of Manitoba were involved.
Figure 1. Conceptual framework for examining the adult educational activities of women in Canada.

Note. From Some Preliminary Notes Concerning an Enquiry into the Heritage of Canadian Adult Education (p. 5), by J. Roby Kidd, 1979, University of British Columbia, Vancouver: Centre for Continuing Education. Adapted with permission obtained October 25, 2006 and November 22, 2007 from Roger Boshier, University of British Columbia, Canada.
Research Questions

1. Who were the individual Icelandic women that influenced the adult education activities of the Icelandic pioneer women in Manitoba between 1875 and 1914?

2. What were the adult education activities of Icelandic pioneer women in Manitoba between 1875 and 1914?
   a) What activities occurred in response to the influences of economic, social, political and cultural events?
   b) What activities occurred in response to the influences of ideas and concepts?
   c) What activities occurred in response to the influences from outside of Canada?
   d) What activities occurred in response to the influences of communications and technology?
   e) What activities occurred in response to the influences of geography and climate?
   f) What activities occurred in response to the influences of the immigrant peoples?
Definitions

Adult education activities – Refers to activities conducted in formal institutional settings, nonformal settings and informal or self-directed contexts as defined below by Merriam and Caffarella (1999, p. 26):

Formal Institutional Settings

1. Independent adult education organizations – are organizations whose primary purpose is to provide adult learning opportunities.

2. Educational institutions – are post-secondary institutions such as community colleges, universities, and some public schools serving adults.

3. Quasi-educational organizations – are organizations which consider education as a function of their primary mission. These include libraries, museums, service clubs, religious and civic organizations.

4. Non-educational organizations – are organizations which consider education a means to achieve a different outcome. They provide educational opportunities for an organization’s employees rather than the public. Examples are government departments, armed forces and unions.

Nonformal Settings

1. Community-based learning opportunities – are characterized by simple and flexible structures, paid or often volunteer staff, and programming focused on social action or betterment of the community. Examples are church or community groups focusing on literacy, job skills development, housing, and social inequalities.
2. Indigenous learning – is learning related to the learner’s culture. This type of learning makes use of oral traditions, legends, and myths to teach and preserve a culture’s history and traditions.

Informal or Self-Directed Contexts

This type of learning usually occurs in the learners’ natural setting and is initiated and carried out by the learners. It may occur independently of other people or include involvement by friends or mentors. Learning may take place in the home, the workplace, or through recreational pursuits.

Methodology

This study used a qualitative research approach. Examining the activities of Icelandic pioneer women is a study of human phenomena which cannot be measured quantitatively, which is one of the reasons why qualitative research approaches have been accepted as another way to discover knowledge (Speziale and Carpenter, 2003, p. 1). Also, the definition of adult education applied in this research includes informal learning activities for which quantitative approaches would be difficult to quantify since they are not categorically defined. Finally, historical studies do not allow for events to be observed directly and therefore measured in quantitative ways. Qualitative methodology, on the other hand, is used when what can be observed is not the only reality (Speziale and Carpenter, 2003). For these reasons, a qualitative research approach was the most appropriate approach for this research.
Method

Historical research method was the logical method of choice for this research, given the historical nature of the topic. “Historical research opens windows into the past, creating new ideas and reshaping human thinking and understanding” (Speziale and Carpenter, 2003, p. 208). By revealing the past contributions of Icelandic women, new ideas about the part played by women in adult education history in Canada can emerge. This study may also reshape the definitions and frameworks that continue to exclude women from the recorded histories.

Data Collection

The data for this historical research was collected only from primary and secondary sources. Interviews were not used in this research. The Icelandic community in Manitoba has long been committed to preserving its primary and secondary source documents and supporting the creation of on-going secondary sources detailing their pioneer history in Manitoba. The body of work available for this study was considerable and exceptional among pioneer immigrant groups across Canada. Many of the sources were also easily accessible at the University of Manitoba Libraries’ Icelandic Collection.

All primary and secondary sources reviewed for this research were essentially run through three filters. The first filter examined the sources for the presence of Icelandic women and their stories. When these stories were found they were then assessed through the second filter of time. This ensured that the stories or activities occurred during the 1875 -1914 time period of this research.
The last step in the filtering process was to examine the stories or activities in light of Merriam and Caffarella’s (1999, p. 26) definitions of formal, nonformal and informal adult education activities. If the activity fit within those definitions, then the activity was collected as data.

Data Analysis

The two research questions of this study ask who the influential Icelandic pioneer women were and what adult education activities they engaged in. The data collected, therefore, was both about individual women and their activities. Each of these: women or activities, was coded according to the Matrix for Coding and Analysis (see figure 3).

