

**MAKING CANADIANS:
CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION
AND THE
MANITOBA PUBLIC SCHOOL CURRICULUM
1916-1927**

by

Gwen Rempel

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
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**Making Canadians: Citizenship Education and the Manitoba Public
School Curriculum 1916 - 1927**

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Gwen Rempel

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree
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Master of Arts**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the idea of Canadian citizenship found in Manitoba's public school curriculum between 1916 and 1927. It argues that during this period the Manitoba government responded to the pressures of war, economic recession, and foreign immigration by using its recently created state controlled school system to integrate future citizens into the province's dominant British-Canadian society. The thesis examines English language instruction, values education, history and geography lessons, and the observance of patriotic exercises as outlined in the Manitoba Department of Education's published syllabus for grades one through eight, its prescribed elementary textbooks and its recommended professional journal. The thesis presents two key findings. First, it argues the formal curriculum embraced a common perception of good citizenship. At the core of this citizenship ideal was a code of correct individual conduct combined with a philosophy of responsible service. Second, the thesis asserts the Manitoba Department of Education's efforts to assimilate future citizens into British-Canadian society forced the Department to present desirable British qualities as both cultural and racial characteristics. The resulting civic nationalism was based on the curriculum's ideal of socially responsible citizenship. It allowed the Department of Education to accommodate a wider variety of ethnic groups within its idea of Canadian citizenship. The thesis concludes that the Manitoba Department of Education had a clear idea of good, if not autonomous, Canadian citizenship between 1916 and 1927. This idea laid the foundations of western liberal nationalism that would allow Canadian citizenship to eventually move beyond cultural assimilation.

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Introduction

THE IDEA OF CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP AND THE MANITOBA PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM 1916-1927

"We are building today for the Canada of tomorrow, and our common school is one of the most important factors in the work."¹

¹ Address to the Legislature of Manitoba, January 30th by Hon. Dr. R.S. Thornton, Minister of Education (Manitoba: Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, 1919), 5.

What is a Canadian citizen? According to the Canadian Citizenship Act, a Canadian citizen is a member by either birth or naturalisation of the Canadian state.² By itself this legal designation does not adequately explain the concept of Canadian citizenship. Prior to the proclamation of the Canadian Citizenship Act on January 1, 1947 an autonomous legal category of Canadian citizenship did not even exist. Modern western democratic theories of citizenship assume a reciprocal agreement between the state and its citizens that is formally defined by law. Legally recognised members of the state are entitled to certain legal, political and social rights under the state's jurisdiction. In return, they are required to obey the state's legal code of behavior.³ At the core of this assumption is the distinction between good and bad citizens. The former conform to the demands of national society, the later do not.⁴ Historically the idea of good citizenship has encompassed a broader spectrum of responsibilities than a rights based theory of citizenship suggests.⁵ The present thesis focuses on this informal idea of citizenship. It relies on three separate areas of scholarly work, the theoretical analysis of citizenship, the study of the evolution of nationalism, and the history of education in Canada. Its objective is not to present an exhaustive investigation of these separate fields, but to use the public

² Citizenship of Canada Act, 25 November 1999.

³ J.M. Barbalet, Citizenship: Rights Struggle and Class Inequality (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 1-28.

⁴ Marshall W. Conly, "Theories and Attitudes Towards Political Education" in Canada and Citizenship Education, Keith A. McLeod, ed. (Toronto: Canadian Education Association, 1989), 142; Keith A. McLeod, "Exploring Citizenship Education: Education for Citizenship" in Canada and Citizenship Education, Keith A. McLeod, ed. (Toronto: Canadian Education Association, 1989), 6.

⁵ William Kaplan, "Who Belongs? Changing Concepts of Citizenship and Nationality" in Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship, William Kaplan, ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 248-249; George Armstrong Kelly, "Who Needs a Theory of Citizenship?" in Theorizing Citizenship, Ronald Beiner, ed. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 90.

school curriculum authorized by the Manitoba Department of Education between 1916 and 1927 to explore the fertile ground where they meet.

Manitoba's early twentieth century public school system straddled two extended historic movements. It was the product and the instrument of an entrenched British-Canadian social order on one hand, and an emerging education driven social reform campaign on the other. When confronted by the short-term historic pressures of war, economic recession, and most importantly extensive foreign immigration, the Manitoba government responded to the perceived societal crisis by using the dynamic force of public schooling to support an essentially static view of British-Canadian society.⁶ Its public school curriculum employed the concept of good citizenship to mediate between a dominant ethnicity based image of Canadian identity and the destruction of the genetic bonds on which this image stood. The continuity and the change that marked the Manitoba Department of Education's ideas of good citizenship during this period of transition reveal an intellectual groundwork on which future concepts of Canadian citizenship and Canadian identity would eventually be built.

The 1947 Canadian Citizenship Act may have created the legal fact of Canadian citizenship, but this new civil standard was not conjured out of thin air. It rested on Canadian, imperial and British legal precedents. For instance, in 1763 the inhabitants of New France became subjects of the British monarch by right of conquest. Later British immigrants to the colony held their status under

⁶ Neil Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 203-215.

British law by right of birth, either having been born within the dominions of the crown, or of British parentage. Naturalisation was not common, but became increasingly necessary following the American Revolution.⁷

The United Empire Loyalists were only the first of a steady stream of settlers who arrived from the United States during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. While the legitimacy of the original Loyalists was never questioned, the civil status of the later arrivals was unclear. Were they British subjects by right of their birth in a British colony to British parents, or were they aliens because of their association with the disloyal American republic? The right to vote, hold public office and own property was contingent on subject status. In Upper Canada approximately half the population was affected by the uncertainty surrounding civil standing. The situation quickly became unworkable, and in 1827 the imperial government directed the government of Upper Canada to confirm as British subject any settlers who had arrived in the province before 1820. In addition, local legislative provisions were made to facilitate the naturalisation of future immigrants within the limited jurisdiction of the colony.⁸ To qualify for naturalisation individuals had to undergo a period of residency, swear an oath of loyalty to the sovereign, and pay a fee to cover the cost of registering their new legal standing as British subjects. Similar naturalisation procedures were eventually adopted in the other British North American colonies. After Confederation these procedures were first consolidated in the Dominion

⁷ Clive Parry, Nationality and Citizenship Laws of the Commonwealth and the Republic of Ireland (London: Stevens & Sons, 1957), 431-436.

Naturalisation Act of 1881 and later reiterated under the Naturalisation Act of 1914.⁹

Before 1947 confusion existed regarding a consistent nation-wide Canadian standard of state membership. Canadians were British subjects, not Canadian citizens. Historically federal immigration legislation was used to control access to Canada. A system of preferential categories based on nationality, country of origin and occupation, all worked to encourage desirable migrants and discourage unsuitable ones. Racial, ethnic and religious prejudices were a primary consideration behind the application of such measures. Under these laws, early British subjects naturalised in some parts of the British Empire were not considered to be legitimate Canadians despite residence in this country. Although the Canadian Citizenship Act did not stop the use of discriminatory immigration regulations, it did eliminate many of the ambiguities associated with them.¹⁰ The indeterminate nature of citizenship in Canada also meant provincial governments could legislate the differential treatment of particular groups in Canadian society. Racism was again the chief motivation. Individual provinces, especially in western Canada, passed legislation limiting the ability of non-white racial groups to live and work within their boundaries. While the Canadian

⁸ Gerald M. Craig, Upper Canada: The Formative Years 1784-1841 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1963), 114-123; David Mills, The Idea of Loyalty in Upper Canada, 1784-1850 (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 34-51.

⁹ Robert Bothwell, "Something of Value? Subjects and Citizens in Canadian History" in Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship, William Kaplan, ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 27-34; Canadian Citizenship Registration Branch, "Part II. - Canadian Citizenship" in Canadian Year Book, (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1952), 153-155; Parry, Nationality and Citizenship Laws, 437-452.

¹⁰ Donald H. Avery, Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896-1994 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1995), 10-14; Glenda P. Simms, "Racism as a Barrier to Canadian Citizenship" in Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship, William Kaplan, ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 335-339.

Citizenship Act helped to consolidate and clarify the status of these people within the Canadian state, a national code of citizenship rights was not officially outlined in Canadian law until the passage of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982.¹¹

The 1947 Act followed the established legal tradition. Under its provisions Canadians remained subjects, but were further defined as citizens of Canada. Citizenship was granted as either a right of birth or through the process of naturalisation. Birthright continued to be linked to territory and ancestry, while the criteria for naturalisation remained essentially unchanged. Some concessions were made to modern conditions. The new Act acknowledged the citizenship status of illegitimate children and permitted women to maintain their citizenship independent of their husbands. The Act also confirmed English or French language fluency as a condition of attaining citizenship through naturalisation.¹²

In the same way that the formal legal definition of Canadian citizenship rested on legal tradition, its popularly accepted meaning was based on pre-existing culturally described images of Canadian identity. When the new confederation of British North American colonies purchased Rupert's Land in 1871, it believed it had acquired a vast uninhabited territory ready to accommodate the young nation's expanding population, economy and destiny. The Red River Uprising of 1870 and the Metis Rebellion of 1885 may have

¹¹ Avery, Reluctant Host, 58-59; Robert J. Sharpe, "Citizenship, the Constitution Act, 1867, and the Charter" in Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship, William Kaplan, ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 221-241.

opposed the envisioned transformation, but they did not halt it. English Canadians from Ontario and the Maritimes flooded into western Canada. Within two decades the efforts of the recent arrivals produced a population and society that mirrored the communities from which they had come. By the beginning of the twentieth century, dominant groups within the farm, business and professional sectors of western Canadian society held a well-defined image of who they were. They viewed themselves as loyal British-Canadian subjects and their new home as part of a loyal British-Canadian dominion.¹³

Canada's desire to quickly develop its western territory soon threatened this entrenched national image. Mass immigration to Canada began in the late 1890s. Although interrupted by the First World War, the flow of new settlers continued until the end of the 1920s. Over a forty-year period the population of the prairie provinces increased six-fold. A significant portion of the arriving migrants came from eastern and western Europe. Prairie Canada rapidly changed from a predominantly British-Canadian territory in the 1890s, into a region where approximately half its inhabitants did not boast ethnic British ancestry by the 1920s. During the same time period, provincial institutions and infrastructures were forced to adjust.¹⁴ Not surprisingly, the transformation was not painless. Nativist sentiments increased as British-Canadians strove to maintain their social and economic place within the society they had built. The patriotic demands of the First World War and the financial strain of the economic

¹³ Paul Martin. "Citizenship and the People's World" in Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship, William Kaplan, ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1993), 72-73; Parry, Nationality and Citizenship Laws, 464-471.

recession that followed it only helped to fuel their anxieties and increase their efforts.¹⁵ In Manitoba, the provincial government responded to the crisis by attempting to integrate problematic foreign elements into the dominant British-Canadian culture. The principal device it chose to accomplish this goal was the public school system.¹⁶ The established French speaking, Roman Catholic population of the province was the first group to feel the effects of the growing intolerance. Buoyed by populist support, the Manitoba government attempted to remove their language and religion from the province's school system in 1890.¹⁷ During the decades that followed, newly arrived foreign immigrant groups experienced similar treatment when they encountered the nationalist sentiments of the province's British-Canadian majority.

State controlled compulsory schooling for all members of society was a recent development within Canada. Voluntarism, elitism and parochialism had marked early education throughout British North America. The spreading economic, political and social pressures of the industrial revolution provided incentive for change. Following in the footsteps of their British and American counterparts, mid-nineteenth century English Canadian social reformers looked to publicly funded, state controlled, compulsory education for an instrument with which to shape an economically competitive and socially cohesive community. The trend of enlisting schools to reform society began in eastern and central

¹³ Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 162-219; W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), 234-250.

¹⁴ Friesen, Canadian Prairies, 242-273.

¹⁵ Friesen, Canadian Prairies, 345-347; Howard Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982), 17-60.

¹⁶ Ken Osborne, "One Hundred Years of History Teaching in Manitoba Schools: Part 1: 1897-1927," Manitoba History no. 36 (Autumn/Winter 1998-1999), 9-10.

Canada, but by the turn of the century a regional version of the movement had spread to the West.¹⁸

Pedagogical reform closely followed administrative change. During the first decades of the twentieth century in Canada, two disparate trends were incorporated under the broad rubric of progressive education. The first was an offshoot of modern psychology. Studies of human development had identified stages not only of physical growth, but of intellectual and social maturity as well. Children at different stages of development learned in different ways. The impact of this discovery, though only gradually realised, profoundly changed the way in which education was delivered. Before the middle of the twentieth century, child-centered theories of education had only a minimal effect on the daily operation of Canadian classrooms. But already by the 1920s their vocabulary was being regularly employed to both frame educational debate and justify educational reform.¹⁹

The second trend was an outgrowth of Canada's turn of the century social reform movement. The breakdown of traditional apprenticeship arrangements

¹⁷ Friesen, Canadian Prairies, 215-218.

¹⁸ Paul Axclrod, The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 19-33; Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice, Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 31-32, 98-105; Alison Prentice, The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1977), 15-19; B. Anne Wood, "Canadian Citizenship for a Progressive State" in Canada and Citizenship Education, Keith A. McLeod, ed. (Toronto: Canadian Education Association, 1989), 25; B. Anne Wood, Idealism Transformed: The Making of A Progressive Educator (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), 1-19.

¹⁹ Rosa Bruno-Jofre, "Citizenship and Schooling in Manitoba 1918-1945," Manitoba History no. 36 (Autumn/Winter 1998-1999), 29; Robert S. Patterson, "Progressive Education: Impetus to Educational Change in Alberta and Saskatchewan" in The New Provinces: Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1905-1980, Howard Palmer and Donald Smith, eds. (Vancouver: Tantalus Research, 1980), 176-180; Neil Sutherland, Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada from the Great War to the Age of Television (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 218-219; George S. Tomkins, A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1986), 102-106.

during the nineteenth century caused apprehension. Reformers believed that many children in society were not receiving satisfactory moral and vocational training. Increased delinquency and poverty would be the inevitable result. Vocational training within the public school system was championed as a solution to the problem. By providing schooling for all children, and expanding the school curriculum beyond the purely academic and often archaic prerogatives of traditionally defined knowledge, reformers hoped to create institutions in which all future citizens could be properly trained.²⁰

The Public Schools Act of 1890 laid the foundation of public schooling in Manitoba. It replaced a dual system of French Catholic and English Protestant schools, with a non-denominational, government controlled system.²¹ The law was quickly challenged. French speaking, Catholic Manitobans petitioned the federal government for the reinstatement of their linguistic and religious privileges under the minority education provisions of the British North America Act. The dispute assumed national proportions. Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier tried to alleviate French-English tensions by negotiating a compromise agreement with the Manitoba government of Thomas Greenway in 1897. The Laurier-Greenway Compromise, as it became known, compelled provincial schools to hire Catholic teachers if a significant number of their pupils were Catholic. Students could not be segregated by denomination during the regular school day, but non-compulsory Catholic and Protestant religious instruction was permitted between

²⁰ Axelrod, *Promise of Schooling*, 105-108; Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, 172-181; B. Anne Wood, *Idealism Transformed*, 48-49.

²¹ Richard N. Henley, "The Compulsory Education Issue and the Socialisation Process in Manitoba's Schools: 1897-1916," M.Ed. Thesis (University of Manitoba, 1978), 4.

3:30 and 4:00 p.m. in schools where it was requested. The agreement also required instruction in schools to be given in French, or any language other than English, when it was spoken by ten or more students in a particular school.²²

The result was a system of bilingual state supported schools in which the French language received the same status as any other minority language in the province. Originally, it was thought that French speaking Manitobans and a small population of German speaking Mennonite settlers would be the only groups that would invoke the bilingual clause.²³ The impact of immigration on the province was not considered. Between 1901 and 1911 the population of Manitoba almost doubled. Many of its new inhabitants came from eastern Europe. As they became settled, they began demanding bilingual schools with instruction in Ukrainian and Polish as provided for under the Laurier-Greenway Compromise. The Department of Education was now faced with the administrative nightmare of providing bilingual schools, teachers and textbooks in an assortment of different languages.²⁴

The answer to the problem was sought in the School Attendance Act and Public Schools Act of 1916. The first of these two pieces of legislation tried to ensure that all children between five and fourteen were exposed to the influence of the public school. In reality, exemptions for seeding, harvest work and distance from the nearest school meant that attendance figures did not immediately rise dramatically in rural areas. The second piece of legislation

²² W.L. Morton, Manitoba, 268-272.

²³ *Ibid.*, 351.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 300-313.

enforced unilingual English instruction in all of the province's public schools.²⁵ At last, Manitoba possessed a free, anglophone, non-sectarian, compulsory, state controlled school system. Members of the provincial government were urged to view the new system as a nation building tool. In a 1919 address to the legislature reflecting on the passage of the two education reform bills, Education Minister R.S. Thornton proclaimed, "We are building today for the Canada of tomorrow, and our common school is one of the most important factors in the work."²⁶ His claim was sustained in the operation of the province's public schools over the next decade.²⁷

The public school curriculum authorised by the Manitoba Department of Education between 1916 and 1927 provides a medium through which the informal, historical concept of Canadian citizenship can be examined. The curriculum is a coherent and readily accessible cultural artifact illustrating the concerns and opinions of the provincial government during a transitional period when the ethnic nationalist foundations of western Canadian society were changing dramatically. The 1890 Public Schools Act placed provincial schools under the direction of a government Department of Education and an appointed Advisory Board. In theory, the Advisory Board exercised authority over the school curriculum. Its influence, however, was tempered by the Department of Education's complete control over the system's financial and administrative

²⁵ Ibid., 350-353.

²⁶ Address to the Legislature of Manitoba. 5.

²⁷ Osborne, "One Hundred Years of History Teaching in Manitoba Schools," 10.

aspects.²⁸ In practice, the Advisory Board was dependent on the Department of Education to implement its regulations, and as time went by, the Board delegated more and more of its responsibilities to the Department.²⁹ By 1916 a Programme of Studies for the Schools of Manitoba was being prepared by the Department on a regular basis and distributed to teachers throughout the province. It outlined what could be taught at each grade level and prescribed which textbooks could be used to teach it. A team of Departmental School Inspectors who visited each of the province's schools on a yearly basis enforced adherence to the authorised curriculum. Additional compliance was ensured by the Department's set provincial exams for promotion from grades eight through twelve.³⁰ An officially sanctioned professional publication supplemented this formal curriculum. Through the pages of the Western School Journal, leading educators in the Department endorsed various educational trends, provided teaching suggestions and explained the curriculum guidelines.³¹

The Department of Education's authorised textbooks and Programme of Studies for grades one through eight are the central sources referred to in the following chapters. Where possible, Western School Journal articles, recommended teaching guides and Department reports have also been cited to provide a fuller understanding of the Department's citizenship education agenda. Together these resources compose the province's formal elementary school

²⁸ Alexander Gregor and Keith Wilson. The Development of Education in Manitoba (Dubuque: Kendal/Hunt Publishing Company, 1984). 49-50; Michael William Wall, "The Advisory Board in the Development of the Public School Education in Manitoba." M.Ed. Thesis (University of Manitoba, 1939), 81.

²⁹ Wall, "Advisory Board in the Development of the Public School Education in Manitoba," 96.

³⁰ Gregor and Wilson, Development of Education in Manitoba, 141-142.

³¹ Bruno-Jofre, "Citizenship and Schooling in Manitoba," 27.

curriculum and the support structure through which it was interpreted. They provide insight into the composition of the historic ideal of citizenship in Canada. Their utility is balanced by the limits they impose on the study's extent. The formal curriculum supplies information on what the Manitoba Department of Education wanted to teach. It cannot reveal what was actually taught in the province's classrooms, or what Manitoba students absorbed.

The most notable omission dictated by the nature of the source material is a detailed discussion of the impact of gender on the historic understanding of Canadian citizenship. The traditional rights based approach to citizenship theory is premised on an essentially masculine standard of citizenship. Scholars of female citizenship have tended to focus on the struggle for, and attainment of, this standard set of masculine citizenship rights.³² Given the history of inequality women faced, the dangerous concept of gender differentiated citizenship has usually been avoided in past analysis, and is only now being cautiously reconsidered by feminist citizenship theorists.³³ The Manitoba Department of Education's official curriculum between 1916 and 1927 employed a standard male image of citizenship. The limited material relating to the idea of female Canadian citizenship found in the syllabus and textbooks has been included in the following chapters when available, but for the most part these sources simply ignored the existence of female citizens.³⁴ The absence of female citizenship

³² See for example, Maureen O'Neil, "Citizenship and Social Change: Canadian Women's Struggle for Equality" in Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship, William Kaplan, ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 314-332.

³³ Iris Marion Young, "Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship" in Theorizing Citizenship, Ronald Beiner, ed. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 175-207.