The Matrix reflects the dimensions of the conceptual framework (see figure 1) with its inclusion of influences and formal, nonformal and informal educational activities. The five communities are also included. The “Big Paper” coding process of each piece of data began with writing a brief description of the woman or activity onto a 3” X 3” lined Post-It note. The reference was also written at the bottom of the note so that a full description could be accessed later. It was then coded with a number from 1 – 7 according to which influence it occurred in response to. It was further coded with either an F for formal, an N for non formal, or an I for informal depending on which type of educational activity it was. It was then coded A – E depending in which community the activities occurred. As an example, if the data was a woman who was a leader in the Ladies’ Aid (non formal) in New Iceland, that Post-It note was coded 1NA. The 1 represents the influence of People, the N represents the non formal adult
education activity, and the A represents the settlement of New Iceland. As another example, if Icelandic domestic servants in Winnipeg learned to speak English informally.

Figure 3. Matrix for coding and analysis of adult education activities of Icelandic pioneer women in Manitoba 1875-1914

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlements</th>
<th>A New Iceland</th>
<th>B Posen</th>
<th>C Argyle</th>
<th>D Selkirk</th>
<th>E Winnipeg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Influences</td>
<td>Adult Ed. Activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 1</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>Nonformal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 2</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Events</td>
<td>Nonformal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 3</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideas</td>
<td>Nonformal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concepts</td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 4</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside</td>
<td>Nonformal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 5</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications</td>
<td>Nonformal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 6</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>Nonformal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate</td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 7</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant</td>
<td>Nonformal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peoples</td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Findings

Who these women were and how they responded to the challenges they faced through educational activities make up the findings of this research. These findings are presented in the following seven historical narratives.

The first narrative provides a very human introduction to the findings by profiling five Icelandic pioneer women. These five women were chosen because they were influential and present a variety of educational approaches across all five of the communities studied in this research.

*Melting the Snow: Five Icelandic adult educators revealed*

The first historical narrative profiled five Icelandic adult educators: suffragist, Margret Benedictsson, church leader Lara Bjarnason, Mother of the Visir library Kristrun Fridfinnson, midwife Sigurveig Christopherson, and postmistress Margret Kristjanson. The five women chosen to be profiled here can be characterized as adult educators for the many ways they facilitated formal, nonformal and informal learning opportunities for their fellow Icelandic pioneer women. This historical narrative described how each of the women helped organize educational activities through her leadership and service to the Icelandic communities. As is the case with effective educators, they also acted as role models as they lived their lives driven by their passions for social justice, music, poetry, literature, language and health care. As you will read, each of these five women brought their own unique way of acting as educators within their communities.
**Teachers’ training: Extending the Icelandic value of education**

This historical narrative is a description of a theme that emerged from the second area of influence shown on the conceptual framework: *Events*. The term, *events*, in this framework refers to economic, social, political and cultural events of the 1875 – 1914 time period. The Icelandic pioneer women were exposed to a number of events during this time period because it was a time of dramatic growth and change in the history of the province. The event that caused the largest adult education response by the women was the establishment of formal post-secondary educational institutions. Wesley College and the colleges of the University of Manitoba were established in 1877, and the formalized teacher training through The Normal School was established in 1882 (Crippen & McCarthy, 2003, p. 257).

**Learning the English language: Integrating learning with work**

This historical narrative is a description of a theme that emerged from the third area of influence shown on the conceptual framework: *Concepts / Ideas*. This refers to concepts or ideas that were prevalent in Manitoba during 1875 – 1914 and influenced the educational activities of Icelandic pioneer women. A concept that was revealed consistently in this research into Icelandic history was assimilation. A critical component in assimilating into a new country is to learn the language, without which an immigrant cannot fully participate in the new society. The Icelandic pioneer women, like most other Icelandic pioneers, recognized this and participated in formal and nonformal ways to learn the
language along with the Icelandic men. There were also informal means of learning the language that were unique to the women. In these cases, out of necessity, the Icelandic pioneer women integrated their learning with their daily work. This historical narrative describes the formal, nonformal and informal ways the women in this study learned the English language in their determination to assimilate into Canadian society.