³⁴ Ken Osborne, "Education is the Best National Insurance: Citizenship Education in Canadian Schools Past and Present," Canadian and International Education 25, no. 2 (1996), 45-46; Osborne, "One Hundred Years

models in the formal curriculum does not, however, mean that gender specific citizenship training did not occur. Girls were expected to comprehend male citizenship patterns within the context of socially defined gender roles. In much the same way, boys were often expected to re-cast a female teacher's citizenship example in masculine terms. The Manitoba Department of Education relied on social conditioning to assist students and teachers to reshape the masculine idea of good Canadian citizenship it presented in accordance with traditional sexual stereotypes. This process of re-interpretation was part of the informal curriculum. It is not readily accessible through the official source material and is consequently not fully examined in this study.³⁵

The need for a cohesive body of evidence has had an additional practical impact on the scope of the thesis. The stability of the Programme of Studies between 1916 and 1927 dictates the period of time considered. Before 1916, the existence of bilingual schools impeded the Department of Education's citizenship training efforts. The School Attendance Act and the new Public Schools Act standardised the syllabus all Manitoba children were exposed to. Shortly after these Acts came into effect, agitation for revisions to the Programme of Studies began. In June of 1923 the Manitoba Legislature appointed an Educational

of History Teaching in Manitoba Schools." 20: Nancy M. Sheehan. "Character Training and the Cultural Heritage: A Historical Comparison of Canadian Elementary Readers" in The Curriculum in Canada in Historical Perspective, G.S. Tomkins, ed. (Vancouver: Canadian Society for the Study of Education, 1979), 80.

³⁵ It should be noted that the work of Canadian historians such as Carol Lee Bacchi [Liberation Deferred?: The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983)] and Mary Kinnear [Margaret McWilliams: An Interwar Feminist (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991)] suggests that late nineteenth century and early twentieth century English Canadian feminists possessed a gender specific citizenship ideal that was framed in terms of social service as well as civic rights. This type of ideal mirrors the model of socially responsible citizenship this thesis uncovers in the Manitoba public school curriculum.

Commission to consider "the better adaptation of the Elementary and Secondary schools to the needs of the communities they serve."³⁶ In its 1924 Report, the Commission recommended:

... that a Committee of experts with associates engaged in the agricultural, industrial, commercial and professional life of the province be appointed to revise the course of study with a view to its better adaptation to the purposes of Education.³⁷

The Advisory Board to the Department of Education responded in October of 1924 by appointing a Committee on the Review of the Programme of Studies.³⁸

This Committee submitted an Interim Report in 1926 that dealt with the curriculum for grades one through six.³⁹ The final Report of the Committee was issued in 1927. It outlined the revised curriculum for grades seven through twelve.⁴⁰ Despite the Committee's ongoing work, the public school syllabus remained essentially unchanged during the decade intervening between the passage of the 1916 legislation and the introduction of a new curriculum in 1927 and 1928.

The general nature and relative importance of the elementary Programme further restricts the material considered to the first eight grades of the syllabus. In the first grade, children received instruction in Reading, Spelling, Writing, Arithmetic, Nature Study, Music, Drawing and Colour, Physiology and Hygiene, Physical Exercise and Games, and Manners and Morals. As they progressed

³⁶ Province of Manitoba, Report of the Education Commission (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1924), 4.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 119.

³⁸ "Minute Book Advisory Board September 1, 1916 - December 31, 1925," 362 in Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Manitoba-Education, Deputy Minister Collection, GR 1625 A0053, box 2.

³⁹ Manitoba Department of Education, Interim Report of the Committee on the Review of the Programme of Studies: Grades I to VI (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1926) in Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Education-Deputy Minister Collection, GR 1625 A0053, box 4.

through the elementary grades, Composition, Grammar and Literature supplemented basic English lessons. Geometry and Bookkeeping provided an auxiliary to the study of Arithmetic. Agriculture replaced School Gardening as the framework for instruction in Nature Study, and the more complex subjects of Geography and History were added.⁴¹ All of these courses were believed to impart basic knowledge and skills necessary for productive membership in Canadian society.⁴² In contrast to the general nature of the elementary syllabus, the corresponding high school curriculum specifically prepared students for entrance to university or normal school. Although secondary education became increasingly popular between 1916 and 1927, the majority of Manitobans during this period still ended their formal schooling before grade nine, making the elementary course the most influential portion of the Department's Programme of Studies.⁴³

Three subject areas have traditionally been viewed as particularly relevant to the process of citizenship education. They include language lessons, values instruction and the study of society.⁴⁴ In Manitoba, these topics generated extensive educational commentary and absorbed substantial curriculum space during the 1910s and 1920s. The first three chapters of the thesis examine each of these areas in turn. The first chapter focuses on language instruction during a

⁴⁰ Manitoba Department of Education. Report of the Committee on the Review of the Programme of Studies: Grade VII to XI (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1927).

⁴¹ Manitoba Department of Education. Programme of Studies for the Schools of Manitoba (Manitoba: Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, 1916-1926).

⁴² Osborne, "Education is the Best National Insurance," 37.

⁴³ F. Henry Johnson, A Brief History of Canadian Education (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Company, 1968), 98; Osborne, "One Hundred Years of History Teaching in Manitoba Schools," 4.

⁴⁴ Helen McKenzie, "Citizenship Education in Canada" (Ottawa: Library of Parliament Research Branch, 1993), 4-10; Osborne, "Education is the Best National Insurance," 37.

decade when many pupils did not speak English. It argues that the Department of Education viewed a particular set of supposedly British character traits as an inseparable component of English language fluency. Both were necessary aspects of good Canadian citizenship and both were teachable. The next chapter examines **Manners and Morals** classes. Here the Department's concept of character is dissected and the function of a code of behavior in demarcating good citizenship during the early twentieth century explored. The period's social reform and emerging progressive education movements are used to trace the beginning of a gradual shift in the idea of Canadian citizenship from an ideal based on individual Christian morality to one defined by societal necessity. The third chapter looks at **History and Geography** course material. It outlines the Department's attempt to promote a revisionist form of Canadian nationalism. Ties to Great Britain and the British Empire remained at the core of Canada's national identity, but the need to assimilate the children of foreign immigrants assured that these links were presented as an acquirable intellectual and cultural inheritance, rather than as an ethnicity based emotional bond.

English classes, **Manners and Morals** lessons, and **History and Geography** courses, despite their differing subject material, exhibited a similar understanding of what good Canadian citizenship entailed. The ideals they promoted were based on an increasingly secular and socially defined code of individual conduct. The implications of this essentially social conception of citizenship on the entrenched view of British-Canadian identity are illuminated in the last chapter. It chronicles changes to the Manitoba Department of

Education's Empire Day exercises between 1916 and 1927. Although still linked to a general British cultural and intellectual heritage, these patriotic programs illustrate how a socially defined idea of Canadian citizenship could be interpreted outside of ethnic nationalist boundaries. Loosened from their specific religious and genetic ancestry, British character traits ceased to demarcate purely British, Canadian or even imperial ideals of citizenship, expanding in the inter-war years to include the concept of world citizenship as well. Finally, a brief conclusion draws on the body of theory surrounding the development of citizenship and the evolution of nationalism to place the Department's social ideas of good Canadian citizenship in the context of the conventional history of citizenship in Canada, and the debate surrounding Canadian identity.

Chapter 1

ENGLISH INSTRUCTION - THE LANGUAGE OF CITIZENSHIP

**“Let us look upon language-teaching as an
important step in citizen-making”¹**

¹ Brooke. "Teaching English to the Non-English Speaking Pupil." Western School Journal 13. no. 11 (December 1918). 408.

Manitoba's compulsory public school system emerged in 1916 as the result of a debate over the place of the English language within the province. The bilingual school system that had been in use since 1897 was employed by a number of recently arrived, non-English speaking immigrant groups to maintain the languages of their countries of origin. In 1915 the Superintendent of Education, Charles K. Newcombe, conducted a special inspection of French, German, Ukrainian and Polish bilingual schools to determine "the extent and efficiency of the teaching of the English language."² His Special Report noted that one out of every six school children in Manitoba attended a bilingual school, and that children in these schools exhibited a lesser degree of fluency in the English language than children of non-English speaking parents attending unilingual English schools.³

Newcombe's Report was used by Manitoba's Minister of Education, R.S. Thornton, to argue for the repeal of the bilingual clause in the province's Public Schools Act. The Minister claimed that bilingual schools were a threat to both the nation's and the immigrants' interests.

A grave injustice is being done to the children who do not receive a satisfactory education in English. Without that knowledge they grow up under a continuous handicap. We wish to give them the same consideration as is accorded to our own children, to fit them to earn their way through life, and to take their places as citizens in our Canadian nationality.⁴

² Manitoba Department of Education. Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba, 2nd ed. (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1916), 1.

³ Manitoba Department of Education. Special Report on Bilingual Schools, 1-3: W.L. Morton, Manitoba, 351.

⁴ Address to the Legislature of Manitoba, 5.

The bilingual school system was dismantled because it was incapable of producing an English speaking population. The public school system that took its place had a clear linguistic agenda, to produce English speaking citizens.⁵

After the repeal of the bilingual clause, bilingual instruction was prohibited in Manitoba's public schools. In theory the schools were now teaching English, but the reality of an exclusively English language education for each Manitoba child was not easily achieved. Two major problems faced the Department of Education in implementing unilingual English instruction, uninterested ratepayers and uncooperative school boards. For the Department's work to be effective it first had to ensure that public schools were available to all school age children within the province. Then it had to secure the cooperation of each of the schools in implementing the Department's language policy.

Rural settlers were not always delighted at the prospect of a public school in their district. Often the reason for their reticence was economic. The financial strain school taxes added to already struggling pioneer farms was not always counterbalanced by the perceived benefits of a public education. In other cases the reason for their taciturn response was religious or cultural. In this instance the settlers were usually not opposed to education, just the education the Department provided.⁶ To remedy the reluctance of some districts to operate public schools, the legislature enacted a bill in 1919 that gave the government power to establish school districts without the consent of district ratepayers.⁷ In

⁵ W.L. Morton, *Manitoba*, 351-353.

⁶ Gregor and Wilson, *Development of Education in Manitoba*, 126-129; Osborne, "Education is the Best National Insurance," 39.

⁷ Gregor and Wilson, *Development of Education in Manitoba*, 106.

1924, an amendment to the Public Schools Act also provided some financial relief for schools in poorer districts by disbursing a special grant to these schools.⁸ These two pieces of legislation allowed the Department to extend the public school system throughout the province.

After schools were established, a school board that cooperated with the Department of Education's linguistic and administrative agenda was not guaranteed. If, in the opinion of the Department, the local administration needed to be improved, an Official Trustee could be appointed under the provisions of legislation that had been passed by the provincial government in 1913.⁹ In June of 1919 there were 161 school districts in Manitoba under the direct supervision of an Official Trustee.¹⁰ These districts were almost exclusively settled by non-English speaking immigrants. The Department of Education's 1919 Report bluntly stated that rapid assimilation of non-English settlers was the primary objective of appointing Trustees.

An earnest and successful effort is being made to Canadianize the non-English speaking immigrant. In many cases it has been necessary for the Department, through official trustees, to take over the management of districts, to build and equip schools and residences and engage teachers.¹¹

Once an Official Trustee was appointed, control was only reluctantly returned to a local school board. The Special School Organiser, Ira Stratton, noted in his 1920 report to the Department that "in the Non-English districts there

⁸ Ibid., 107.

⁹ Ibid., 70.

¹⁰ Manitoba Department of Education, Report of the Department of Education (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1919), 12.

¹¹ Ibid., 12.

is often an agitation for a local board."¹² He defended ignoring these requests, reasoning that the people of these districts "are most likely to regard the granting of permission to elect a local board as a triumph rather than as a bonafide undertaking to co-operate with the Department."¹³ The ability to administer a local public school and a desire to follow the Department's policies were viewed as one and the same thing.

The School Inspectors of the period fully supported the Department's efforts. Inspector T.G. Finn commended the appointment of an Official Trustee in a Mennonite district in his division. The appointment pre-empted an attempt by local residents to start a religious school in which German would have been taught. Finn argued that an appointed Trustee was necessary "in order that provision may be made for giving their children the advantages of a good English education."¹⁴ Inspector F.H. Belton's review of the progress of non-English speaking pupils in his division emphasized that "under the official trustee system their general progress compared with those under local control is an emphatic testimonial in favour of the former."¹⁵ Similarly, Inspector M. Hall Jones asserted that "the schools operated under official trustee continue to do good work and to enjoy the advantages of longer time and of far better work in English than when operated under local boards."¹⁶

Inspectors were often responsible for initiating the transfer to Department control. For example, in 1918 Inspector A. Willows pleaded for the appointment

¹² Manitoba Department of Education, Report of the Department of Education (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1920), 145.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 145.

¹⁴ Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1919), 74.

of an Official Trustee for a number of schools in his division. He justified his request on the grounds that "in the schools in non-English communities a sympathetic school board is of vital importance."¹⁷ Three years later his report extolled the transformation that had occurred.

The progress of these schools since the change from local to official control was effected, has been very marked. The schools, which used to be operated under inefficient teachers, at the whim of the local boards, and for a few months of the year only, are now kept in operation throughout the year, the attendance is more regular and local differences, which in the past seriously interfered with both teacher and school, are practically unheard of today.¹⁸

The key area in which a sympathetic school board was needed was the enforcement of unilingual English instruction. In 1918, School Inspectors were still reporting that many local boards in foreign districts continued to operate bilingual schools.

In the mixed schools the teaching of English is generally systematically done, but in schools where the population is all non-English speaking there is a tendency on the part of the teachers to give way to the wish of the parents and to give instruction in the mother tongue of the children part of the day in reading, grammar and composition.¹⁹

Through control over the hiring and monitoring of teachers, the Official Trustee could enforce English only instruction.

The Department of Education's ideal teacher was professionally trained, and fluent in both the English language and the British cultural heritage upon which it was based. With the end of bilingual schooling, the provincial

¹⁵ Manitoba Department of Education. Report (1920). 18.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 66.

¹⁷ Manitoba Department of Education. Report of the Department of Education (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1918), 91-92.

¹⁸ Manitoba Department of Education. Report of the Department of Education (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1921), 76.

government stopped training bilingual teachers.²⁰ W. A. McIntyre, the Principal of the Winnipeg Normal School, assured his superiors in 1917 that such teachers were no longer necessary, since "there are no insuperable difficulties in the matter of teaching English, even where the teacher is the only one in the district who knows the language."²¹ The Western School Journal explained the change in a 1919 article by Saskatchewan educator, J.T.M. Anderson.

We have in the past made serious mistakes. We have induced Ruthenian boys of grades five and six to prepare for the teaching profession. We have helped them through, that they might go back to teach their own people. This was entirely wrong. What we must send is earnest, efficient Canadian teachers, if we would have these children become Canadian.²²

The post-1916 public school system wanted teachers with British or British-Canadian backgrounds. In non-English speaking districts of the province the Department preferred to hire instructors who were unable to speak one word of their pupils' first languages.²³

This new approach represented the victory of the direct method of language instruction over the translation method. The difference between the two techniques was outlined by the Department in its 1918 Report. With the translation method "the teacher explains the meaning of the English language by translating it into the mother tongue of the child."²⁴ In contrast, the direct method called for the exclusive use of English by teachers and students in the classroom

¹⁹ Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1918), 87.

²⁰ Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Ruthenian Schools in Western Canada 1897-1919" in Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West, David C. Jones, Nancy M. Sheehan and Robert M. Stamp, eds. (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1979), 45.

²¹ Manitoba Department of Education, Report of the Department of Education (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1917), 224.

²² J.T.M. Anderson, "Canadianization," Western School Journal 14, no. 6 (June 1919), 215.

²³ Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1917), 279.

and on the school playground. The Department claimed that "by this method the child acquires the language from the teacher in much the same way that he learned his mother tongue at home from his parents."²⁵ A normal school leaflet published in the Western School Journal in 1917 and reprinted in the Journal in 1929 provided sample lessons for English teachers in non-English schools. The leaflet encouraged teachers to use objects, pictures and actions to explain simple words and sentences that students were likely to encounter in their everyday lives. It admonished them that "the one rule is to keep to English while teaching English."²⁶

In an effort to obtain proper English teachers, the Department of Education began a campaign to construct teacher's residences in the period after 1916. These residences were usually built in areas of the province that had been settled by non-English speaking peoples. Teachers' cottages in non-English districts relieved English speaking teachers from "the officiousness of a local school board and the uncertainty of finding suitable board and lodging."²⁷ They quickly came to be viewed as "an essential part of the school plant" in non-English districts.²⁸ The Department boasted in its 1920 Report that it had built 29 residences over the course of the school year. These buildings were believed to "constitute one of the biggest factors in solving the problem of teacher supply."²⁹

²⁴ Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1918), 100-101.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 100-101.

²⁶ "Teaching English to the Non-English," Western School Journal 12, no. 9 (November 1917), 361;

"Teaching English to the Non-English," Western School Journal 24, no. 4 (April 1929), 143.

²⁷ Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1918), 92.

²⁸ Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1919), 144.

²⁹ Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1920), 11.

The Department claimed that, "no matter how backward the district may be a teacher can always be secured where a residence is provided."³⁰

The obvious reason for actively recruiting unilingual teachers was their fluency in the English language. School Inspector J.S. Peach noted in 1919 that "there is no doubt that better results are obtained by an English speaking teacher than by one who speaks the mother tongue of the pupils."³¹ The Special School Organiser, Ira Stratton, claimed that even non-English speaking immigrants were beginning to recognize "that the children trained by such teachers learn the English language so correctly and so fluently as to be under no handicap in after life anywhere in Canada."³²

A less obvious, but equally important motivation for hiring British-Canadian teachers was the example of good Canadian citizenship they provided for foreign immigrants. The Western School Journal argued in a 1920 article that although teaching English to new Canadians was a necessary part of Canadianizing them, they also had to be "captivated by the manner, conduct and general attitude of our people."³³ It was up to the English speaking teacher to charm non-English speaking students and their families into becoming part of the dominant British-Canadian culture. Miss F.L. Ormond, an elementary school teacher from Portage la Prairie, declared that "the school in a non-English community represents Canada, as it is the one institution teaching Canadian customs and

³⁰ Ibid., 11.

³¹ Manitoba Department of Education. Report (1919), 14.

³² Manitoba Department of Education. Report (1917), 279.

³³ "Canadianizing the New Canadians." Western School Journal 15, no. 4 (April 1920), 119.

language."³⁴ She used the pages of the Western School Journal to warn new teachers that their "every act has a national as well as personal significance," since they had become "Canada personified" to the non-English speaking communities in which they worked.³⁵

The task facing teachers in areas of the province settled by non-English speaking immigrants was outlined in a 1929 Western School Journal editorial. The editor started by providing a brief description of the situation the teacher found.

She is out in a one-roomed rural school. She has twenty children under her control. They range from six to sixteen years of age. They are poor, ill-nourished, half-clad. They are strangers to Canada. Their mothers speak no English and the fathers have but a few words used in trade.³⁶

The first task of this young lady "is teaching these children to understand and speak the language of the country."³⁷ However, her job did not stop with this.

The editor proceeded to outline a long list of the ideal teacher's other accomplishments.

She takes them into her teacherage and gives them practice in all the household arts. She reads stories to the little ones and gives pictures of life in other places and other times to the older ones. Above all she causes them to act as members of one big happy family. ... Physically they are cared for, their manners and morals are carefully observed, their taste is cultivated, right habits are built up, the home and the school are happily co-operating. Old customs, unsuitable to this land and this age, are being dropped. Servility is giving way to independence, and fear to affection.³⁸

³⁴ F.L. Ormond, "The Reflex Influence of the School on the Non-English Home." Western School Journal 12, no. 5 (May 1917), 203.

³⁵ Ormond, "Reflex Influence of the School on the Non-English Home." 205.

³⁶ "The Nation Builder." Western School Journal 24, no. 9 (November 1929), 327.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 327.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 327.

He concluded by informing his readers that "this is the teacher who is a true nation builder."³⁹

Manitoba's teachers were often encouraged by the Department of Education to view work in non-English speaking districts of the province as a service to their country. The Western School Journal reminded them of the "ultimate sacrifice" many Canadian soldiers had made during World War One, and called on teachers to be "ready and willing to make the same kind of sacrifice that their fathers and brothers made when they felt the call of duty."⁴⁰ Missionary work was another popular analogy. School Inspector A. Willows felt that the best teachers in foreign districts "possess the true missionary spirit."⁴¹ Inspector G.W. Bartlett's 1920 report explained this comparison.

Some of our teachers are home missionaries in the fullest sense of the word. Living in tiny cottages, isolated from their own kith and kin and from all the comforts and recreations which teachers are in the habit of requiring, they give their lives to the welfare of the communities they serve.⁴²

Manitoba's teachers were engaged in the secular conversion of non-English immigrants to British-Canada's language and culture. Like nineteenth century missionaries who presented their religious messages within a clear cultural sub-text, these teachers provided an English education that went far beyond linguistic mastery.

³⁹ Ibid., 327.

⁴⁰ Katherine E. Smythe. "The Senior Class in the Non-English Schools." Western School Journal 14, no. 6 (June 1919), 249.

⁴¹ A. Willows, "Teachers in Non-English Speaking Communities." Western School Journal 14, no. 1 (January 1919), 16.

⁴² Manitoba Department of Education. Report (1920), 82.

The principal tool for English language instruction was the elementary school Reader.⁴³ Between 1916 and 1927 two different, five-book sets of Readers were authorized by the Manitoba Department of Education. The first of these sets was used until 1922, although the first book of the series remained in the syllabus until 1923.⁴⁴ This set was called the Manitoba Readers. The second set was entitled the Canadian Readers. Reflecting a growing sympathy for a unified national curriculum,⁴⁵ it advertised itself as "authorized for use in the Schools of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia."⁴⁶ Books two through five of this second set were introduced into Manitoba schools in 1922 and continued in use until 1934. The first book of the series was authorized a year later in 1923.⁴⁷ Both sets of Readers recognized that they were often the only text available for teaching spoken and written English in rural schools. The Handbook to the Manitoba Readers informed its users that "even with a single text a teacher can do much, if she supplements every lesson by such exercises and studies as are suggested,"⁴⁸ while the Manual of Method to Accompany the Canadian Reader - Book 1 thoughtfully included a chapter titled, "Suggestions for Introducing English Language Exercises to Foreign Children."⁴⁹

The Manitoba and Canadian Readers continued the practice found in nineteenth century Readers of presenting an eclectic selection of myths, fables,

⁴³ Sheehan, "Character Training and the Cultural Heritage," 77; Tomkins, Common Countenance, 218.

⁴⁴ Manitoba Department of Education, Programme of Studies (1916-1922).

⁴⁵ Tomkins, Common Countenance, 147.

⁴⁶ Handbook to the Canadian Readers (Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons & W.J. Gage & Company, 1925).

⁴⁷ Manitoba Department of Education, Programme of Studies for the Schools of Manitoba (Manitoba: Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, 1923-1934).

⁴⁸ A Handbook to the Manitoba Readers (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1915), 24.

bible stories, literary selections, and historic and geographic vignettes.⁵⁰ The Canadian Reader employed a more strictly controlled vocabulary in its Primer than its precursor, but the other books in the Canadian series exhibited a marked similarity to their Manitoba Reader counterparts. Often the same selections were repeated in both sets of textbooks. The third book of each Reader provides an excellent example. The Manitoba Readers: Third Reader contained 82 separate items.⁵¹ The Canadian Readers: Book III included 74 items, of which 38 percent were repeated from the earlier series.⁵² Pupils who had acquired basic linguistic and reading skills studied the third book in both sets of Readers.

A closer examination of the content of the third grade Readers illuminates the cultural sub-text Manitoba elementary school children were exposed to during daily English instruction. The selections found in the third books of the Manitoba and Canadian Readers were permeated with character lessons.⁵³ Through their stories and poems scholars were repeatedly exposed to examples of proper and improper behavior. The former were portrayed as honorable, desirable, and often materially rewarding. The latter brought shame and disaster to their perpetrators and the communities in which they lived. Although a wide variety of positive behaviors were encouraged, five broad character components were clearly and repeatedly stressed throughout both books. The first of these was a

⁴⁹ Eliza Moore Burnett, Manual of Method to Accompany the Canadian Reader - Book 1 (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1927), 7-20.

⁵⁰ Nancy M. Sheehan, "Indoctrination: Moral Education in the Early Prairie School House" in Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West, David C. Jones, Nancy M. Sheehan and Robert M. Stamp, eds. (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1979), 230; Neil Sutherland, "The New Education in Anglophone Canada: Modernisation Transforms the Curriculum" in The Curriculum in Canada in Historical Perspective, G.S. Tomkins, ed. (Vancouver: Canadian Society for the Study of Education, 1979), 50.

⁵¹ The Manitoba Readers: Third Reader (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, n.d.).

⁵² The Canadian Readers: Book III (Toronto: T. Nelson & Sons & W.J. Gage & Company, 1922).

mentality of self-reliance that manifested itself in hard work and perseverance.

This type of message was illustrated by a classical myth recounted in the Manitoba Third Reader. In this story a man called on the god Hercules to assist him by moving his cart which had become stuck in a rut on the road. Hercules answered the call for help, but when he found that the man had not tried to move the cart by himself, he refused to intervene saying, "I never help those who can help themselves."⁵⁴ Another example was found in a poem titled "Preserver." This selection reminded students that they must work hard if they wish to succeed.

When you've work to do, boys,
Do it with a will;
They who reach the top, boys,
First must climb the hill.⁵⁵

It continued by exhorting the children to cheerfully endure difficulties while striving towards their goals.

Though you stumble oft, boys
Never be downcast;
Try and try again, boys,
You'll succeed at last.⁵⁶

Similarly, a poem found in both the Canadian Book III and the Manitoba Third Reader held up the honey-bee as a good example of industry and hard work.

The moral found in this piece was the warning that "lazy folks never can prosper or thrive."⁵⁷

⁵³ Sheehan, "Character Training and the Cultural Heritage," 79.

⁵⁴ "Put Your Shoulder to the Wheel," in Manitoba: Third Reader, 100.

⁵⁵ "Preserver" in Manitoba: Third Reader, 75.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁵⁷ "The Honey-Bee's Song" in Canadian: Book III, 43 and Manitoba: Third Reader, 197.

The second broad character component found in the Readers was an obedience to authority that was combined with an acceptance of one's place in society. Two stories repeated in both the third level Readers were indicative of this type of conditioning. The first story was a paraphrased version of Robert Browning's poem, "Pippa." Pippa was a girl who lives in a European village called Asola. She was employed in a textile mill where she worked every day of the year, except one. The Readers focused on her one holiday a year.

Now in all the year there was one day they gave her for her own - one perfect day when she could walk in the sweet meadows or wander towards the far, strange hills. And this one precious day was so shining and so full of joy to Pippa that its light shone all about her until the next, making itself into dreams and little songs that she sang to her whirring spools.⁵⁸

Instead of questioning the archaic labor practices of this small European town, Pippa spent her one precious day bringing joy to members of her community by displaying her positive attitude with her situation in life. Her song, "All service ranks the same with God: There is no last nor first," inspired others to work hard at their humble tasks.⁵⁹ The second story was a retelling of the classic myth of Pandora's box. In this selection a willful and disobedient girl released trouble into the world. Although she later repented her naughty behavior, she could not undo it, and the idyllic community in which she lived was forever flawed.

After that the children of the world were happy only now and again instead of all the time; and instead of keeping always young, they grew up to become men and women, and at last grew old and died.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ "Pippa" in Canadian: Book III, 116 and Manitoba: Third Reader, 170-171.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 118 and 172.

⁶⁰ "Pandora's Box" in Canadian: Book III, 176 and Manitoba: Third Reader, 213.

Pureness of deed, mind and body was a third major character lesson taught by the Manitoba and Canadian Readers. Good deeds were presented as the natural extension of a virtuous character. A play in the Canadian Book III illustrated the moral lessons disseminated by many of the selections found in both of the Readers. In "Mercury and the Woodman," the story tells how a poor forester dropped his axe into a river. Mercury offered to retrieve it, but instead first presented the woodsman with a silver and then a gold axe. The woodsman insisted that these axes were not his. The god responded, "You are an honest man, and, as such men are rare, I give you for your own the gold and silver axes. You need fear poverty no more."⁶¹ In contrast, a second woodsman placed in the same situation claimed the golden axe as his own. Mercury punished this second man saying, "You are a dishonest rogue, and you shall receive your reward. This axe goes back to the river to join yours, for which you may dive yourself if you choose."⁶² Pure thoughts and the good deeds they produced were presented as key factors in maintaining a harmonious community. An example of this link was found in "The Brown Thrush," a poem from the Manitoba Third Reader. The bird's song in this poem was interpreted for the students, as a chilling warning that the world's well being was contingent on them.

Oh, the world's running over with joy!
 But long it won't be -
 Don't you know? Don't you see? -
 Unless we're as good as can be.⁶³

⁶¹ "Mercury and the Woodman" in Canadian: Book III, 51.

⁶² Ibid., 52.

⁶³ "The Brown Thrush" in Manitoba: Third Reader, 128.

Physical purity was also proffered as a desirable trait. Both the Manitoba Third Reader and the Canadian Book III used the story of "The Little Chimney Sweep" to highlight the virtue of cleanliness. In this story, a young chimney sweep named Tom, recounts how he looked in a mirror and for the first time in his life knew that he was dirty. His reaction to this knowledge was to "burst into tears with shame and anger."⁶⁴ He felt shame because he knew he should be clean, and anger because he did not have the resources to change his present condition.

The fourth broad character message stressed in the Readers was the need for personal bravery when confronting adversity. The Manitoba Third Reader held up the biblical David and his battle against the giant Goliath as an example of courageous behavior.⁶⁵ The Canadian Book III borrowed from Nelson's Victory Reader to inspire students with a supposedly true story of a young French boy who volunteered to travel behind German lines during the First World War in order to bring back information on enemy troop movements.⁶⁶ Both of the Readers used the story of "The Powder Monkey" to show that bravery was admired and often rewarded by society. This piece focused on the early service of the British sea captain, Sir Cloudesly Shovel. The young Shovel swam through a line of enemy ships to deliver a message that was responsible for winning a battle and saving the British fleet. The Readers confided to their audiences that, "you will not be surprised to learn that this boy, poor and

⁶⁴ "The Little Chimney Sweep" in Canadian: Book III, 212 and Manitoba: Third Reader, 202.

⁶⁵ "David & Goliath" in Manitoba: Third Reader, 67-70.

⁶⁶ "A Plucky Boy" in Canadian: Book III, 182-189.

friendless as he then was, rose to be one of the greatest of the British sea-captains."⁶⁷

The final lesson in character development found in the Manitoba and Canadian Readers was the concept of duty. This last character component was the most significant of the group, since it provided the impetus for all the others. Self-reliance, obedience, morality and bravery were only useful if they were selflessly offered in service for the good of the family, the community, the country and the Empire. The third book of both sets of Readers was saturated with illustrations of the importance and nobility of placing the needs of others over one's personal desires. The Canadian Book III featured a story called "Belling the Cat" in which an entire population of mice was doomed because not one of them was prepared to risk his life attaching a bell to the collar of the household cat.⁶⁸

In contrast, the poem "Little Things" by Charles Mackay showed how a small selfless act could have a substantial effect. The poem recounted in both the Manitoba Third Reader and the Canadian Book III told how when confronted with a little spring,

A passing stranger scooped a well
Where weary men might turn.⁶⁹

Pupils were assured that when doing this,

He thought not of the deed he did,
But hoped that some might drink.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ "The Powder Monkey" in Canadian: Book III, 125 and Manitoba: Third Reader, 118.

⁶⁸ "Belling the Cat" in Canadian: Book III, 9-10.

⁶⁹ Charles Mackay, "Little Things" in Canadian: Book III, 76 and Manitoba: Third Reader, 220.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 76 and 220.

The results of his simple act were profound.

He passed again, and lo! the well,
By summers never dried,
Had cooled ten thousand parching tongues,
And saved a life beside.⁷¹

Mackay's poem taught students that their individual moral actions could generate greater benefits within the larger community.

Historical biography was another popular showcase for the concept of duty.⁷² Both the Manitoba Third Reader and the Canadian Book III contained pieces that focused on historic figures who served either their country or their communities well. Boys could strive to follow the heroic example presented by Lord Nelson.

In the greatest of all his fights this was the signal he made to all ships in the fleet, "England expects that every man will do his duty." At the end of the day he had won the most famous victory which British ships had ever gained, but he himself lay dying from his wounds. His last words were these, "Thank God, I have done my duty."⁷³

Girls were encouraged to model themselves after women like Grace Darling and Florence Nightingale. Grace Darling assisted in the 1838 rescue of the shipwrecked crew of the Forfarshire. School children were assured in the Manitoba Third Reader that since she had risked her life to save the lives of others, "the name of Grace Darling will never be forgotten."⁷⁴ Similarly, Florence Nightingale, the famous Crimean War nurse, was praised in the Canadian Book

⁷¹ Ibid., 76 and 220.

⁷² Osborne. "One Hundred Years of History Teaching in Manitoba Schools." 5-6.

⁷³ "Lord Nelson" in Canadian: Book III, 141 and Manitoba: Third Reader, 165-166.

⁷⁴ "Grace Darling" in Manitoba: Third Reader, 105.

III because "her whole life was nobly spent helping the sick, and especially those who were poor."⁷⁵

Underscoring all the character components reinforced by the selections in the Manitoba and Canadian Readers was the assumption that these desirable qualities were somehow inherently British in nature.⁷⁶ Historic role models found in the Readers were overwhelmingly British. In case students did not consciously recognize this fact, the Readers often stressed the link between nationality and character. For example, the short biography of Sir Philip Sydney found in the Manitoba Third Reader concluded with the statement, "Is it any wonder that, with such men to lead them, British soldiers have done so much for the world?"⁷⁷ Lower level Readers made the connection in a much more direct manner. The first book in both of the authorized sets contained a piece explaining the meaning of the colors found on the Union Jack. Each of these colors was shown to highlight an important aspect of British character.

Red, white, and blue.
 These are the colours of our flag.
 Red says, "Be brave."
 White says, "Be pure."
 Blue says, "Be true."
 Let us think of this when we look at our flag.⁷⁸

Canada, by virtue of its place in the British Empire, and its cultural links to Great Britain, was viewed as an heir to this ideal. The Manitoba and Canadian Readers presented the pristine nature of Canadian surroundings as a perfect

⁷⁵ "The Story of Florence Nightingale" in Canadian: Book III, 70.

⁷⁶ Sheehan, "Character Training and the Cultural Heritage," 79-80.

⁷⁷ "Sir Philip Sydney" in Manitoba: Third Reader, 74.

⁷⁸ "Lesson 83" in The Manitoba Readers: First Reader (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, n.d.), 96; a similar selection is found in "Our Country's Flag" in The Canadian Readers: Book I (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1923), 65.

environment in which children could develop British character traits to their fullest potential. The Manitoba Third Reader displayed such patriotic sentiments in the poem "My Country."

From sea to sea my country lies
 Beneath the splendour of the skies;
 Far reach its plains, the hills are high,
 Its mountains look up to the sky,
 Its lakes are clear as crystal bright,
 Its rivers sweep through vale and height:
 God in his might chose it to be
 The country of the pure and free.⁷⁹

A similar statement was made in the Canadian Book III by the second verse of R. Stanley Weir's famous poem "O Canada."

O Canada! Where pines and maples grow,
 Great prairies spread and lordly rivers flow,
 How dear to us thy broad domain,
 From East to Western sea!
 Thou land of hope for all who toil!
 Thou True North, strong and free!⁸⁰

It was not until the fifth reader that historical examples of Canadian role models were provided for pupils to imitate. English Canadians appeared in the shape of Isaac Brock and Laura Secord.⁸¹ Interestingly, French Canadians, such as Madeleine de Vercheres and Jacques Cartier, were also presented as part of Canada's national patrimony.⁸² Regardless of their backgrounds, the recording of the actions of these heroic figures did not deviate from the model of British character established by the lower level Readers.

⁷⁹ "My Country" in Manitoba: Third Reader, 7.

⁸⁰ R. Stanley Weir, "O Canada" in Canadian: Book III, 7-8.

⁸¹ "Isaac Brock" in The Manitoba Readers: Fifth Reader (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, n.d.), 324-330; Charles Edwin Jakeway, "Laura Secord" in The Canadian Readers: Book V (Toronto: W.J. Gage & Company & T. Nelson & Sons, 1922), 167-169; "Laura Secord" in Manitoba: Fifth Reader, 332-337; Charles Sangster, "General Brock" in Canadian: Book V, 410-411.

Successive waves of immigration before and after the First World War created a multi-ethnic society in Canada's prairie provinces.⁸³ The Manitoba Department of Education was prepared to assume the challenge that the province's recently arrived, non-English speaking population presented. The public school system had been created in 1916 to eliminate bilingual instruction in Manitoba's schools, and the Department directed much of its energy and resources to accomplishing this task. In the battle to make Manitobans English, schools and teacherages were built, Official Trustees were appointed, teachers were trained and monitored, and textbooks were strictly regulated. By 1919 the Department was confident enough in its success that it could offer a self-satisfied account of its accomplishments in a Western School Journal editorial.

In three years to provide accommodation for 6,000 pupils who have not attended school before, to put these children under charge of teachers capable of teaching them English, and of instilling into their minds ideals of loyalty and service, to do this with the good will of the parents and the loyal support of the public generally, is something of which the Department may feel proud.⁸⁴

Despite these results, the work of assimilating foreign immigrant groups into British-Canada's language and culture continued throughout the 1920s. In 1929 the Department was still reporting that "the use of correct conversational English in the non-English districts will be the big problem for many years to come."⁸⁵

The forcing of non-English speaking settlers to acquire fluency in the English language was often justified on the grounds that a single language and

⁸² "Madeleine de Vercheres" in Manitoba: Fifth Reader, 43-47; Thomas D'Arcy McGee, "Jacques Cartier" in Canadian: Book V, 79-81; Francis Parkman, "The Heroine of Vercheres" in Canadian: Book V, 92-97.

⁸³ Friesen, Canadian Prairies, 244-245.

⁸⁴ "The New Canadian," Western School Journal 14, no. 2 (February 1919), 41.

⁸⁵ Manitoba Department of Education, Report of the Department of Education (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1929), 30.

the characteristics associated with it were required to unify the young Canadian nation. School Inspector A. Willows maintained that "we may regard it as a self-evident truth that, without a national language, there can be no great and united nation."⁸⁶ He also asserted that "the most important duty of all is the formation of a child's character."⁸⁷ Consequently, he believed teachers had a patriotic responsibility to work "valiantly and conscientiously" in non-English communities.⁸⁸ A Western School Journal article by Manitoba teacher, Katherine E. Smythe, shared Willows' opinions. Smythe was convinced that prior to the implementation of a unilingual public school system in 1916, the Manitoba government had overlooked the fact that "there can be no united national spirit without unity of language."⁸⁹ She believed that it was the province's duty to see that children of non-English speaking immigrants were "educated in our language, our ideals, our manners and customs; in other words, that they are educated as Canadian citizens."⁹⁰ According to Smythe, only the public school could provide "the great melting pot in which all the various elements are brought together and molded into one united Canadian people, proud of their Canadian citizenship."⁹¹ The Manitoba Department of Education's 1921 Report asserted its support for this view. It declared that in non-English speaking districts "the public school is the agency upon which the state must rely for unifying the people, for promoting good feeling, [and] for developing loyalty to national ideals."⁹²

⁸⁶ Willows. "Teachers in Non-English Speaking Communities." 14.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁸⁹ Smythe. "Senior Class in the Non-English Schools." 247.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 249.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 247.

⁹² Manitoba Department of Education. Report (1921), 94.

Between 1916 and 1927 Manitoba's schools were identified by one of two designations, English or non-English. Despite their constant use of these two terms, the Department of Education's Reports never fully defined them. The most obvious component of being non-English was the inability to communicate fluently using the English language. If a school was English, pupils definitely spoke English.

The terms, however, also accommodated a second non-linguistic interpretation. Englishness suggested membership in a specific nationality that possessed particular cultural characteristics. Accordingly, the designation non-English precluded membership in this select group and consequently implied a lack of certain desirable character traits. The English language and what was believed to be its cultural manifestations could not be separated. It is not surprising that Manitoba educators between 1916 and 1927 tended to speak of language and culture, if not interchangeably, then at least in the same breath. A statement made by a teacher of the period in the Western School Journal is revealing. She noted that "once the English language is mastered untold knowledge is opened up to the child."⁹³ The knowledge provided by English would in turn "bring about the physical improvement and mental progress which we desire to see in the citizens of our glorious empire."⁹⁴ The perceived link between language, physical qualities and mental characteristics led this teacher

⁹³ Brooke, "Teaching English to the Non-English Speaking Pupil." 408.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 408.

to urge her colleges to "look upon language-teaching as an important step in citizen making."⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Ibid., 408.

Chapter 2

CHARACTER EDUCATION - CREATING GOOD CANADIANS

“Most of the teachers have a high appreciation of the importance of their calling and are making conscientious efforts to influence the characters of those entrusted to their care, so that these children may become good loyal Canadian citizens”¹

¹ Manitoba Department of Education, Report of the Department of Education (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1926), 20.

Social, political and economic volatility marked the prairie provinces during the years immediately following the First World War. In Manitoba, unrest culminated in the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.² The province's Department of Education responded to the dispute with an article in the Western School Journal entitled "The Present Unrest - Cause and Remedy." The Journal blamed society's many problems on a wide range of causes, extending from the activities of the capitalists, to the demands of the laborers.³ In contrast, the Department's remedy was clear and uncomplicated.

If we as teachers, will remember that we are the servants of all the people, if we day in and day out join with all beneficent forces of the community in creating and fostering the feeling of good-will, and if we stand for kindness, honesty, patriotism and all other Christian virtues, our work will not be lost.⁴

The Journal noted that public school teachers could "do little perhaps to affect present conditions," but their influence on the nation's future citizens meant they could "surely do something to make life in the next generation more endurable."⁵

The Manitoba Department of Education was not alone in framing what was essentially an economic and political issue within the vocabulary of a moral crisis. Winnipeg's business elite convened a National Conference on Character Education in Relation to Canadian Citizenship shortly after the conclusion of the General Strike.⁶ Their effort was heartily endorsed by the Western School

² Friesen, Canadian Prairies, 348-364.