Women’s suffrage: Continuing the pursuit of equality in a new land

This historical narrative is a description of a theme that emerged from the fourth area of influence shown on the conceptual framework: Outside Canada. This applies to the influence of countries outside of Canada on the educational activities of Icelandic pioneer women in Manitoba. Iceland continued to have considerable influence on the immigrants during this time period. Manitoba Icelanders continued to be connected to Iceland through their newspapers; Logberg and Heimskringla, which both published weekly articles on events in Iceland, through the conversations and associations with new immigrants, through visitors from Iceland, through letters from Iceland, and through the exchange of newspapers and periodicals from Iceland. One of the themes of this influence on the Icelandic pioneer women was the theme of women’s suffrage. Icelandic pioneer women were very involved in suffrage activities in Manitoba from 1875 to 1916. It is important to note that this was not a campaign that they were introduced to after arriving in Manitoba. They were influenced by the woman’s rights movement that was active in Iceland before they left, and this study examines how they continued to be influenced by the events of that
movement after they arrived in Manitoba. The story of the Icelandic woman’s suffrage movement in Manitoba therefore is a story of continuing the pursuit of equality in a new land. That pursuit involved various nonformal and informal educational activities that eventually led to Manitoba women being granted the vote in 1916.

*Canada’s postal service: A link to the outside world*

This historical narrative develops a theme that emerged from the fifth area of influence shown on the conceptual framework: *Communications and Technology*. Certain types of communication or new technology influenced the learning activities of Icelandic pioneer women in Manitoba, especially the Canadian Postal Service. This was a well-used means of informal or self-directed learning in the Icelandic communities, used by women (and men) to access the information they needed.

*Manitoba’s geography and climate: Harsh teachers*

This historical narrative develops a theme that emerges from the sixth area of influence shown on the conceptual framework: *Geography and Climate*. This refers to the influences of Manitoba’s geography and climate on the educational activities of Icelandic pioneer women. The research revealed that the women responded with nonformal and informal educational activities to the geographical and climatic influences particular to Manitoba.
This historical narrative develops a theme that emerged from the seventh and final area of influence shown on the conceptual framework: Immigrant Peoples. This refers to the influence that new immigrants arriving in Manitoba had on the educational activities of the Icelandic pioneer women. The women responded to this influence with the creation of volunteer community and church groups. These types of groups provide nonformal learning opportunities (Merriam and Caffarella, 1999, p. 28) for the women involved as members. Specifically, the Icelandic pioneer women of Manitoba formed The Icelandic Women’s Society in 1881 to receive and assist new immigrants from Iceland when they first arrived in Winnipeg. In addition, they formed Lutheran and Unitarian Ladies’ Aid societies in Winnipeg and throughout Manitoba to continue to assist the immigrants in later years. The effect of these efforts by Icelandic women was to provide a social welfare network for the Icelandic immigrants at a time when very few government supports were in place (Glenboro & Area Historical Society, 1979, p. 65). This historical narrative will describe the Icelandic Women’s Society and the Ladies’ Aid societies whose work benefited the Icelandic immigrants and contributed to the nonformal learning of the women themselves.
Implications of the Findings

Though this research was an inquiry into educational activities that occurred over 100 years ago, there are implications for present day practice. This section offers six implications.

1. The conceptual framework developed in this research can be used for revealing other involvement by women in adult education in Canada. J. Roby Kidd first created a very effective model in 1979 as a means of “apprehending some truths, establishing some relationships, identifying some factors that are often neglected” (Kidd, 1979, p. 4). Modernizing his model to include nonformal and informal learning (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999), and expanding it to include additional categories of influence, resulted in a more comprehensive and inclusive approach to examining the adult education activities of women. The adaptations to Kidd’s framework resulted in a model far better suited to women and led to a dramatic increase in the visibility of the learning activities of women.

Furthermore, the value of the conceptual framework could be extended beyond the involvement of women in adult education to other activities of women. An example is the involvement of women in physical activity. Physical activity could be categorized as formal, such as university or college sport; nonformal, such as fitness classes offered through community centres; and informal, such as self-directed walking, cycling or swimming. These activities could also be examined in the context of influences such as people, events (economic, social, political, cultural), ideas and concepts, outside Canada influences, communications/ technology, and geography and climate. As used in this
research involving women and adult education, the conceptual framework could provide a means of revealing, understanding and recording the involvement of women in other areas of study.