³ "The Present Unrest - Cause and Remedy." Western School Journal 15, no. 7 (September 1920), 261-264.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 265.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 264.

⁶ T. Mitchell, "The Manufacture of Souls of Good Quality: Winnipeg's 1919 National Conference on Canadian Citizenship, English-Canadian Nationalism, and the New Order after the Great War," Journal of Canadian Studies 31, no. 4 (Winter 1996-1997), 7-8.

Journal.⁷ Its conference report enthusiastically proclaimed that the "great messages" delivered by various "men of international repute" all agreed "moral education is supreme."⁸ According to at least one Department of Education delegate, the recognition of the premise that civil roles must be linked with Christian morality was the Conference's chief accomplishment.

Out of the generally accepted ideals of the ethical teaching of Jesus were to be made actual standards of national conduct, whether for individuals making up the nation or for the nation itself.⁹

Social reformers of the time believed Canadian society would only be repaired if the morality of the individuals it comprised could be renewed.¹⁰ The public school system was perceived to be uniquely qualified to assist with this process of national regeneration. As School Inspector T.G. Finn noted in his 1926 report to the Department, "good loyal Canadian citizens" would be formed in Manitoba's schools, if teachers made a "conscientious effort to influence the characters of those entrusted to their care."¹¹

The acquisition of Christian virtues had been an important aspect of formal education in Manitoba since the province's creation. In 1871 the Act to Establish a System of Public Education in Manitoba was passed by the provincial legislature. It created a single Education Board divided along linguistic and religious lines. The result was a dual system that funneled public funds to a small number of French Catholic and English Protestant parochial schools in which

⁷ "Conference on Character and Citizenship." Western School Journal 14, no. 10 (October 1919), 293.

⁸ "Echoes of the Conference." Western School Journal 14, no. 11 (November 1919), 331.

⁹ McWilliams. "Report of the Meeting of the National Council on Character Education." Western School Journal 15, no. 5 (May 1920), 178.

¹⁰ Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 3-4.

¹¹ Manitoba Department of Education, Report, (1926), 20.

religion was formally taught.¹² During the mid-nineteenth century, social reformers in Ontario had transformed education in that province from an informal, voluntary, church directed activity, into a mandatory, highly structured, government controlled institution.¹³ At the end of the nineteenth century, the Manitoba government sought to adopt a similar model. Legislation enacted in 1890 abolished the province's dual denominational Education Board, substituting a government Department of Education and a government appointed Advisory Board. The revised school system, like its Ontario counterpart, was officially non-sectarian.¹⁴ Under the new legislation formal religious instruction could only be provided when requested by a local school district, and if provided, had to conform to a series of nondenominational exercises set by the Advisory Board.¹⁵ The close association of language with religion in Manitoba complicated the government's early reform efforts. It was not until the bilingual schools were dismantled in 1916 that the Department of Education could completely realize its nondenominational policy.¹⁶

It is important to understand that the switch to nondenominational public school systems did not represent a complete secularization. The Department of Education in Ontario had implemented a program of teaching supposedly

¹² Gregor and Wilson, Development of Education in Manitoba, 31-32.

¹³ Axelrod, Promise of Schooling, 24-33; Houston and Prentice, Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth Century Ontario, 97-123; Prentice, School Promoters, 15-19.

¹⁴ Friesen, Canadian Prairies, 215-218; W.L. Morton, Manitoba, 240-250; Sutherland, "New Education in Anglophone Canada," 50.

¹⁵ Province of Manitoba, Regulations of the Advisory Board Regarding Religious Exercises in Public Schools, Adopted May 21, 1890 (Winnipeg: King's Printer, n.d.), 1-9 in Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Education-Deputy Minister, GR 1625 A0053, box 4.

¹⁶ Gregor and Wilson, Development of Education in Manitoba, 49, 63-64, 105-106.

common Christian values through its public school curriculum.¹⁷ Following this example, the Manitoba Department of Education filled the vacuum left by the removal of denominational religious instruction with a formal course in Manners and Morals. A detailed syllabus for the course appeared in the Department's 1912 Programme of Studies, where it remained unchanged until the revised elementary school curriculum was implemented in 1927.¹⁸ Each year the Department of Education prefaced the course outline with an explicit warning.

Teachers should not fail to inculcate in the minds of all children in the school, (a) Love and Fear of God; (b) Reverence for the name of God; (c) Keeping of His Commandments.¹⁹

Direct religious instruction may have been limited after 1890 to a voluntary half-hour of prescribed bible readings and prayers at the end of the school day, but Christian morality continued to be formally taught in Manitoba's schools through Manners and Morals lessons.²⁰

In contrast to its approach to other curriculum subjects, the Advisory Board did not authorize a student textbook for use when teaching the Manners and Morals course. Instead, the Department of Education relied on an arsenal of alternative instruction material to conquer the problem of values education. A combined force of teacher's guide and course outline formed the core of the assault. The British Moral Instruction League sponsored both. The former was called the Manual of Moral Instruction: A Graded Course of Lessons on Conduct Worked Out on the Concentric Plan and had been written by James Reid. The

¹⁷ McLeod, "Exploring Citizenship Education," 11; Prentice, School Promoters, 66-75.

¹⁸ Manitoba Department of Education, Programme of Studies for the Schools of Manitoba (Manitoba: Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, 1912-1926).

¹⁹ Manitoba Department of Education, Programme of Studies (1916-1922), 4 and (1923-1926), 5.

latter was the League's Syllabus of Moral and Civic Instruction reprinted in the Programme of Studies for the Schools of Manitoba. Manners and Morals teachers were encouraged to arm themselves with a number of optional supplementary resources as well. In the first four elementary grades the Advisory Board suggested morality readers be employed to reinforce character lessons. A Teacher's Hand-Book of Moral Lessons by A.J. Waldegrave was indicated as a particularly appropriate auxiliary resource for grade five and six students, while lessons in the higher elementary grades were expected to use real life, present day or historical situations to illustrate their content.²¹

The philosophy espoused by the British Moral Instruction League was the development of good character based on Christian principles. The League's Syllabus declared that "the aim of moral instruction is to form the *character* of the child."²² Its Manual of Moral Instruction assured users that although "moral questions are here presented entirely apart from theological sanctions," the book would "be found equally suitable by teachers who prefer to treat the moral lesson in connection with the Bible lesson."²³ The League wanted to promote a generic type of Christian character that would be equally applicable to male and female students. Its Syllabus contained only one reference to gender specific character training, insisting that grade seven boys show "special courtesy to all women and girls."²⁴ The general training the Syllabus promoted was countered by the practical reality found in the League's teacher's guide. The Manual of Moral

²⁰ Tomkins. Common Countenance. 148.

²¹ Manitoba Department of Education. Programme of Studies (1916-1926).

²² James Reid, Manual of Moral Instruction: A Graded Course of Lessons on Conduct Worked Out on the Concentric Plan (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, n.d.), 264.

Instruction invariably referred to boys and their actions when presenting individual examples of good and bad conduct. If teachers followed the lessons outlined in the Manual, their female pupils would either have discovered that character education applied only to their male classmates, or more likely, have learned to reinterpret these illustrations for their own benefit within the era's traditional sexual stereotypes.

The League's Manual contained 31 chapters devoted to separate character related subjects. These subjects were first dealt with in a very basic manner, and then at a progressively more complex level as the chapters advanced. The purpose of this concentric plan was to introduce relevant character lessons during the earliest grade in which it was felt they could be comprehended. Initial rudimentary training could then be built on throughout the remaining elementary school years.²⁵ The corresponding Syllabus of Moral and Civic Instruction addressed the same character subjects. Both resources relied on reiteration to insure exposure. Often equivalent or similar lessons reappeared under a variety of subject headings. For example, the topic of proper eating habits was taught utilizing a number of approaches. Grade two students learned "eating and drinking - moderation" through their manners training.²⁶ Children in grade five were taught "temperance in eating" during classes devoted to prudence,²⁷ while

²³ Ibid., vii.

²⁴ Manitoba Department of Education, Programme of Studies (1916-1922), 21 and (1923-1926), 23.

²⁵ Reid, Manual of Moral Instruction, vi.

²⁶ Manitoba Department of Education, Programme of Studies (1916-1922), 7 and (1923-1926), 8.

²⁷ Ibid., 16 and 17.

grade eight pupils studied diet as part of their thrift lectures on "simplicity of living."²⁸

The hodgepodge of lessons found in the Syllabus and Manual subjected Manitoba public school children to a multitude of character influences. Individually each lesson provides little insight into the type of character that the Department wanted to promote, but when viewed together an overall pattern of correct behavior emerges. The analysis of English language Readers used concurrently in Manitoba schools identified five broad character components reinforced during language lessons. These five components were a mentality of self-reliance, an acceptance of the authority of the existing social order, the ability to bravely and cheerfully confront adversity, respect for mental and physical purity, and a well-developed sense of duty.

A related, though not identical, arrangement of character training objectives is visible throughout the content of the Manitoba Department of Education's Manners and Morals course. Self-reliance was again emphasized. The course approached the teaching of self-reliance from two directions. The first approach was through work. The Syllabus of Civic and Moral Instruction called for the study of useful occupations in grade six to impress on students "the dignity of labor."²⁹ The disgrace of idleness was also covered. The Manual urged teachers to "lead up to the idea of the universality of work" by using honeybees as an example.³⁰ Each bee worked for the hive, or was "cast out and stung to

²⁸ Ibid., 25 and 27.

²⁹ Ibid., 19 and 20.

³⁰ Reid, Manual of Moral Instruction, 146.

death."³¹ The second approach pointed to thrift. Prudent spending and investing were addressed by the Syllabus with scheduled lessons on "the evils of debt,"³² and "how and why to save."³³ Once again, teachers were asked by the Manual to describe a bee. This time the bee was pictured "storing up honey for the winter," thereby insuring its future self-reliance.³⁴

The creation of a useful and productive workforce was a primary goal of the Manners and Morals course. According to the Manual of Moral Instruction "the only man to be despised is the idler or trifler."³⁵ Two justifications were supplied for this condemnation.

He is to be despised because he is (1) useless; he does not help his fellow-men; and (2) a burden upon others. The idle classes live on the work of others, beg from door to door, and fill our work houses and our prisons.³⁶

The Department of Education attempted to prevent the formation of such idlers and triflers by the development of a cluster of habits of industry among public school students.

Self-reliance could only be achieved through the exercise of self-control. Self-control was defined by the teacher's guide as "the habit of training the mind to control the body in all its movements."³⁷ It was the progenitor of all of the other habits of industry. Thoroughness, diligence, perseverance and punctuality could be learned by harnessing self-control to accomplish "hard or distasteful

³¹ Ibid., 146.

³² Manitoba Department of Education. Programme of Studies (1916-1922), 25 and (1923-1926), 27.

³³ Ibid., 22 and 24.

³⁴ Reid, Manual of Moral Instruction, 46.

³⁵ Ibid., 150.

³⁶ Ibid., 150-151.

³⁷ Ibid., 211.

tasks."³⁸ The school day, with its strict routines and assigned class work offered ample opportunity for practice. It provided the perfect training for future employment.³⁹

Habits of industry were only effective when combined with a willingness to participate in the economic functions of the nation. The Manners and Morals course sanctioned a model of social interaction based on respectful obedience that mirrored the material found in the prescribed English Readers. Lessons began in the first year of school attendance. Grade one students learned to treat teachers and parents with kindness.⁴⁰ Displays of gratitude were expected from pupils in grade two.⁴¹ By grade four, "immediate and hearty obedience to parents and teachers" was demanded,⁴² while grade five classes studied "the justification for restraint and punishment in the home and the school."⁴³ As the children matured, their concept of authority was forced to expand from the small circle of their parents and teachers, to include their nation, government and sovereign. At the same time, the nation's courts and the rule of law they upheld superseded the rules and regulations of the students' individual homes and local schools.⁴⁴ Manners and Morals classes did not question existing social structures. Rather, they instructed future citizens how to best function within them.

³⁸ Manitoba Department of Education, Programme of Studies (1916-1922), 13 and (1923-1926), 14.

³⁹ Osborne, "Education is the Best National Insurance," 34.

⁴⁰ Manitoba Department of Education, Programme of Studies (1916-1922), 4 and (1923-1926), 6.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 7 and 8.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 13 and 14.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 16 and 17.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 13, 19, 22 and 14, 20, 23.

The Department's English Readers taught students to stoically confront adversity, its Manners and Morals course demanded a similar attitude toward the pursuit of proper deportment. Future Canadian citizens needed to be polite, cheerful and temperate. The Department of Education strove to make the application of these three qualities a routine part of the disposition of all its elementary students. The habit of politeness was taught through formal manners lessons. Correct modes of speaking, eating, playing and behaving in public places were all popular topics.⁴⁵ In contrast, the habit of cheerfulness was taught obliquely under headings like fairness, courage and will. Grade two students practiced cheerfulness by showing an "ungrudging disposition, especially when favors are distributed," and by the "cheerful endurance of little pains and discomforts."⁴⁶ When these children reached grade five they were told to replace all grumbling and fault finding with cheerfulness and contentedness.⁴⁷ By grade eight they were expected to have recognized "the value and beauty of an ideal for life" that both brought "the highest degree of happiness," and created "enthusiasm for disagreeable duties."⁴⁸ Habits of politeness and cheerfulness were not easily mastered. Self-restraint and moral courage were both necessary for the level of stoicism they required.

Self-control was an important prerequisite for temperance training as well. The habit of temperance entailed the avoidance of extremes. Its influence was supposed to permeate all aspects of a developing citizen's future life. Personal

⁴⁵ Ibid., 4, 7, 9, 13 and 5, 8, 10, 14.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 7 and 8.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 15 and 16.

⁴⁸ Reid, Manual of Moral Instruction, 260-261.

emotion was the first casualty of temperance lessons. The Manners and Morals Syllabus insisted on the elimination of all quarrelsome impulses. Students were to avoid feelings of willfulness, peevishness, obstinacy or sulkiness. If their powers of self-restraint failed to meet this internal goal, they were to at least insure that none of these emotions became observable in their outward demeanor.⁴⁹ Self-image was the next target. Both conceit and shyness were summarily condemned as unconscionable displays of emotional excess.⁵⁰

Another topic tackled was the formation of opinion. The exercise of "charitableness of thought,"⁵¹ and the practice of "forbearance; contentedness; forgiveness" were demanded during dealings with others.⁵² Students were also encouraged by the Syllabus to show "respect for differences of opinion," while at the same time shunning dangerous extremes of bigotry and fanaticism.⁵³ Individual lifestyle was the last arena to feel the impact of temperate habits. Eating was to be controlled by a "preference for plain and wholesome fare."⁵⁴ Entertainment was to be curtailed "by a choice of friends, literature and amusements."⁵⁵ Comportment was to be defined by "quietness, unobtrusiveness, patience in waiting."⁵⁶ All else was to be marked by an "avoidance of extravagance and wastefulness."⁵⁷ A stoic effort to overachieve in

⁴⁹ Manitoba Department of Education. Programme of Studies (1916-1922), 10 and (1923-1926), 11.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 15 and 16.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 19 and 20.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 13 and 14.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 19 and 20.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 10 and 11.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 21 and 23.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 7 and 8.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 19 and 20.

the pursuit of personal and material modesty was a true sign of a good Canadian.

As with English language instruction, the concept of purity was also central to Manners and Morals training. The Department of Education's course taught future citizens to idolize purity in action, thought and physical well being. Pure actions were delimited by habits of truthfulness and honesty. The Manual of Moral Instruction informed teachers that the habit of truthfulness "is a mark of high character,"⁵⁸ and that honest conduct "is right and gives us a good conscience."⁵⁹ Upright behavior was believed to spring from upright thoughts. The Manual used the problem of swearing and slang in speech to explain the connection between mind and deed.

If a child goes for water, and the water he brings back is dirty, the place from which the water comes must be dirty. Words come from the mind. They are *thoughts*. The mind must be bad if words are bad.⁶⁰

In its attempt to insure pure action through pure thinking, the course Syllabus recommended the "checking of evil thoughts,"⁶¹ and the practice of fairness in "thought, speech and action."⁶² By the end of the eighth grade the Department hoped to have formed future citizens who were "living for truth,"⁶³ convinced of "the progress of truth,"⁶⁴ and prepared to always do the right "intelligently, unhesitatingly, thoroughly, cheerfully and zealously."⁶⁵

⁵⁸ Reid, Manual of Moral Instruction, 15.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁶¹ Manitoba Department of Education, Programme of Studies (1916-1922), 10 and (1923-1926), 11.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 13 and 14.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 19 and 20.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 22 and 24.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 25 and 27.

Physical purity was viewed as an extension of mental purity. According to the Manual of Moral Instruction "a good character is one of the best guarantees of a healthy body."⁶⁶ Conversely, a healthy body was believed to shape a good character. If teachers desired a more thorough explanation of the link between physical and ethical well being, they could turn to the Western School Journal. In 1920, School Inspector R.M. Stevenson published an article titled "Character Building." It outlined the mechanics behind physically induced moral degeneration.

Conditions are more favorable to character development when the body is in health. When the child is fatigued, where vitality is low the child becomes inattentive and irritable. Undesirable qualities manifest themselves which tend to become habitual.⁶⁷

A few months later Stevenson's reasoning was followed to its logical conclusion by J.M. McCutcheon's article, "The Relation of Physical Education to Moral Development."

Even simple and temporary physical disturbances or ailments often cause marked perversions of the moral sense, characterized by irritability of temper, moroseness, depression, or loss of self-control, while chronic organic disease not infrequently leads to crime.⁶⁸

Considering the potential effects, it is not surprising the Manual of Moral Instruction insisted that "care of the body is a moral duty."⁶⁹

The advance towards physical purity was led by a cleanliness campaign. The Syllabus of Moral and Civic Instruction called for the development of habits of personal cleanliness. Care of hair, eyes, ears, nose, teeth, hands, feet and

⁶⁶ Reid. Manual of Moral Instruction. 42-43.

⁶⁷ R.M. Stevenson. "Character Building." Western School Journal 15, no. 5 (May 1920), 195.

⁶⁸ J.M. McCutcheon. "The Relation of Physical Education to Moral Development." Western School Journal 15, no. 7 (September 1920), 290.

clothes all received special attention.⁷⁰ The Department of Education even recommended that teachers conduct daily health inspections to monitor conformity with health rules.⁷¹ Habits of tidiness in the home, school and street were also to be firmly installed by the end of the third grade.⁷² Despite the significant role cleanliness habits played, they were not the only factor believed to control physical purity. Grade six pupils studied the "harmfulness of juvenile smoking" in their Manners and Morals classes,⁷³ while their grade seven counterparts tallied "the cost of drink to the nation."⁷⁴ These students learned tobacco and alcohol were ruinous to both personal and societal well being. It was the teachers' responsibility to insure that bad habits like these were not formed during the period in which good habits were being developed.

At the core of the Department of Education's Manners and Morals program was the acquisition of the same habit of responsible service promoted by the English Readers. The Manual of Moral Instruction divided training in this area between two distinct but related chapters. The first was titled "Love."

⁶⁹ Reid, Manual of Moral Instruction, 42-43.

⁷⁰ Manitoba Department of Education, Programme of Studies (1916-1922), 4, 7 and (1923-1926) 4.

⁷¹ Bureau of Education, "Credit for Health Habits," Western School Journal 21, no. 8 (October 1926), 907; Mary Chayer, "Co-operation Between Teacher and School Nurse," Western School Journal 19, no. 6 (June 1924), 9; "Correlating Health with Required Curriculum Subjects," Western School Journal 22, no. 7 (September 1927), 259; "Course of Study for Grade I," Western School Journal 15, no. 8 (October 1920), 329; "Health by Example," Western School Journal 24, no. 6 (June 1929), 215; "Health Devices Used by Manitoba Teachers," Western School Journal 23, no. 2 (February 1928), 72; "Health Teaching in Rural Schools," Western School Journal 16, no. 5 (May 1921), 621; M.M. Huesing, "Happy Health Habits," Western School Journal 24, no. 7 (September 1929), 276; "Keeping the Health Habit Record," Western School Journal 24, no. 3 (March 1929), 116; Helen M. Kennan, "Another Suggestion for the Morning Health Inspection," Western School Journal 24, no. 7 (September 1929), 277-278; Inez Mullen, "Barbers and Janitor Lend Hand to Crusade," Western School Journal 21, no. 6 (June 1926), 839; "A Parade of Clean Children," Western School Journal 21, no. 8 (October 1926), 930; Public Health Nurses' Department of the Manitoba Provincial Board of Health, "Ventilation," Western School Journal 19, no. 2 (February 1924), 867, 870; "The Sanitary Brigade," Western School Journal 24, no. 4 (April 1929), 161.

⁷² Manitoba Department of Education, Programme of Studies (1916-1922), 7, 9 and (1923-1926), 7, 10.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 19 and 20.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 22 and 24.