2. The method used in this research was an effective means to reveal the activities of women, particularly given the large amount of data that this enquiry uncovered. Use of a sampling strategy, such as the nonprobablility sampling strategy, used in this research is necessary. This strategy helps to place limitations on the inquiry and reduce the amount of data to a manageable size. A key component to the method is the matrix that was created for this research. This Matrix for Coding and Analysis (see figure 2) allows for the activities of women to be coded according to influences, types and location. Other variables may be used depending on the nature of the inquiry. Once coded, activities can then be charted onto the matrix, and the analysis begins simultaneously. The matrix continues to assist and guide the researcher when a visual picture begins to emerge on the matrix as data is posted on it. Visually, women become foregrounded and themes begin to emerge. These emerging women and themes can then be written into historical narratives which is “the final stage in the historical research process” (Speziale and Carpenter, 2003, p. 220). This method of beginning with a sampling strategy, then using a matrix for coding and analysis, and having as the outcome a historical narrative, was an effective means of revealing the activities of women in this research. This method may have broader application to other types of research.
3. This research acts as a reminder of the social benefits of adult education. In this research, Icelandic pioneer women used adult education responses to promote citizenship, community development and social change. This is the heritage of adult education in Canada and the move to professionalize the field (Selman, 1995, p. 29) has unfortunately moved the field away further from its origins. In the last decade there has been an emphasis in the field on vocational programs and technology (Selman, 1995, p.82) and while those are valuable pursuits, adult education cannot forget its successful history of assisting disadvantaged Canadians. We continue to be a country with a high number of immigrants arriving each year who have many of the same needs that the original Icelandic immigrants had: employment, literacy, housing and transportation. Adult education has an important role to play in assisting these new Canadians.

4. This research illustrates the role that definition can play in excluding the history of women. These pioneer women were an active community of learners who primarily used nonformal and informal means to learn. Many definitions of adult education being applied world-wide do not include all three types of learning. If the definition used in the Canadian survey AETS (OECD, 2003), which only recognized learning which is “formal, structured and institutionalized” (p. 57) was applied in this research, then the only learning that would merit mention would be the teachers’ training and the small percentage of women who attended college and university.
5. The final historical narrative, entitled *The Icelandic Women’s Society and Ladies’ Aid societies: A social welfare network*, is an account of a successful social welfare system that existed before government programs were in place. These women, within their ethnic community, were able to help new members of their community access housing, employment, literacy, food clothing and other necessities. Their efforts arose from a concern about immigrants from their own ethnic community being vulnerable in a large urban centre. These are needs and concerns that continue to face ethnic communities in Canada, and the Icelandic example may be a model to consider. As in the Icelandic model, there may be a role for churches to play as they seek ways to be relevant in today’s society.

6. Finally, this research has demonstrated the importance of recording the history of women. Women have a particular responsibility to either record our own history or the histories of those women around us. As Heilbrun (1988) points out “women must turn to one another for stories” (p. 44). The history of the Icelandic pioneer women shows us that it is a history which is interesting, informative, empowering, and provides meaning to the generations that follow.
Recommendations

Recommendations for adult education, Manitoba history and Manitoba Icelandic history are listed. These are recommendations for future research and historical initiatives.

Adult Education:

1. Development and implementation of a Canadian definition of adult education which includes recognition of formal, nonformal and informal learning, and acknowledges the distinct nature of gender differences in learning.

2. Encouragement of women to record their histories and the histories of other women through programs such as “Write Your Life Story”, which are in place for older adults. A valuable resource in this endeavor, particularly inspiring for women reaching age 50, is *Writing a Woman’s Life* by Carolyn G. Heilbrun.

3. Research and publish a collection of profiles of female adult education role models who have engaged in formal, nonformal and informal education activities across Canada and from various ethnic communities.

Manitoba History:

1. Research into the adult education histories of other ethnic groups of Manitoba pioneer women such as Ukrainian or Mennonite women.

2. Research into the adult education histories of First Nations and Metis women in Manitoba.
3. Re-examine the history of the Manitoba women’s suffrage movement.

Manitoba Icelandic History:

1. Retrieve, reveal and record the life stories of individual Icelandic pioneer women. A suggested format is the “life writing” format recently used in the writing of *Blessed: A Portrait of Asdis Sigrun Anderson* (Anderson, 2005).

2. Translate *Freyja*, the woman suffrage paper, into English so that it may become an accessible archival record of the early Manitoba suffrage movement. (Note that several articles published in *Freyja* began as English articles published elsewhere and were then translated into Icelandic by Margret Benedictsson)

3. In 2010, celebrate the 100-year-anniversary of the 1910 suffrage petitions that Icelandic pioneer women presented to the Manitoba Legislature. This could be celebrated through an exhibit in the Dr. Paul H. T. Thorlakson Gallery, Icelandic Collection, Dafoe Library, University of Manitoba or as part of the traditional program at the 2010 Islendingadagurinn (Icelandic Festival) in Gimli, Manitoba.

4. Formally recognize the important role that Margret Benedictsson had in advancing the rights of women in Canada, through the establishment of a national historical monument through the Historical Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.
These final recommendations bring an end to this study of “what lies beneath the snow” or undan snjóbreiðunni. This study has shown there is much under the snow if we can open our eyes to expanded definitions and frameworks of adult education. The story of the Icelandic pioneer women of Manitoba is but one chapter in the history of the contributions of women to adult education in Canada. Hopefully this research has created an interest in revealing the contributions of other groups of women to adult education.

References