Teachers learned from the Manual "that love is the keystone of a beautiful character, holding all the rest together."⁷⁵ The abstract virtue was made comprehensible to younger children by equating it with the concrete practice of selfless behavior. The Manual suggested early elementary grade teachers tell their pupils "love is unselfishness," expressed through "thinking of others, doing kind things to others, and sharing what we have with others."⁷⁶ Love and the unselfish actions it generated formed "the cement of society."⁷⁷ Later grades were told that "love of country and desire for each other's welfare keeps people together to make a nation."⁷⁸

The second chapter focused on duty. The Manual explained that duty was "what we ought to do in return for what we have received."⁷⁹ The debt that citizens owed to their society was all encompassing. Food, shelter, education, employment, protection, and even knowledge of right and wrong were all given to future citizens with the understanding that they would repay society by doing their duty at all costs.⁸⁰ When combined with an unselfish nature, a well-developed sense of duty produced sentiments of personal responsibility that were manifested through the habit of selfless service.

The idea of chivalry was employed by the Syllabus of Moral and Civic Instruction to help teach this habit. The seventh grade learned that chivalry was the "devotion of the strong to the weak."⁸¹ Preceding grades may not have been

⁷⁵ Reid, Manual of Moral Instruction, 92.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 91.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 97.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 97.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 179.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 183.

⁸¹ Manitoba Department of Education, Programme of Studies (1916-1922), 21 and (1923-1926), 23.

able to quote this definition, but they readily understood the type of conduct it entailed. The Syllabus identified a variety of inferior groups within society deserving of special care. Animals, elderly and very young people, physically and mentally handicapped individuals, and the entire female population were all presented as worthy recipients of the students' chivalrous impulses.⁸² In the higher elementary grades the obligation to assist at the personal level was subsumed into a comprehensive ideal of patriotic service. Students in grade five studied the contribution of local fire brigades, hospitals, and other public institutions to the welfare of their local communities.⁸³ Grade six classes focused on "how to serve one's town or village,"⁸⁴ while grade seven pupils asked, "how each individual may serve his country and posterity."⁸⁵ Through their Manners and Morals education, future citizens learned to place the well being of others ahead of their personal desires, and to submit individual needs, to the requirements of the community.

It is tempting to use the character objectives identified in the Manners and Morals course material to demarcate the Manitoba Department of Education's interpretation of good character. Virtues like industry, obedience, temperance, honesty and duty were, after all, key aspects of the type of citizen the Manitoba Department of Education was trying to promote. A list does not, however, reveal the complex relationship between these traits. Individual character components tended to flow from one objective to another. Their permeable nature is

⁸² Ibid., 4, 7, 10, 13, 16, 21-22 and 6, 8, 11, 14, 17, 23-24.

⁸³ Ibid., 15 and 16.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 19 and 20.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 22 and 23.

illustrated by the disorder surrounding the Manual of Moral Instruction's attempts to outline topics within discrete chapters. A person "who is thorough and painstaking in his work" was, according to the Manual, also "honest and true in his character."⁸⁶ Industry itself was depicted as a moral responsibility where the performance of "our daily work to the best of our ability" was part of "the sum of common duty."⁸⁷ Similarly, the Manual of Moral Instruction assumed that children with good manners would be unselfish as well.⁸⁸ Unselfishness, in turn was shown to improve "when it rises to self-denial and self-sacrifice."⁸⁹ Another virtue of self-denial was that it led "to health of body."⁹⁰ A healthy body was, of course, also an important prerequisite for industrious behavior, since its absence "keeps people from being cheerful, and cheerfulness is a great help to work."⁹¹ Good character was not merely a select number of discrete traits that could be individually acquired and applied. Rather these traits were entangled in a complex web of dependency that supported and connected them. Each component of good character could only operate perfectly and be developed properly in concert with all the others.

A list of individual traits also ignores the manner in which character was perceived to function within an individual. A group of chapters from the Manual explain the mechanics of character in action. In the chapter titled "Decision," teachers of the higher elementary grades were asked to present life as a series of choices that students would be forced to make. The Manual warned that each

⁸⁶ Reid. Manual of Moral Instruction, 165.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 183.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 116.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 99.

decision "may alter the whole course of the future, even though it seem unimportant."⁹² To help assure that the right choice was made for each decision encountered, teachers were instructed to instill in their pupils the desire "to do the right always,"⁹³ and to develop in them "the habit of deciding promptly in favour of the right."⁹⁴ Together these two operations produced good character.

The desire to do the right always was explained in the Manual of Moral Instruction as a type of drive gear motivating an individual's will power. For the mechanics of character to function properly the individual had to possess a moral guide that controlled motivation. According to the Manual, this was provided by "the highest authority on conduct," personal conscience.⁹⁵ The chapter on "Conscience" assured teachers that "the feeling of right and wrong is a natural gift within us."⁹⁶ Conscience could be degraded and even completely lost if it was neglected and subjected to the influence of bad examples, but it could also be refined if nurtured and directed.⁹⁷ While conscience provided a guide for behavior, will power was assigned the role of the mental and physical energy source needed to generate upright decisions and correct conduct.⁹⁸ Teachers were informed in the chapter titled, "The Will" that this power could only be harnessed in their pupils through proper and repetitive exercise.

⁹⁰ Ibid.. 214.

⁹¹ Ibid.. 42.

⁹² Ibid.. 236.

⁹³ Ibid.. 238.

⁹⁴ Ibid.. 239.

⁹⁵ Ibid.. 255.

⁹⁶ Ibid.. 252.

⁹⁷ Ibid.. 252-254.

⁹⁸ Ibid.. 240.

The will may be set toward good character by perseverance, so that it becomes almost impossible for it to act in a wrong way. A good man is one who habitually sets his will in the right direction.⁹⁹

The role of conscience and the power of will meant that the logic behind character use and training tended to be circular. On one hand, a child's character could only be as good as the moral sense directing it. On the other hand, the best way to develop a child's moral sense was through the exercise of good character.

The approach to character education adopted by the Manitoba Department of Education prior to 1927 targeted both aspects through a potent form of moral indoctrination that relied on direct instruction and indirect inducements.¹⁰⁰ Winnipeg Normal School Principal, W.A. McIntyre, summarized the formula employed in a 1917 Western School Journal article.

The responsibility of the school in this matter is very great. It must give instruction, and very careful instruction, because ideals of conduct are so varied; it must supply motive, because knowledge alone does not always ensure right performance; and it must provide opportunity for right action, because impression is perfected only in expression, and because the thing done rather than the thing talked about is what becomes part of life.¹⁰¹

Formal Manners and Morals lessons used direct moral instruction to implant in the conscience intangible principles and values. Teachers were expected to use the Manual of Moral Instruction's "judiciously-conducted study of principles of right and wrong in action" to convince students that morally correct behavior was

⁹⁹ Ibid., 249-250.

¹⁰⁰ Ian Kupchenko and Jim Parsons, "Ways of Teaching Values: An Outline of Six Values Approaches" in Canada and Citizenship Education, Keith A. McLeod, ed. (Toronto: Canadian Education Association, 1989), 108-112; Sheehan, "Indoctrination," 231-232.

¹⁰¹ W.A. McIntyre, "Public and Private Morals," Western School Journal 12, no. 10 (December 1917), 411.

superior to an immoral lifestyle.¹⁰² Classroom lessons were then reinforced by the daily exercise of will power on conduct. The tangible behavioral goals cataloged in the Syllabus of Moral and Civic Instruction helped teachers with this form of indirect training by furnishing guidelines for student behavior and supplying a measure against which progress could be evaluated.

Habits formed the bridge between the underlying morals and observable manners required by the course. The Department assumed the will of a child could be trained to naturally follow predetermined patterns by the forced repetition of correct modes of behavior. The teachers' guide explained the logic behind this assumption using the metaphor of a stream.

A stream running downhill makes a track for itself, and the water that follows takes the same track, till it sometimes cuts a deep gorge.¹⁰³

A similar response was believed to occur physically within the brain structure of each schoolchild.

Every time a thought finds expression a path is made in the brain. The same action repeated deepens the path, and is easier to perform. This goes on gradually till the action is performed without conscious thought or effort. It is then called habit.¹⁰⁴

Good character functioned as a woven filter of habits based on secularised Christian beliefs. It provided a screen through which all events were viewed and all actions automatically sifted. The various ethical principles behind an action or emotion did not need to be dissected, nor did their moral ramifications need to be

¹⁰² Reid, Manual of Moral Instruction, v.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 227.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 232.

contemplated. Citizens who possessed good character could be depended on to know intuitively how to feel and respond in any situation.

The Manners and Morals course viewed individual conduct as the foundation of national life. Teachers were encouraged to teach a doctrine of rewards and punishments. Good character rewarded the individual and the larger community. Bad character damaged both. An example taken from the Manners and Morals course material illustrates how the link between personal and national welfare was forged. The section devoted to truthfulness in the Manual of Moral Instruction began with the admonition that "though it causes us pain, though it brings difficulty, though it makes people dislike us, we should always be strictly and frankly truthful."¹⁰⁵ It was the teachers' job to show despite its arduous observance, truth still remained the best policy. Formal lessons concentrated on the material and social advantages personal truthfulness actualized for the individual over the long term. Students were informed that truthfulness was necessary for their personal financial success, since "people in business deal, if they can, only with a truthful man."¹⁰⁶ They were also told that only truthful behavior would promote friendships and warned "untruthfulness shuts us off from others."¹⁰⁷ The teacher was then directed to expand on the topic by utilizing examples from local community life emphasizing the impact of truthfulness on society.

Show how disastrous it would be if all men were untruthful.
Teacher, doctor, clergymen must be scrupulously truthful men. Our

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 15.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 14.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 15.

accurate knowledge of many things depends on these men telling the truth, so far as they know it.¹⁰⁸

Direct moral instruction was used in this way to connect the ideas of moral, personal and social advancement in the minds of Manitoba school children. If each individual acted in compliance with standards of good character, together their actions would accrue to form a moral society and a good nation.

Its focus on individual character meant **Manners and Morals** course material tended to ignore skills needed for individuals to work in concert. To counteract the problem, the Department of Education promoted the fostering of cooperation alongside its character training agenda. W.A. McIntyre, as editor of the Western School Journal and Principal of the Winnipeg Normal School led the way. His 1918 report to the Department highlighted the importance of character education, noting "the war has brought out more clearly than anything else could, the need of developing in pupils right moral ideals and habits."¹⁰⁹ He continued by arguing that the public school system had an additional responsibility to "make all social co-operative action kindlier and more efficient."¹¹⁰ In his 1921 report he again asserted that "changing conditions" necessitate an increased emphasis on "training for co-operative activity."¹¹¹ He explained in a Western School Journal editorial how cooperation should be incorporated into the schools' character development efforts.

If, in any school a pupil's selfishness is unrestrained he will carry over the same spirit into society and be a menace to peace and safety, but if as a child he learns to submit his will to the will of the

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 14.

¹⁰⁹ Manitoba Department of Education. Report (1918). 120.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 121.

¹¹¹ Manitoba Department of Education. Report (1921). 93.

group, if he learns to reverence law and order, and to be industrious and honest, then he may be depended upon as a neighbor and a citizen.¹¹²

The Department's use of progressive education rhetoric coated the curriculum's solid framework of social reform and secular Christian morals education with a veneer of collaborative sentiment. In 1921 the address to the Manitoba Education Association by J.A. Draper may have claimed that "the question then for us to consider is how to develop the child toward social ideals, so that he may contribute his best to the community."¹¹³ However, the solution remained unchanged. Teachers, Draper said, simply needed to find better ways "to teach truthfulness, politeness, kindness, fairness, honesty, and all the other social and moral qualities essential to the best interests of the community."¹¹⁴

As the 1920s advanced, the emphasis on progressive education increased. The movement was fueled by child-centered pedagogical trends originating in the United States. While the ideas of experimentalists like John Dewey were perhaps not as heartily endorsed by the Canadian education establishment as they were south of the border, the language of progressivism dominated much of the Manitoba Department of Education's work by the close of the decade.¹¹⁵

¹¹² "The School and Community Life," Western School Journal 18, no. 3 (March 1923), 494.

¹¹³ J.A. Draper, "The School and the Social Life of the Pupils," Western School Journal 16, no. 9 (November 1921), 734.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 734.

¹¹⁵ Bruno-Jofre, "Citizenship and Schooling in Manitoba," 29; Robert S. Patterson, "A History of Teacher Education in Alberta" in Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West, David C. Jones, Nancy M. Sheehan and Robert M. Stamp, eds. (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1979), 204-205; Patterson, "Progressive Education," 176-180; Sutherland, Growing Up, 218-219; Tomkins, Common Continnence, 102-106.

Interpersonal relationships, not individual morals were the essence of the new approach to citizenship development.¹¹⁶ An editorial appearing in the Western School Journal in 1927 started with the premise that "the school is not a question of teacher and pupil, but of society and its members."¹¹⁷ The editor contended Manners and Morals instruction should remain a component of social education in the classroom, but insisted the habits of correct behavior it created encompass more than individual moral conduct.

The teacher may present ideals of behaviour by formal talks, by incidental reference, by readings from history and literature, by memory gems, by Bible stories. She will not only instruct but get pupils to form decisions. She will not be satisfied until a judgement ripens into a habit, and above all she will make it a habit in all matters affecting the school to think and cause the children to think in terms of the whole group.¹¹⁸

As the growth of students' personalities slowly achieved more prominence than the condition of their souls, efforts at socialization gradually began to replace attempts at character training. By 1928 the Manitoba Department of Education was proudly reporting "our schools are attempting to train the pupils as a group in social living through school activities."¹¹⁹

The transformation of Manitoba's curriculum in response to the progressive education movement began in 1923 when an Educational Commission was convened to determine how public schools could better serve their communities.¹²⁰ A revision of the entire curriculum was recommended. The

¹¹⁶ Barry Ferguson, "Progressive Education, Citizenship Training and the Decline of Nationalism in Manitoba" (Unpublished Paper, 1997), 7-8.

¹¹⁷ "Social Education," Western School Journal 22, no. 4 (April 1927), 121.

¹¹⁸ "Social Education," 122.

¹¹⁹ Manitoba Department of Education, Report of the Department of Education, (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1928), 26.

¹²⁰ Province of Manitoba, Report Education Commission, 4

"principles that underlie good character and right conduct" were one of several areas identified by the Commission as deserving of special attention within the new Programme of Studies,¹²¹ but significant methodological changes were suggested. Instead of "being confined to periods set apart for formal exercises," the moral purpose of the school was now supposed to "pervade every activity of the day and determine the spirit and atmosphere in which all work is carried on."¹²² Direct moral indoctrination was to be replaced by indirect character influence.

The Committee that was eventually struck to revise the curriculum also supported a traditional view of the function of character. Its Interim Report argued that good character was based on three factors. The first was on "a strong intellectual grasp of principles."¹²³ The second was on the acceptance of these principles "as a standard of conduct," and the third, on their assiduous application in practice "owing to habits in the will."¹²⁴ The difference between the Committee on the Review of the Programme of Studies' conception and the preceding Educational Commission's view of character was the former's incorporation of progressive jargon. Although character was believed to contain "the nucleus of principles which determine the general trend of life,"¹²⁵ the Committee urged it be developed as "the essential element in personality."¹²⁶

In its final Report published in 1927, the Committee on the Review of the Programme of Studies abandoned all reference to character education. The

¹²¹ Ibid., 68.

¹²² Ibid., 68.

¹²³ Manitoba Department of Education, Interim Report Programme of Studies, 36.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 36.

purpose of the province's secondary schools was instead defined in terms of social efficiency.

Someone has said that there has been little change during the past thousand years in the physical or mental powers of the individual, but that the great development during that era has been in the matter of functioning as organized groups. The secondary school is a training ground where the individual learns as he can learn nowhere else to subordinate his own personal desires to the general good, to utilize his individual energy to the same end and to live as one of a group.¹²⁷

In a curriculum that was driven by the grade eight examination, the Department's Manners and Morals course carried little prestige.¹²⁸ No exam was given in the subject, leading the Education Commission to admit in 1924 that "formal instruction in Manners and Morals, as outlined in the Course of Studies, does not seem in actual practice to be a vital part of school training."¹²⁹ By 1929 the Manners and Morals course had disappeared from the official Programme of Studies for the Schools of Manitoba.¹³⁰

The period between 1916 and 1927 was one of transition for the Manitoba Department of Education's approach to citizenship training. While the basic habits expected of future citizens remained unaltered, the foundation upon which they rested had begun to shift by the end of the 1920s. Under the influence of the social reform and progressive education movements correct conduct came to rely less and less on the moral imperative of Christian belief, and more and more on the needs of society. In one sense this shift was immaterial. The type of

¹²⁵ Ibid., 36.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 36.

¹²⁷ Manitoba Department of Education, Report Programme of Studies, 5.

¹²⁸ Sheehan, "Indoctrination," 231-232; Tomkins, Common Contenance, 150.

¹²⁹ Province of Manitoba, Report Education Commission, 67.

¹³⁰ Manitoba Department of Education, Programme of Studies (1927-1929).

behavior desired from good citizens did not noticeably change. Canadians were expected to retain a mentality of self-reliance and industry. Respect for authority and the existing social structure remained a requirement. They were still obliged to be polite, cheerful, temperate, upright and clean. Moreover their sense of altruistic duty was not diminished. In another respect, however, the displacement of character education in the curriculum represented the beginning of a profound movement in the way citizenship was viewed. The character training approach to citizenship development had predicated the welfare of the state on the behavior of its individual citizens. Progressive education turned this structure on its head, using national society to dictate the proper conduct of its individual parts. The new approach permitted the development of a secular view of civic virtue in which social necessity not religious morality defined good citizenship.

Chapter 3

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY - LESSONS IN CANADIAN NATIONALISM

"We are training the citizens of tomorrow, endeavoring to give them a knowledge of the past and an interest in the present, so that they may be able to understand what tomorrow may bring, and help their country to face the future intelligently and prepared."¹

¹ Adelia Sanford. "History in the Public School Grades." Western School Journal 27, no. 1 (January 1922), 13.

In September of 1927 the Manitoba Department of Education asked the province's elementary school teachers to experiment with an updated Programme of Studies.² By the start of the 1928 school year this revised curriculum had been officially adopted for use throughout the province.³ The most visible difference between the old and the new Programme was the inclusion of Social Studies in the latter. A core group of courses devoted to the study of society was a hallmark of the progressive education movement. It allowed for the linking of disparate curriculum components, while at the same time encouraging the use of child-centered participatory instruction methods.⁴ In the early elementary grades the newly designated subject generated a formal course in community studies, but in the higher elementary and junior high grades the traditional division of subject material into separate History and Geography courses was retained.⁵

The Committee on the Review of the Programme of Studies justified the continued inclusion of History and Geography in the new Programme of Studies because of their capacity for citizenship education. The 1927 Report of its Sub-Committee on Social Studies asserted that "from the standpoint of good citizenship no subjects are of greater value."⁶ The Report's conclusion was founded on longstanding views about the place of History and Geography

² Manitoba Department of Education, Report of the Department of Education (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1927), 10-11.

³ Gregor and Wilson, Development of Education in Manitoba, 111.

⁴ Kathryn G. Skau, "A Curriculum of Change: Social Studies in Alberta," History and Social Science Teacher 23, no. 4 (1988), 214; Tomkins, Common Countenance, 225.

⁵ Manitoba Department of Education, Interim Report Programme of Studies, 54-57; Manitoba Department of Education, Report Programme of Studies, 42-54; "The New Programme," Western School Journal 22, no. 7 (September 1927), 243.

⁶ Manitoba Department of Education, Report Programme of Studies, 42.

instruction in the public school system. Already before the inauguration of the revised Programme of Studies, History and Geography courses had been an important part of the province's higher elementary grade syllabus.⁷ Between 1916 and 1927, contributors to the Department's Western School Journal identified a variety of citizenship lessons that History especially, and occasionally Geography, could teach. They expected Manitoba elementary school teachers to utilize material from the authorized curriculum to cultivate certain kinds of knowledge, ideals and behavior during their History and Geography classes.

The rapid changes of the post-World War One era led educators to believe students needed a body of historical and geographical knowledge to successfully function in a society that was perceived to be growing increasingly complex. To make intelligent decisions, their pupils would have to understand the physical and social world surrounding them. Through the study of Geography students developed an awareness of places, people and events at the local, national and international level. History lessons provided the antecedent context in which these places, people and events could be comprehended. Together, the subjects taught many of the factual tools required by Canada's future citizens.

During the 1920s, two speakers at the Manitoba Education Association's annual convention discussed Geography instruction in the public school system. F.D. Baragar, a Winnipeg high school teacher, spoke on "Rejuvenating Geography" at the 1922 conference, while the 1925 meeting featured an address by Miss J.M. Sanders entitled "Geography and the Human Race." Both lectures

⁷ Osborne. "One Hundred Years of History Teaching in Manitoba Schools." 4-6.

were later published in the Western School Journal. Baragar and Sanders used their talks as platforms from which to demand changes in the teaching of elementary school Geography. They argued that Geography classes had to equip students with more than a memorized list of place names and physical features. A comprehensive understanding of the world, its continents, climate, natural resources, infrastructures and inhabitants was called for instead.⁸ In his speech, Baragar defined government as "mainly a problem of railways, tariffs and natural resources."⁹ He reasoned that since a democratic state "throws the responsibility of government on the shoulders of all," each citizen needed to possess a basic grasp of Geography to competently participate in the process of government.¹⁰

Another benefit of a comprehensive body of geographical information was the perspective it brought to the understanding of other nations and peoples. Sanders suggested in her address that solutions to the political, economic, and social problems found in an integrated global community could be discerned through the development of an "imaginative ability to see from another's point of view."¹¹ The study of Geography promoted this type of internationalism.

By giving children pictures of humanity, not as interesting but peculiar oddities outside their lives, but as real people; with certain weaknesses, certain strengths; with petty meannesses and great nobilities, who one day may play a part in their lives.¹²

⁸ F.D. Baragar, "Rejuvenating Geography," Western School Journal 17, no. 9 (November 1922), 347-349; J.M. Sanders, "Geography and the Human Race," Western School Journal 20, no. 10 (December 1925), 565-568.

⁹ Baragar, "Rejuvenating Geography," 347.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 347.

¹¹ Sanders, "Geography and the Human Race," 565.

¹² *Ibid.*, 565.

Baragar shared Sanders' views. His speech three years previous had claimed the progress of human society to be dependent on the broadening of individual viewpoints and the widening of personal mental horizons. Geography lessons gave future citizens the opportunity to expand their world vision "by seeing and knowing how others live."¹³

History also contributed to the store of knowledge Canadian citizens required. E.K. Marshall was the Principal of the school in Sidney, Manitoba and founder of the Manitoba Teachers' Federation.¹⁴ He used his "Presidential Address" at the Manitoba Education Association conference to ask his colleagues to "consider seriously the vital relationship between an account of those who lived in the past and those who are to live tomorrow."¹⁵ His speech was printed in the May 1925 issue of the Western School Journal. In it, Marshall utilized the link between past and present to explain the connection between History and citizenship.

History is the record of human achievement; citizenship is human beings achieving. The two are a unity in a sense because the present is constantly becoming the past.¹⁶

The special relationship of past events to current conditions presented unique opportunities for citizenship education during History class.

Knowledge about past events impacted on the exercise of present citizenship in two ways. First, the study of History supplied the context in which present and future conditions had developed. Marshall believed future citizens

¹³ Baragar. "Rejuvenating Geography." 347.

¹⁴ "E.K. Marshall Teachers' Head." Winnipeg Tribune 31 December 1956. 99.

¹⁵ E.K. Marshall. "Presidential Address." Western School Journal 20. no. 5 (May 1925). 369.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 367.

needed to learn to trace present day issues "back through their sequence of correlated causes."¹⁷ An understanding of the chain of events leading up to current crises, and the evolution of the positions of the parties involved, would assist in the resolution of modern political, economic and social dilemmas. Superintendent Alfred White supported the idea that History lessons could help citizens make rational judgments. His 1918 Journal article, "History in Grades V and VI," explained "why history is included in the Programme of Studies."¹⁸ One of the reasons White advanced was History's ability "to provide a background for the intelligent understanding of present day problems, social and political."¹⁹ The causal links History unearthed were also easily transposed to lessons about the consequences of present and future actions. Virden teacher, Adelia Sanford, submitted a composition entitled "History in the Public School Grades" to the Western School Journal in 1922. In it she advocated the teaching of national History in elementary schools because the subject not only assisted future citizens to "understand the present," but also allowed them to "be able in some degree to forecast the future."²⁰

The second way in which the acquisition of historical knowledge helped create good Canadians was by furnishing ready-made responses to present and future predicaments. In History class students studied the actions of leaders and nations, the reasons motivating these actions, and their eventual outcomes.

¹⁷ Ibid., 366.

¹⁸ Alfred White. "History in Grades V and VI." Western School Journal 13, no. 1 (January 1918). 11.

¹⁹ White. "History in Grades V and VI." 11.

²⁰ Sanford. "History in the Public School Grades." 11.

During his Manitoba Education Association lecture, Marshall described the difficulties posterity was likely to encounter:

The future will have problems of defense, of development, of fiscal and political union, problems of capital and labour, of luxury and poverty, of religion and education which will tax both our statesmen and our citizenship.²¹

He suggested students would find that "a training in history is a valuable preparation" when confronting these obstacles.²² Equipped with a compendium of historical lessons, future citizens would be able to learn from History's mistakes and benefit from its successes. The utility of History as an elementary school subject was found in the conviction that the present and future were both rooted and reflected in the past.

It is impossible to know exactly what kind of historical and geographical knowledge teachers imparted to their students, much less what these students actually absorbed, but some idea of the classroom experience can be gleaned from the Department of Education's curriculum guides and the textbooks they sanctioned. The final elementary year of History and the last two grades of elementary Geography were devoted to preparation for the Department's entrance exam at the end of grade eight.²³ The material contained in the authorized texts dictated exam questions.²⁴ Not surprisingly, when faced with the choice of experimenting with the progressive approach the Department was beginning to advocate,²⁵ or focusing on the prescribed textbooks their pupils

²¹ E.K. Marshall, "Presidential Address," 368.

²² Ibid., 368.

²³ Manitoba Department of Education, Programme of Studies (1916 -1926).

²⁴ Alfred White, "The Examinations in History," Western School Journal 12, no. 4 (April 1917), 144.

²⁵ "Beginnings in History," Western School Journal 21, no. 4 (April 1926), 753-754; "Course of Study for Grade I," 325-331; "Geography, History, Citizenship," Western School Journal 15, no. 6 (June 1920), 242-

would be examined on, many teachers decided in favor of the latter. School Inspector A.J. Hatcher reported in 1917 that "too frequently the teachers adhere too strictly to text-book history with the result that the subject fails to appeal to the children."²⁶ Other provincial Inspectors in later Department Reports echoed his complaint.²⁷ The Western School Journal articulated the dilemma Manitoba teachers faced when it printed a paper in 1919 by Miss Mable Cooper titled "History and Civics: Grades VI, VII and VIII."

Now I can't see that we can lay any blame on the men who set the papers, for the work was prescribed. And if it's prescribed we can't avoid teaching it, the bulk of our time, too, for we'll be compelled of necessity to do so.²⁸

The Department of Education's continued use of an entrance exam in the province's rural schools forced many History and Geography teachers to rely heavily on the prescribed textbooks during the first three decades of the twentieth century.²⁹

Prior to September 1929 only one Geography textbook was used in Manitoba's elementary schools. Its author was the Assistant Principal of the

245: "Grade II Trial Course of Study," Western School Journal 15, no. 9 (November 1920), 363-366; "History: Minutes," Western School Journal 13, no. 5 (May 1918), 213; "History Teaching," Western School Journal 20, no. 7 (September 1925), 429; Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1917), 63, 70-71; Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1918), 40, 77-78, 82; Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1920), 23, 29, 100-101; Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1921), 66; Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1927), 30-31; "Re High Roads to History," Western School Journal 13, no. 8 (October 1918), 308; "Society Study in Grades I, II and III," Western School Journal 22, no. 4 (April 1927), 145-147; "Society Study in Grades I, II and III," Western School Journal 22, no. 5 (May 1927), 184-185; "Society Study in Grades I, II and III," Western School Journal 22, no. 6 (June 1927), 223-225; "Society Study in the Elementary Grades," Western School Journal 22, no. 2 (February 1927), 70-73; "Worn Out Texts," Western School Journal 13, no. 8 (October 1918), 305-306.

²⁶ Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1917), 70-71.

²⁷ Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1918), 51; Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1920), 29; Manitoba Department of Education, Report of the Department of Education (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1922), 31; Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1929), 17.

²⁸ Mable Cooper, "History and Civics: Grades VI, VII and VIII," Western School Journal 14, no. 6 (June 1919), 245.

²⁹ Osborne, "One Hundred Years of History Teaching in Manitoba Schools," 9.

Winnipeg Normal School, Alexander McIntyre. Students began to work their way through his World Relations and the Continents: An Elementary Geography for the Junior and Middle Grades of the Public Schools in the fourth grade. A year of basic geography introduced pupils to the globe and its inhabitants. Higher grades concentrated on individual regions. Grade five pupils studied Europe as well as North and South America. The geography of Canada and Manitoba received special attention. Grade six students examined Australia, Asia and Africa, focusing principally on the countries of the British Empire.³⁰

Two History textbooks were authorized for simultaneous use at the elementary level between 1916 and 1929. England's Story was the first to be studied. It entered the curriculum in grade five, at which time children were believed to be intellectually mature enough to move beyond the historical selections found in their English Readers. England's Story was the only official textbook provided for instruction in British History and teachers were expected to continue to use it through the remaining elementary grades. The text began with the successive conquests of the Romans, Saxons and Normans. It then proceeded to plod its way through a chronicle of the reigns of various Kings and Queens, concluding with a pair of chapters titled "The Empire as It is To Day" and "The Imperial Parliament."³¹ The Principal of Winnipeg's Kelvin Technical High School and Assistant Superintendent of Winnipeg Schools, David M. Duncan, wrote the other prescribed textbook. The Story of the Canadian People

³⁰ Manitoba Department of Education, Programme of Studies (1916 -1926): Alexander McIntyre, World Relations and the Continents: An Elementary Geography for the Junior and Middle Grades of the Public Schools (Toronto: W.J. Gage & Company, 1911).

was begun in grade six, and like the British History text, was employed in succeeding grades as well. Duncan's book provided a traditional account of Canada's past, focusing on great men and their deeds. In its retelling of the nation's history, women were almost completely ignored. The book commenced with a description of pre-contact Native peoples, moved quickly over the adventures of the first European explorers in North America, and then concentrated on the development of central Canada. The British conquest of New France, the War of 1812 and the movement towards national confederation featured large in the narrative. Brief asides dealt with the political history of the Maritimes, and the exploration and settlement of the western provinces. The curriculum divided Canadian History into two parts. Grade six students studied Canada before the British conquest, while the seventh grade grappled with the period after the fall of New France.³²

In addition to instruction in British and Canadian History, elementary school teachers were also required by the Department to teach Civics during their History classes. To assist them, the Advisory Board provided a Manitoba edition of Canadian Civics by R.S. Jenkins as a teaching guide. Canadian Civics strove "to present the elementary facts about our system of government in the simplest form."³³ Its efforts were supported by the Department's Programme of Studies, which limited formal Civics instruction to the basic mechanics of government. Local government was introduced in grade five. The next grade

³¹ England's Story, revised ed. (Toronto: Morang Educational Company, 1911); Manitoba Department of Education, Programme of Studies (1916-1926).

³² David M. Duncan, The Story of the Canadian People, new ed. (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1920); Manitoba Department of Education, Programme of Studies (1916-1926).

was devoted to provincial institutions, while grade seven teachers were expected to focus on the operation of the federal and imperial parliaments.³⁴

The Geography, History and Civics resources approved by the Programme of Studies placed an overwhelming emphasis on Canada, Great Britain and the British Empire. Students exposed to their influence acquired historical and geographical knowledge affected by this imperial bias. Even the vaunted internationalism attributed to the study of Geography was for the most part limited to the varied people and places contained within the Empire. Adelia Sanford advocated the teaching of History precisely because it taught students about Canadian and British institutions, thereby helping to foster "not blind unthinking patriotism, but patriotism based on reason."³⁵ The same argument was put forward by J.M. Sanders in defense of the elementary Geography course. She believed Geography classes should promote a type of patriotism founded on the rational "stressing of our nation's characteristics and moral code," rather than the narrow minded "waving of flags and boasting of conquests."³⁶

Educators believed national History embodied the traits and desires of a nation's citizens. Miss M.W. Wood explained the relationship in her 1918 Western School Journal article, "A Plea for the Teaching of History."

Every country and every people has consciously or unconsciously its national aim which shows itself in the history of the people, dimly or brightly sometimes almost lost to sight and sometimes clearly seen and closely followed, and the mental attitude of the people towards this National Ideal is expressed and recorded in History.³⁷

³³ R.S. Jenkins. Canadian Civics. Manitoba ed. (Toronto: The Copp. Clark Company, 1909), i.

³⁴ Manitoba Department of Education. Programme of Studies (1916-1926).

³⁵ Sanford. "History in the Public School Grades." 13.

³⁶ Sanders. "Geography and the Human Race." 556.

³⁷ M.E. Wood. "A Plea for the Teaching of History." Western School Journal 13, no. 1 (January 1918), 16.

For her, Canada's national spirit was found in its British heritage.³⁸ Five months later an essay by Miss E.M. Bennett echoed Wood's assessment. "Aims in Teaching History and Civics" defined History as "the story of the triumph of the ideals of a nation."³⁹ According to Bennett, the same high ideals formed the foundation of both British and Canadian History. They included "justice, fairplay, undaunted courage, perseverance and self-control."⁴⁰ Since History was formed by national ideals, the study of History provided a medium through which these ideals could be imparted to future citizens.

The development of a British system of government was one arena in which the progress of Britain's national ideals could be witnessed in the study of Canadian History. By tracing Canada's journey towards a democratic form of government based on the British model, the elementary school Canadian History textbook sought to both illustrate Canada's progress towards national maturity, and demonstrate its claim to British political ideals. The Civics guide provided to teachers by the Manitoba Department of Education described government as "the foundation on which the splendid fabric of our civilization is upreared."⁴¹ It suggested teachers employ different sets of terms to place national governments on a scale. The first set of terms was monarchical and republican. They referred to how the head of a nation was selected. The second set was despotic and popular. They referred to the manner in which government was conducted. All

³⁸ Ibid., 16.

³⁹ E.M. Bennett, "Aims in Teaching History and Civics," Western School Journal 14, no. 6 (June 1919), 243.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 243.

⁴¹ Jenkins, Canadian Civics, i.

national governments could be categorized by choosing one term from each set. Canadian Civics informed teachers Great Britain had achieved one of the most progressive forms of government. The guide defined it as monarchical and popular.⁴² The governments of the members of Great Britain's Empire varied "from the most highly popular to the most despotic," depending, students were told, on their inhabitants' ability to govern themselves.⁴³

The Story of the Canadian People divided Canada's journey towards political maturity into two steps, representative government and responsible government. The British conquest of New France marked the beginning of the odyssey. French Canadians were depicted in the authorized textbook as members of a feudal society incapable of supporting a democratic form of government.

The people had no part in matters of government. When a meeting of the people of Quebec was called to discuss the price of bread and the supply of fire-wood, it was quickly dismissed. For a time, each town had been allowed to choose a local leader, but, on the order of the king, this privilege was taken away. "It is of very great consequence," writes one intendant, "that the people should not be left at liberty to speak their minds."⁴⁴

Only after the conquest was a demand for populist government precipitated by the arrival of the United Empire Loyalists. Due to the efforts of these English settlers, Britain granted both Upper and Lower Canada the right to elect representatives to a legislative assembly in 1791.⁴⁵ Once the first stage of representative government had been reached, progress toward the second stage

⁴² Ibid., 3-4.

⁴³ Ibid., 8-9.

⁴⁴ Duncan, Story of the Canadian People. 75.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 124-128.

started almost immediately. The Story of the Canadian People chronicled the events leading up to the Act of Union in a chapter titled "The Struggle for Responsible Government." While representative government had given the people of Canada control over the making of laws in their legislatures, it had not insured an accountable government that would enact these laws. It was not until 1848 that Great Britain deemed its colony mature enough to retain this ability as well.⁴⁶

National loyalty and respect for social order were key signs of political maturity. This principle was made clear to Manitoba elementary pupils by their textbook's treatment of Canada's various rebellions. The Story of the Canadian People divided reform agitators in Upper and Lower Canada into two groups. The moderates included people like Robert Baldwin and Egerton Ryerson. The radical group was lead by William Lyon Mackenzie and Louis Joseph Papineau.⁴⁷ Students were told "two courses were open to the Reformers, either to seek steadily to gain their ends by peaceful means, or to take up arms in rebellion."⁴⁸ The choice of the latter ended in failure. Worse, the rash actions of the rebels meant a short-term setback for the reform movement. In contrast, the transition to representative and responsible government in the Maritime provinces was upheld as a model for peaceful political change. Here the leaders were "moderate statesmen" who were "quite as loyal as their opponents."⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Ibid., 167-181.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 168-172.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 174.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 176.

The textbook's interpretation of the Metis rebellions in western Canada was also used to illustrate the futility and danger of disloyalty and radicalism. Again the eruption of violence was blamed on an extremist. This time the rash actions of Louis Riel served as the catalyst. The Story of the Canadian People informed its readers that during the 1870 Uprising in Red River, "there was every prospect of a bloodless settlement of the difficulty," until Riel executed Thomas Scott in "a sudden fit of madness."⁵⁰ Similarly, the chronicle of the 1885 Rebellion noted that "at first Riel was moderate, and there was every reason to expect that the government would shortly remove all causes of discontent," but the uncalled-for attack at Duck Lake eliminated the possibility of a diplomatic solution.⁵¹

Along with its form of government, Canada had also inherited Britain's potential for economic and social progress. McIntyre's Geography textbook made it clear to elementary students that material progress could only be achieved through the careful husbandry practiced by an agrarian society.

The hunter's time is spent in wandering from place to place, and in destroying animal life he cannot replace. With the farmer comes the saving up of material, the addition of more material, wealth, ease, and leisure in which to develop all the arts of life.⁵²

World Relations and the Continents divided the globe into three regions, the Cold Caps, the Hot Belt and the Temperate Belt. Students were told conditions at the Cold Caps were so severe human existence there was limited to "one long fight

⁵⁰ Ibid., 217.

⁵¹ Ibid., 273.

⁵² Alexander McIntyre, World Relations and the Continents, 42.

for food, shelter and clothing."⁵³ Conversely, in the Hot Belt "nature, in fact, is too ready with an abundant harvest and man, a naturally lazy animal, has not to exert himself in order to provide a living."⁵⁴ Only when these two extremes were combined and moderated was a perfect setting for human advancement available.

The seasons of the Temperate Belt bring variety. The springtime is the season of planting and sowing. During the long summer days everything is growing. Autumn is the time of gathering and winter, with its ice and snow brings a cheer of its own, and a leisure during which there is plenty of time to improve the mind. Surely a home in such a region must be superior to either of the homes already described.⁵⁵

Europe's agrarian societies were the product of that continent's position within the Temperate Belt. Their Geography textbook assured Manitoba students that North America benefited from the same geographical advantages. Consequently, its inhabitants could expect to cultivate the same kind of progressive development Europe had witnessed in the past.

Although physical environment was important, it was not the only factor dictating the improvement of human societies. To advance, people also had to exhibit the ability and desire to continually strive to better the conditions in which they lived. Through their Canadian History textbook, elementary school pupils learned the British race was particularly well equipped for this struggle toward civilization. The Story of the Canadian People divided Canada's History into

⁵³ Ibid., 34-35.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 37.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 34.

French and British eras. The French period was presented as a heroic age.⁵⁶ It was littered with brave soldiers like Comte de Frontenac or Dollard des Ormeaux, and daring explorers such as Jacques Cartier or Cavalier de la Salle.⁵⁷ Only rarely do prudent and devoted leaders like Samuel de Champlain and Intendant Talon enter the narrative.⁵⁸ Average French Canadians were depicted as carefree habitants and irresponsible coureurs de bois.⁵⁹ At the time of the British conquest, The Story of the Canadian People portrayed their existence as both idyllic and stagnant.

Upon the whole the life of the *habitant* was a happy one. His home was small but comfortable. His food - salt, meat, milk and bread varied in season by plenty of fresh meat - was simple but wholesome. His summer of toil was followed by a winter of amusement. The hardships of his pioneer days were past, and in the enjoyment of his present lot he was content.⁶⁰

In contrast, pioneer struggles and growing settlements marked the British period of Canadian History. At the center of the drama were the United Empire Loyalists. Unlike their French counterparts, these settlers were presented as thrifty, hardworking and stoic.⁶¹ The Story of the Canadian People moved from an account of the "labour and hardships" endured by the Loyalist pioneers,⁶² to an inventory of the "evidence of progress" they were everywhere able to accomplish.⁶³ In western Canada the Selkirk Settlers replaced the United Empire Loyalists, but the story remained unchanged. Manitoba children learned that "the

⁵⁶ Bruce G. Trigger, Natives and Newcomers: Canada's Heroic Age Reconsidered (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), 5-6, 10-11.

⁵⁷ Duncan, Story of the Canadian People, 20-25, 47-48, 54-71.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 29-35, 51.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 76-78.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 136-140.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 136.

hardships of pioneer life in eastern Canada were here repeated."⁶⁴ Once again, "the courage of the settlers" helped them overcome obstacles and "brought them through to better days."⁶⁵

The formula for societal progress outlined by The Story of the Canadian People followed the universal pattern students had earlier been exposed to during their Geography lessons.

The hunter and the trapper seldom improved their way of living and seldom made more than a bare existence. The pioneer farmer endured many privations at the beginning, but as the country was cleared and as his farm became more easily worked, better buildings, greater comforts and a more leisurely life followed.⁶⁶

Through the efforts of the United Empire Loyalists and the Selkirk Settlers Canada's transition from a fur trade economy to an agrarian society was achieved. Why had these English pioneers succeeded in mastering their physical environment, when the French Canadians had not? The Story of the Canadian People relied on pioneer traditions identified by Canada's nineteenth century historians to explain the disparity in the achievements of the two cultures.⁶⁷ While French Canadians may have been courageous and hardy immigrants, they lacked the political and cultural foundation the later settlers acquired from their shared heritage with their kinsmen in Britain. Loyalty to Great

⁶³ Ibid., 142.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 193.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 193.

⁶⁶ Alexander McIntyre, World Relations and the Continents, 42.

⁶⁷ Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 89-109; Lyle Dick, "The Seven Oaks Incident and the Construction of a Historical Tradition, 1816 to 1970," Journal of the Canadian Historical Association new series, 2 (1991), 112-113.

Britain, her national institutions and national traits made these people "the best material out of which to build a nation."⁶⁸

Without imbibing British political and cultural ideals, individuals could not become truly Canadian. In her 1919 Western School Journal article, E.M. Bennett argued that since many recent immigrants to Manitoba "belong to crushed and subject races," they could "never reach our standard."⁶⁹ While the public school could not convert these foreigners into good citizens, it could perpetuate the necessary ties to England through their children.

Our hope lies in the children; we must try to make them realize what an honour and a privilege it is to be a free-born British subject and what a responsibility is theirs to keep that great name untarnished.⁷⁰

According to Bennett, History instruction failed to accomplish its goal unless it made students "burn with a desire to follow in the footsteps of our predecessors" and "to maintain unharmed the fair name and great traditions of our land."⁷¹ M.E. Wood shared her prognosis. Wood's 1918 article warned History teachers to ensure they not only inspired patriotic emotions, but also patriotic actions.

It is no use thinking or allowing our pupils to think that a nation, no matter how great, can automatically keep itself great. It needs the constant watchfulness and devotion of its people.⁷²

Future citizens had to study the facts of British and Canadian History, understand the ideals the two jointly embodied, and implement these ideals in their everyday conduct.

⁶⁸ Duncan. Story of the Canadian People. 123.

⁶⁹ Bennett. "Aims in Teaching History and Civics." 243.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 243.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 243.

⁷² M.E. Wood. "Plea for the Teaching of History," 18.

Moral conduct was not restricted to the British, but it was viewed as one of the pillars of the British national ideal. E.K. Marshall assured delegates attending the 1925 Manitoba Education Association conference that "character is one of the constants of human history and is largely independent of time or place."⁷³ Character could influence historical events either as a result of an individual's actions, or through the accrued impact of a group, a community, or a nation. The great lesson History taught was "that righteousness alone exalts a nation and sin is a reproach to any people."⁷⁴ According to Marshall's reasoning, the forward advance of a nation was propelled by the moral behavior of its people. The virtuous character of the British people was therefore apparent in the progress of their nation's political institutions, material welfare and territorial possessions. A prominent demonstration of the cumulative effect of British character on national history was delivered to Manitoba students through their Canadian History textbook. In the chapter titled "The Fall of New France" the reader was informed that despite Montcalm's valiant and faithful stand on the battlefield, the French colony was doomed to defeat because "her strength was being sapped by the dishonesty of officials at the capital."⁷⁵ While Intendant Bigot and his followers were becoming rich at the expense of the small colony, the British were blessed with the "upright and capable" leadership of Prime Minister Pitt.⁷⁶ Pitt selected his military leaders on the basis of merit, rather than rank and wealth. It was the

⁷³ E.K. Marshall, "Presidential Address," 368.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 368.

⁷⁵ Duncan, Story of the Canadian People, 99.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 99.

outstanding character of these officers that assured the eventual triumph of the English on the Plains of Abraham.

To maintain its inheritance of British political and cultural ideals Canada had to sustain the Christian moral code on which they were based. The study of History helped to accomplish this objective.⁷⁷ Educators of the period believed that the biblical adage about reaping what one sowed was an inevitable law of life.⁷⁸ Consequently they felt the chronicling of historical cause and effect would automatically make apparent to their pupils the rewards of good behavior and the perils of bad.⁷⁹ Recommendations regarding the best way to include character training in History lessons varied. E.M. Bennett's Western School Journal submission suggested a broad sweep. In her classroom, the History of Medieval Britain was used to teach lessons on the importance of cleanliness and industry at school. After all, History proved that bad sanitation had caused the Black Death, and that an illiterate population led to oppression by church and state.⁸⁰ Adelia Sanford's contribution preferred a more personal approach.

In this study of the past which resolves itself mainly into the study of the lives of a few important historical figures, the children will see the effect of evil or of virtue on the lives of these men and women of history, and will draw from their history study something of real moral value.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Osborne. "One Hundred Years of History Teaching in Manitoba Schools." 5-6.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 13.

⁷⁹ Bennett. "Aims in Teaching History and Civics." 242; Cooper. "History and Civics." 244; E.K. Marshall. "Presidential Address." 367-368; Sanford. "History in the Public School Grades." 13; White. "History in Grades V and VI." 11-12.

⁸⁰ Bennett. "Aims in Teaching History and Civics." 242.

⁸¹ Sanford. "History in the Public School Grades." 13.

Not all past events produced corresponding character lessons. When opportunities for moral instruction presented themselves, however, they were not to be ignored.

The type of moral lessons Manitoba school children encountered during their History classes are documented in the Department's authorized Canadian History textbook. The Story of the Canadian People commented on the character assets and defects of many of Canadian History's central protagonists. In doing so it linked personal morality to historic achievement. Historic episodes where individual merit could be shown to mesh with heroic actions were favored for this type of treatment. The Marquis de Montcalm's brave defense of Quebec City was matched by his description as "an honorable man of good morals, brave and a Christian."⁸² Similarly, Isaac Brock's gallant charge up Queenston Heights was improved by the fact that his disposition was "brave, kind and fair." Female heroes only appeared twice in the textbook's pages. In both instances their bravery was magnified by the assumed delicacy of their feminine virtue. The Story of the Canadian People informed students that Madeline de Verchers' defense of her family's seigniorie "reads like a romance."⁸³ While other women were reduced to tears and panic, "the little heroine" remained calm in the face of an Iroquois attack, took command of a poorly garrisoned fort, and saved her father's home.⁸⁴ Laura Secord's efforts to warn the British troops at Beaver Dam of a planned American attack during the War of 1812 were elevated in the same way. Secord's ability to both put aside her natural feminine concern for her

⁸² Duncan, Story of the Canadian People. 96

⁸³ Ibid., 69.

wounded husband, and overcome her natural feminine weakness when "facing a journey of 20 miles through a dense forest" made her actions especially courageous.⁸⁵ The reverse association of poor character with historical defeat was also occasionally employed to good effect. For example the textbook's version of the 1870 Red River Uprising was augmented with the information that despite being fluent in speech and attractive in manner, Louis Reil's character was tainted by ambition and vanity.⁸⁶

Unlike the English Readers prescribed by the Manitoba elementary curriculum between 1916 and 1927, the Canadian History textbook used during the same period did not attempt to instill the principles of British character through systematic moral indoctrination. The moral lessons the History text contained were less numerous and more subtly presented. They were also not exclusively British in origin. French Canadians, as well as their English counterparts were regularly upheld as models of good conduct. Following in the tradition of earlier Canadian historians, The Story of the Canadian People wrote into Canada's national record the heroic deeds and historic achievements of the French settlers.⁸⁷ The task was not difficult, since the behavior of select individuals could often be shown to conform to British character ideals. Combined in this way, Canada's French and British past provided the moral foundation upon which a brilliant national future could be constructed.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 70.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 162.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 216-217.

⁸⁷ Trigger, Natives and Newcomers, 5-7.

Through the pages of the Western School Journal, Adelia Sanford encouraged her fellow teachers to remember that “we are training the citizens of tomorrow.”⁸⁸ History and Geography lessons gave these future citizens “a knowledge of the past,” while at the same time inspiring “an interest in the present.”⁸⁹ They enabled Canadians to understand what tomorrow would bring. More importantly, they created a Canadian nationalism that would inspire these citizens to “help their country to face the future intelligently and prepared.”⁹⁰ Between 1916 and 1927 Manitoba children learned during their elementary Geography and History classes that their country enjoyed the physical qualities needed to become one of the best nations in the world. They also discovered that its potential could only be achieved if British ideals of government, culture and conduct were maintained within Canadian society through their attitudes and actions. By combining Canada's past and present development with the History and Geography of Great Britain and its Empire, Manitoba's elementary schools undertook to link the futures of the three as well. The diverse ethnic composition of Manitoba's next generation of citizens forced the Department of Education to premise this future link on cultural principles rather than on racial ties. The result was an adaptive type of moderate nationalism based more on civic ideals than on ethnic claims.

⁸⁸ Sanford. “History in the Public School Grades.” 13.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

Chapter 4

FROM EMPIRE DAY TO GOOD WILL DAY - A CASE STUDY IN CANADIAN PATRIOTISM

“Empire Day celebrations, and endless opportunities of aiding the defenders of Right against Might, are everywhere taken the fullest advantage of by our schools, and strong and earnest young Canadian citizens are surely developing.”¹

¹ Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1918), 62.

In western Canada, expressions of national patriotism and nativist fears reached their zenith during the First World War. The loyalty of non-English speaking immigrants settled in the region was questioned, many Canadians of foreign descent were denied the right to vote, and enemy aliens were interned in prison camps.² The bilingual school system created by the Laurier-Greenway Compromise of 1897 was another casualty of the War. The Manitoba government seized the opportunity offered by the climate of hostility towards its non-English speaking residents to dismantle the cumbersome education system that had proved unsuccessful at assimilating these people.³ The new Department of Education created after the demise of the bilingual schools, quickly responded to the patriotic pressures of wartime. In November of 1916 the Department's Advisory Board began to discuss the problem of assuring a loyal and patriotic teaching force in the province's schools. By February of 1917 each teacher was required to take an oath of loyalty.⁴ The Department felt that this oath was necessary, because "the first question in certificating a teacher should not be with regard to his scholarship and training, but with regard to his character and loyalty."⁵ Teachers were also strongly encouraged to express their patriotism each year at the end of May by observing Empire Day in their classrooms. During the first school year under the government's supervision, teachers were notified through the Western School Journal that "this year Empire Day should be observed in every school in Canada," and warned, "there can be

² Friesen, Canadian Prairies, 352-353; Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice, 47-53.

³ Gregor and Wilson, Development of Education in Manitoba, 85-86; F. Henry Johnson, Brief History of Canadian Education, 96; W.L. Morton, Manitoba, 351-352.

⁴ "Minute Book Advisory Board 1916-1925," 25.

no excuse for non-observance."⁶ In 1918 the Journal encouraged teachers to expand Empire Day activities from a single day to encompass an entire month,⁷ while in 1919 it insisted that "the celebration of Empire Day this year should be an important event in all our schools."⁸ The Department of Education's School Inspectors provided an additional impetus for teachers to heed the exhortations and warnings found in the pages of the Journal. During the course of the War, Inspectors paid careful attention to Empire Day events, remarking on the efforts of teachers in the Department's annual Report.⁹ Underlying the racial and cultural prejudices driving these campaigns was a firm belief that future citizens should be exposed to proper patriotic influences in the province's public schools.

To assist teachers with the preparation of special Empire Day lessons and programs, the Department of Education printed a series of pamphlets outlining suitable patriotic themes and activities for celebrating the day. These pamphlets and other Empire Day suggestions were often published in a spring issue of the Western School Journal. Teachers could use them to select material suited for presentation in their classrooms. An examination of these sources illustrates the increasingly indeterminate nature of the Department's idea of good Canadian citizenship between 1916 and 1927. What emerged was an ideal based, not on the maintenance of ethnic nationalist bonds, but on the promotion of an extraterritorial conception of good character and socially responsible citizenship.

⁵ "Editorial." Western School Journal 12, no. 7 (September 1917), 225.

⁶ "Empire Day Exercises." Western School Journal 12, no. 5 (May 1917), 169.

⁷ "Tell About Empire." Western School Journal 13, no. 4 (April 1918), 126.

⁸ R.S. Thornton, "An Empire Day Message." Western School Journal 14, no. 5 (May 1919), 160.

Empire Day varied from school to school. In 1918, Mrs. M. Brown of Libau School had her new-Canadian pupils decorate their one room rural schoolhouse with flags representing the countries of the Empire. Their classroom work focused on patriotic themes, and a short program of songs, stories and readings was conducted in the afternoon. The problem of the students' limited ability to understand and speak English was overcome by exercises that called for much flag waving on the part of the children and the enthusiastic repetition of the rallying cry "For God, for Duty, and for Empire."¹⁰ That same year, the larger town school of Elgin chose to conduct a military style parade in which each grade marched with their teachers through the center of town. The parade ended with a community patriotic service at the local Methodist church.¹¹ In most of the province's schools the day was marked by a short patriotic program prepared by the teacher and presented by the pupils to an audience of parents and other interested community members.¹² In some schools, a community picnic and a field day of organized games and sports followed the formal celebration.¹³

Empire Day had grown out of Canada's turn of the century imperialism movement. Its observance had been introduced into Ontario schools in 1899, from where it spread to the other English speaking provinces. The original purpose of the day had been to cultivate feelings of loyalty and attachment to

⁹ Manitoba Department of Education. Report (1917), 30, 36, 43, 54-55, 77, 81-82, 105-106, 132, 157, 171; Manitoba Department of Education. Report (1918), 23, 42, 62, 99.

¹⁰ "Empire Day Programmes." Western School Journal 14, no. 4 (April 1919), 136.

¹¹ Ibid., 137.

¹² Ibid., 136-139.

¹³ Manitoba Department of Education. Report (1917), 81-82.

Britain, the Empire and Canada.¹⁴ This tradition was continued in Manitoba's classrooms. The Department of Education's recommended program for the 1917 Empire Day celebration focused on the study of the imperial trinity. During Geography, students tested their Empire knowledge by drawing memory maps of the British Isles and making lists of Britain's territorial possessions. The choice of topics for the day's English compositions was eclectic, ranging from British heroes to Canadian music, art and literature. Spelling and History lessons focused on Canadian themes. The former used the names of Canadian cities for dictation, and the later Canadian confederation for the topic of study. The time set aside for games featured students enacting a costumed tableau depicting Canada and her peoples.¹⁵ The Department hoped that a body of factual national and imperial knowledge would provide a solid foundation upon which desirable patriotic emotion could be based.

British and imperial themes continued to play a part in the Department of Education's official programs, but their role decreased as the century advanced. In 1923 the Department suggested that teachers might "wish to make the programme more local."¹⁶ A pageant in which the children personified Canada's provinces and explained what each contributed to the nation was suggested. Another option was a spoken address in which different students would represent Canada at various stages throughout its history.¹⁷ The trend toward an increased emphasis on Canada's history, geography, accomplishments and

¹⁴ Axelrod, *Promise of Schooling*, 56; Osborne, "Education is the Best National Insurance," 36-37; Tomkins, *Common Countenance*, 144-145.

¹⁵ "Empire Day Exercises," 172.

¹⁶ "Empire Day," *Western School Journal* 18, no. 4 (April 1923), 532.

peoples culminated in 1927 when Empire Day was used as the vehicle for the celebration of Canada's Jubilee. During that year the Department assigned a special committee to oversee the development of the official program. The theme chosen for the day was "Know Canada."¹⁸ The result was a series of enthusiastic Canada-centered celebrations throughout the province that the Department felt spoke well "for the foundation of a solid Canadian national spirit."¹⁹

While the increased weight placed on Canadian themes may be viewed as indicative of a growing sense of independent Canadian nationalism, it should be noted that Canadian patriotism easily co-existed with the principle of imperial allegiance. Empire Day exercises frequently presented the imperial relationship to students in terms of a family, an analogy it was assumed they could easily comprehend. The Department's 1920 Empire Day program outlined a short play in which pupils were costumed to represent Britain's colonies. One by one they walked on stage and presented national gifts to their mother, Britannia.²⁰ Four years later the Western School Journal's Empire Day section again relied on the image of the family. Its opening message directed school children to view the Empire as "a big family of grown up brothers and sisters, who have each their own room, their own work, and their own friends."²¹ In the earlier pageant the traditional picture of a parent and child was used to illustrate the link between Britain and her dominions. This image was modified by 1924 to reflect a more

¹⁷ Ibid., 532.

¹⁸ Manitoba Department of Education. Report (1927), 72.

¹⁹ Ibid., 74.

²⁰ "Empire Day Pageant." Western School Journal 15, no. 4 (April 1920), 124-128.

equitable interaction between siblings. In both instances children learned the lesson expressed at the conclusion of the 1920 play.

Each one, though large or small,
Is able to help all-
And helping one another,
We help the Empire mother.²²

Turn of the century Canadian imperialists had believed that a federated Empire would provide a greater stage on which a strong Canadian nation could eventually take its place at the forefront of world affairs.²³ At the hands of the Manitoba Department of Education, the movement's primary goal had by the 1920s become a mere echo of its original intent. What had been a call for federal imperial union, became a plea for imperial cooperation. Despite this shift, the movement's concept of imperial patriotism remained imprinted on the Department's Empire Day programs. Canadian nationalism and British Empire loyalty were, if not interchangeable, then at least closely related. After all Canada was part of the Empire. The Department could urge teachers to use Empire Day to:

Study Canada in the school rooms. Learn her problems, her needs; build up men and women who will be clear minded and clean-hearted enough to solve them and fill them, and in strengthening Canada, strengthen the link in the Empire that she represents.²⁴

The ambiguous nature of imperial union and Britain's corresponding relationship to Canada was reflected in the Department of Education's patriotic programs. Two memory gems appearing in the 1917 Empire Day exercises

²¹ "Empire Day," Western School Journal 19, no. 4 (April 1924), 953.

²² "Empire Day Pageant," 127.

²³ Berger, Sense of Power, 260-26.

²⁴ "A Little Talk on Empire Day," Western School Journal 16, no. 5 (May 1921), 607.

credited Britain in different ways. The first posited a racial connection between Britain and Canada.

We love those far-off ocean isles
 Where Britain's monarch reigns;
 We'll ne'er forget the good old blood
 That courses through our veins;
 Proud Scotia's fame, old Erin's name
 And haughty Albion's powers,
 Reflect their matchless luster on
 This Canada of ours.²⁵

The second portrayed Canada as the worthy beneficiary of the spirit of Britain's intellectual and cultural achievements.

Every flash of her genius our pathway enlighten
 Every field she explores we are beckoned to tread,
 Each laurel she gathers our future day brighten-
 We joy with her living, and mourn for her dead.
 Then hail to the day when the Britons came over.
 Above and around us their spirits shall hover,
 Rejoicing to mark how we honor it yet.²⁶

Both of these interpretations were rooted in Canada's imperialist movement.

Canadian imperialists had associated Canada's national character with British racial qualities and British institutions of government. They believed that people of Anglo-Saxon background possessed a special capacity for self-government, and that the British constitution created by this race embodied the ideas of ordered freedom and liberty. Confusion existed whether the racial qualities necessary for self-government could only be inherited genetically, or whether they could be produced through learned habits and aptitudes. Fortunately, according to the imperialist creed, the United Empire Loyalists had brought all of

²⁵ "Empire Day Exercises," 171.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 171.

these racial, cultural and intellectual assets with them when they settled in Upper and Lower Canada.²⁷

In the Manitoba Department of Education's Empire Day programs the idea of a cultural and intellectual, rather than racial, inheritance proved more popular. The familial relationship presented in the previously discussed 1920 and 1924 Empire Day programs was not based upon racial links between Britain and her colonies. This point was graphically illustrated to students by the recommended use of costumes depicting Britain's colonies that emphasized skin color and dress.²⁸ The Empire family was instead held together by a combination of mutual economic dependence, and the gradual extension of Britain's cultural and intellectual heritage to races within the Empire who were perceived to have evolved enough to manage the responsibilities it was seen to demand. In the recommended 1920 Empire Day pageant each colony was depicted offering Britannia a gift of its natural resources. The student acting the part of Canada intoned:

I bring wheat and meat from my midlands;
Coal and oil from my mountains grim.
Fruit from my east lands,
Fish from my rivers
And lumber from mighty forests dim.²⁹

In response Britannia bestowed on all of her colonies "tradition and stories the best to recall."³⁰ Similarly, the 1924 Empire Day message described a family home in which each country within the Empire inhabited a room. Although all the

²⁷ Berger, *Sense of Power*, 99-108, 116-119.

²⁸ "Empire Day Pageant," 124-128.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 126.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 125.

rooms contained national treasures, England and Scotland occupied the spiritual heart of the home. Their living room was where the hearth fire burned and the family's history was stored and displayed for the enjoyment and edification of all its members.³¹ In an era in which Manitoba was attempting to assimilate a large non-Anglo-Saxon population, it is not surprising that its public school system chose to stress Canada's intellectual and cultural ties to Britain over the racial bond between the two countries. It was practical for the Department of Education to believe that if new-Canadians of non-Anglo-Saxon racial stock could be taught British ideals of justice and freedom they would quickly realize that "only through loyalty to the Empire, and love of Canada can we hope for safety and happiness."³²

The most significant legacy the Department of Education received from the turn of the century imperialist movement was not its notion of imperial loyalty, or its belief in Canada's cultural and intellectual inheritance from Britain. Rather it was the movement's sense of mission. Like social reformers of the same era, imperialists infused secular purpose with religious emotion. Canadian supporters of imperialism had aligned the evolution of Canada as a nation with the growth of its ability to accept responsibility for peoples within the Empire who were not considered to be as politically and culturally advanced as the Anglo-Saxon race.³³

While the Department of Education abandoned much of the racism associated with the original idea, it retained the principle of secular missionary

³¹ "Empire Day" (1924), 953.

³² "Little Talk on Empire Day," 606.

service. During the First World War, Manitoba's schools strove to develop a spirit of patriotic service through a series of wartime supply and thrift campaigns.³⁴ In his 1918 report to the Department, Inspector A.A. Herriot noted that "the spirit of service has been reborn and Canadians are learning to give cheerfully and gracefully."³⁵ He added that this was "one of the few bright things that may be counted against the enormous sacrifices the Great War has demanded."³⁶ When the War ended, the Department sought to maintain interest in patriotic service by translating it into peacetime activities. The first Empire Day following the end of the War concentrated on Manitobans who had been awarded the Victoria Cross. The material produced for the day reminded students that the same men who "by their heroic deeds, won this decoration" had earlier in their lives "sat on the benches and played in the grades of the Manitoba school."³⁷ Although the end of the War meant that students did not have the opportunity to serve in the same way as these heroes, they were told that Canada and Britain would "require in the period of peaceful industry the same devotion and unselfish service from her citizens."³⁸

Patriotic service began with the individual. It was in the home and the school that children were believed to "develop habits of service and responsibility

³³ Berger, *Sense of Power*, 217-232.

³⁴ Manitoba Department of Education, *Report* (1917), 84-85, 117, 194, 199-200; Manitoba Department of Education, *Report* (1918), 20, 44-45, 114; Manitoba Department of Education, *Report* (1919), 33-34, 72, 78, 100.

³⁵ Manitoba Department of Education, *Report* (1918), 45.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 44-45.

³⁷ Manitoba Department of Education, *Empire Day 1919* (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1919), 3 in Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Education-Deputy Minister Collection, GR 1625 A0053, box 4.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

through [their] devotion to small and intimate associations."³⁹ These habits became the foundation upon which a mature national and imperial loyalty could be built. The individual was the bottom of a pyramid on which rested first the community, then the province, and finally the nation and the Empire. Students learned from the Lieutenant Governor's Empire Day message in 1919 that they had "the power to turn into reality the noblest ideal of our national dreams" simply by developing in themselves "the qualities and virtues of that idea."⁴⁰ A similar refrain was repeated in the official 1920 program. From it, pupils discovered that the future of their province would not depend on the material progress made by its residents, but on "the soul of its people, in the moral and spiritual progress they will make."⁴¹ Six years later the same argument was still being presented at annual Empire Day celebrations. The official program for 1926 informed school children that "imperial achievement is only the sum of our individual efforts."⁴²

Since the fate of the nation and Empire rested on individuals, the actions of each child had great importance. Teachers could call on their students to "begin by giving loyal service and obedience in your school and your home, for that is now your duty and service to the Empire."⁴³ School children also had a responsibility to strive to develop morally upright characters, since they would be reflected in the character of their nation. The 1921 Empire Day exercises

³⁹ Manitoba Department of Education, Empire Day 1922 (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1922), 6 in Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Education-Deputy Minister Collection, GR 1625 A0053, box 4.

⁴⁰ J.A.M. Aikins, "An Empire Day Message," Western School Journal 14, no. 5 (May 1919), 155.

⁴¹ Manitoba Department of Education, Empire Day 1920 (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1920), 28 in Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Education-Deputy Minister Collection, GR 1625 A0053, box 4.

⁴² Manitoba Department of Education, Empire Day 1926 (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1926), 3 in Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Education-Deputy Minister Collection, GR 1625 A0053, box 4.

⁴³ Manitoba Department of Education, Empire Day 1922, 6

concluded with students pledging to improve their personal morality for the benefit of both country and Empire.

If we try hard
 To grow up straight,
 "To keep to the right,"
 And not hesitate,
 And we try to become
 Fine women and men,
 We'll be helping our land,
 And our Empire, then.⁴⁴

During the 1920s the importance of Empire Day in Manitoba's schools diminished. School Inspectors ceased to report on the day's events and after 1921 it was not mentioned in the Department's annual Report.⁴⁵ Empire Day exercises were still published in the Western School Journal, but the space devoted to suitable material decreased. By 1927 the Department felt it could recommend a month delay in the observance of Empire Day to enable teachers to prepare an elaborate combined celebration for the sixtieth anniversary of Canadian confederation in June.⁴⁶

The reasons for this decline were varied. The observance of Empire Day had helped to motivate public sentiments of loyalty, nationalism and duty that had been needed to support Canada's war effort. After the conclusion of the War, this motivation was not necessary and interest waned. In addition, other school programs usurped community events formally associated with Empire Day programs. School-run fall fairs for the display and judging of Boys and Girls Club work provided a more popular venue for parents to view their children's

⁴⁴ "An Exercise for Empire Day." Western School Journal 16, no. 5 (May 1921), 614.

⁴⁵ Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1919), 37-38, 78, 86; Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1920), 16-17, 39, 75-76; Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1921), 34, 73, 92.

schoolwork, while the introduction of spring field days in many school districts formalized school sports competitions.⁴⁷ The Department of Education was also becoming increasingly leery of producing a shallow type of patriotism through its Empire Day programs. It worried that the special nature of British, and thereby Canadian patriotism could not be taught through "mere words and flag waving."⁴⁸ The official Empire Day program for 1922 expressed this fear, concluding with the argument that "patriotism can be taught only by the indirect method."⁴⁹

Support for this indirect type of instruction was echoed by a 1927 Western School Journal article entitled "Patriotism." In this piece the Journal maintained that while stately ceremonies, such as the saluting of the imperial flag, could be used to illustrate patriotism in schools, they were by themselves incapable of actually producing proper patriotic sentiments in the student body. Mirroring the Department of Education's concurrent approach to religious instruction, the

⁴⁶ Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1927), 71-74.

⁴⁷ Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1917), 23-24, 31, 41, 47, 53, 62-63, 68-69, 72, 76, 77, 82, 88-89, 92, 97, 105, 111, 119-120, 128, 130-131, 149, 152-153, 164, 171, 227, 245, 248-251; Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1918), 11, 15, 19-20, 26-27, 29, 34, 37, 41, 49, 52-53, 56, 58, 61, 64, 74, 78-79, 81, 87, 93-94, 99, 102, 126-131; Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1919), 16, 19, 23-24, 26, 30, 33, 37-38, 42, 45, 47-49, 51-52, 54, 57, 62, 66, 71, 73-74, 77, 81, 86, 91, 126-132; Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1920), 27, 31, 36, 39, 42, 44, 47, 51, 53-54, 62, 63, 71-72, 81, 83, 86, 88, 89, 130-131; Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1921), 13, 17, 19, 22, 24-25, 27, 28, 33, 34-35, 39, 42, 44, 47-48, 52-53, 55, 57, 60-61, 69, 73, 77-78, 82, 84, 88, 91, 135-138; Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1922), 19, 21, 24, 27, 31, 34-36, 38, 43-44, 46, 50, 52, 56, 60, 62, 66, 72, 76, 80, 84-85, 88-89, 91, 93, 132-135; Manitoba Department of Education, Report of the Department of Education (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1923), 13, 16, 19, 21, 23-24, 27, 29-30, 33-36, 38-39, 41, 48, 58-59, 63, 66, 70, 73, 79, 82, 86, 118-123; Manitoba Department of Education, Report of the Department of Education (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1924), 29-30, 43, 81-83; Manitoba Department of Education, Report of the Department of Education (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1925), 25-29, 53, 56; Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1926), 42-49, 73; Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1927), 31, 54-60; Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1928), 26, 54-61; Manitoba Department of Education, Report (1929), 54-60.

⁴⁸ Manitoba Department of Education, Empire Day 1922, 11.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

article suggested that national and imperial loyalty "certainly cannot be enforced by minutes of the Board of Education or by administrative orders."⁵⁰

At the same time as support for formal patriotic exercises was decreasing, sympathy for the idea of an education that would promote world peace was blossoming. The beginning of this shift can already be seen shortly before the end of the War. An article by President Sisson of the State University of Montana was published in the March 1918 issue of the Western School Journal. It asked "what changes must be made in our education to produce men and nations and a world which shall be at least reasonably conflagration-proof?"⁵¹ Sisson's answer was that educators needed to foster a new sense of world unity by "proclaiming a great new aim - World Citizenship!"⁵² By the mid-1920s the Manitoba Department of Education had joined the clamor for a new day in international relations.⁵³ An article from the Women's International League for Peace was recommended by the Western School Journal in 1925 as "worthy of consideration by every teacher."⁵⁴ It examined how schools could prepare pupils for peace, rather than war. The article reasoned that "the responsibility of enlarging the national conceptions and promoting goodwill among the nations of the earth" rested "upon the instruction of the youth of nations."⁵⁵ At a meeting in April of 1926, the Department's Advisory Board recommended that a page in the Western School Journal be devoted each month to assisting with the promotion

⁵⁰ "Patriotism," Western School Journal 22, no. 6 (June 1927), 234.

⁵¹ Sisson, "National Education and World Polity," Western School Journal 13, no. 3 (March 1918), 120.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 120.

⁵³ Bruno-Jofre, "Citizenship and Schooling in Manitoba," 29; Osborne, "One Hundred Years of History Teaching in Manitoba Schools," 11.

⁵⁴ "What Can I do for Peace?," Western School Journal 20, no. 4 (April 1925), 352.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 352.

of world peace.⁵⁶ The result was a number of articles about the League of Nations. The first article explained that the series was being published "in order, that the teachers of Manitoba may know the facts about the League and keep their knowledge up to date."⁵⁷ Since "the public opinion of the rising generation [was] in the keeping of the teachers," the Department felt that the public school had an important role to play in the League's success.⁵⁸ Three Winnipeg professors, F.W. Kerr, Chester Martin and D.C. Harvey, wrote the articles that followed. They focused on the purpose of the League, how it functioned, and Canada's role within it.⁵⁹

In 1927 the Department of Education recommended that teachers promote international cooperation by observing Good Will Day in their classrooms. Suggested exercises for the day appeared in the Western School Journal during May, a month that had formerly been devoted to Empire Day material. The format employed for the two days was similar. Instead of emphasizing Empire knowledge, classroom work for Good Will Day stressed

⁵⁶ "Minute Book Advisory Board January 27, 1926 - June 22, 1928," 15 in Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Education-Deputy Minister Collection, GR 1625 A0053, box 1.

⁵⁷ "Teachers and World Peace," Western School Journal 21, no. 6 (June 1926), 815.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 815.

⁵⁹ D.C. Harvey, "The League and the Prevention of War," Western School Journal 22, no. 5 (May 1927), 193-194; D.C. Harvey, "The League of Nations and Mandates," Western School Journal 23, no. 5 (May 1928), 176-177; D.C. Harvey, "Minorities and the League of Nations," Western School Journal 23, no. 4 (April 1928), 129-130; D.C. Harvey, "National Sovereignty and the League of Nations," Western School Journal 23, no. 3 (March 1928), 99-100; D.C. Harvey, "Self-determination and the League of Nations," Western School Journal 23, no. 2 (February 1928), 53-54; F.W. Kerr, "War - The Great Comedy," Western School Journal 21, no. 10 (December 1926), 1000-1001; Chester Martin, "Canada and the *League Mind*," Western School Journal 21, no. 9 (November 1926), 953-954; Chester Martin, "A Canadian Minister at Geneva," Western School Journal 24, no. 4 (April 1929), 133; Chester Martin, "Economic Foundations of Peace," Western School Journal 24, no. 2 (February 1929), 48; Chester Martin, "The Kellogg Peace Plan," Western School Journal 23, no. 7 (September 1928), 250-251; Chester Martin, "The League and the *League Mind*," Western School Journal 21, no. 8 (October 1926), 931-932; Chester Martin, "More Safeguards for Peace," Western School Journal 24, no. 3 (March 1929), 93-94; Chester Martin, "The Teacher and the *New Day*," Western School Journal 21, no. 7 (September 1926), 884-885; Chester Martin, "The Test of

information about all foreign countries, their contribution to the international community and their interdependence with other nations. Similarly, patriotic poems proclaiming imperial loyalty were replaced by expressions of general morality such as the new testament beatitudes.⁶⁰

Despite these differences, part of the foundation of world citizenship remained similar to Empire patriotism. The moral character of each individual and his or her desire to serve others remained central to the program's message. The Good Will Day student pageant may have taken "peace in our hearts, our homes, our school, our district, our nation and the world" as its theme,⁶¹ but the message delivered was the same in its appeal to individual responsibility as the message found in the Department's earlier Empire Day patriotic exercises.

The best way for a pupil to help the world is first to help himself to be honest and fair, and loving. Then he can begin to do his duty in the home. He can be unselfish and kind and thoughtful of others. Next he can share in community life, doing his part well and loving his neighbor as himself. If he cannot go through all this, it is not likely that he will be of much help to the world.⁶²

During the First World War, Manitoba School Inspector W.C. Hartley had boasted in his report to the Department of Education that the Empire Day celebrations and patriotic work undertaken in his school district meant, "strong and earnest young Canadian citizens are surely developing."⁶³ The early Empire Day programs he referred to served as a vehicle to promote wartime propaganda. Ostentatious displays of loyalty to King, country and Empire were

Historical Imagination," *Western School Journal* 24, no. 1 (January 1929), 7; Chester Martin, "The Three Roads," *Western School Journal* 23, no. 9 (November 1928), 333-334.

⁶⁰ "Good Will Day Exercises," *Western School Journal* 22, no. 5 (May 1927), 166-169.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 166.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 168.

⁶³ Manitoba Department of Education, *Report* (1918), 62.

demanded of every teacher and student. The type of patriotism promoted by the province's Department of Education did, however, go deeper than the zealous nationalism and imperial jingoism often exhibited during these celebrations. Many of the themes found in Manitoba's Empire Day programs can be traced to Canada's imperial movement. Canadian imperialists had woven together a diverse group of beliefs and sentiments in support of the idea of imperial union. This complex concoction of ideas became closely aligned with emerging ideas of Canadian nationalism. As a result, many of its components outlived the decline of the political movement at the close of the nineteenth century and continued to exist in the patriotic language of the early twentieth century.⁶⁴ Certainly the Manitoba Department of Education employed many of the beliefs and sentiments associated with Canadian imperialism in its recommended Empire Day exercises, selecting and modifying them to meet the needs of the province's school system.

Early Empire Day programs focused on Canada's place in the British Empire. Canada's links with British cultural and political institutions were highlighted, and the need to work for mutual cooperation and advancement within the imperial union was stressed. Although Canadian nationalism began to play a more prominent part in Empire Day exercises during the 1920s, the three allegiances of Empire, Great Britain and Canada remained. Loyalty to each member of this trio was supposed to be seamlessly combined in the minds of Canadian citizens. Good citizens were also expected to closely tie their patriotic feelings to a sense of personal morality and responsible duty. In Manitoba's

⁶⁴ Berger, *Sense of Power*, 264-265.

schools, children were taught that true patriotism demanded personal sacrifice for the good of the Empire, the country, and the community. Sacrifice might take the dramatic form of dying on the battlefield, but was more likely to occur in mundane attempts to serve the needs of the local community, or conform to expected standards of national character.

As the decade continued, the Department placed more emphasis on the promotion of world citizenship in the province's schools. The new focus appeared to represent a radical change in the Department's patriotic ideal.⁶⁵ In reality the change denoted another enlargement and modification of pre-existing patriotic themes. A 1922 Western School Journal editorial partially explained the perplexing relationship between older imperial loyalties and newer international allegiances. It suggested that the progression from one to the other was a natural move for the patriotic Canadian citizen.

He cannot have the wider love [of humanity] unless he knows first of all the love of home, then the love of the community or neighborhood, then the national love. And in our case national love includes love and loyalty to the Empire.⁶⁶

Good character and unselfish service remained at the core of the new type of patriotism, while concord and peaceful cooperation continued to be its goals. Wherever the object of their allegiance stood on the concentric circles of family, school, community, province, country, Empire and world, future Canadian citizens were trained by Manitoba's public schools to express their love and loyalty through a standard pattern of individual actions and beliefs.

⁶⁵ Ferguson. "Progressive Education. Citizenship Training and the Decline of Nationalism in Manitoba." 12-14.

⁶⁶ "Patriotism." Western School Journal 17, no. 9 (November 1922), 323.

Conclusion

**MAKING CANADIANS -
BEYOND ASSIMILATION**

The conventional account of the development of citizenship in Canada follows a standard interpretation, linking state membership with the advance of national legal, political and social institutions. The British sociologist, T.H. Marshall's work is fundamental to this theory of modern citizenship. Marshall argues that the idea of citizenship in post-Second World War western democracies is defined by a set of legal, political and social rights administered respectively through state controlled judicial, legislative and social service institutions. The legal component of modern citizenship originated during the eighteenth century, followed closely by its political counterpart in the nineteenth century. Although supported by a mythology of classical Greek and Roman citizenship, the legal and political aspects of modern citizenship were the products of an emerging capitalist system and the rise of the nation state. Government welfare systems created in the mid-twentieth century added the final social component.¹ Later political theorists have shown that the path from legal to social citizenship was not as smooth as Marshall suggests. The select extension of citizenship rights to privileged groups at different times, the continuing conflict between the legal, political and social aspects of citizenship, and the demand for the inclusion of group citizenship rights have hampered its orderly progress.² Despite these challenges, citizenship theory continues to

¹ T.H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), 1-85.

² Barbalet, *Citizenship*, 28-43; Kaplan, "Who Belongs?," 252-258; Kelly, "Who Needs a Theory of Citizenship?," 87; Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 49-74; Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman, "Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Work on Citizenship Theory" in *Theorizing Citizenship*, Ronald Beiner, ed. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 286-301; J.G.A. Pocock, "The Ideal of Citizenship since Classical Times" in *Theorizing Citizenship*, Ronald Beiner, ed. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 42-44; Young, "Polity and Group Difference," 175-177.

define membership within a national community by an individual's ability to legitimately demand certain rights from specific state institutions.³

The evolution of Canadian citizenship is often presented as the by-product of the country's political growth from colony to nation. The seeds of Canada's legal and political institutions were inherited from Great Britain. As the colony matured these seeds germinated, gradually producing independent Canadian institutions through which Canadians could exercise legal and political rights. The creation of the Canadian social safety net after the Second World War furthered the process, providing access to social privileges as well. Seen from this perspective, the 1947 Canadian Citizenship Act is a signpost of growing national maturity, while the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms is the culmination of the journey.⁴ In contrast, the idea of citizenship in pre-World War Two Canadian society is perceived as immature and therefore unworthy of detailed scrutiny.

The preceding chapters have shown that during the 1910s and 1920s the Manitoba Department of Education had a clear idea of good, if not autonomous, Canadian citizenship. This idea was premised on inherited British legal and political institutions, but had a strong additional social component. Canadians were supposed to be law abiding, industrious, self-reliant, polite, brave, upright,

³ Rogers Brubaker, Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 21-34.

⁴ Bothwell, "Something of Value?," 29-34; Alan C. Cairns, Reconfigurations: Canadian Citizenship and Constitutional Change, Douglas E. Williams, ed. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1995), 97-118; Michael E. Manley-Casimir, Wanda M. Cassidy and Suzanne de Castell, "The Charter of Rights and Freedoms and Legal Literacy" in Canada and Citizenship Education, Keith A. McLeod, ed. (Toronto: Canadian Education Association, 1989), 83-89; Martin, "Citizenship and the People's World," 64-78; McKenzie, "Citizenship Education in Canada," 2; Mildred A. Schwartz, "Citizenship in Canada and the United States."

temperate and clean. Social responsibility rather than social rights defined their place in Canadian society. Their civil status was not only legally conferred by the state, it was also achieved through individual effort. It was not manifested exclusively in legal and political privileges, but was validated by community service and national duty as well. The Department's citizenship ideal rested on a code of individual conduct. The secularization of moral instruction in Manitoba's public schools and the growing emphasis on progressive education methods in the Manitoba curriculum paved the way for future modification of this code in accordance with societal needs rather than religious beliefs.

The successive development customarily attributed to Canadian citizenship stands in marked contrast to the generally perceived failure of Canadian nationalism. Recent scholarship exploring the evolution of nationalist movements throughout the world has identified two different, though not mutually exclusive, forms of nationalism. The first is rooted in ethnicity. It grows out of the genetic bonds of family and tribe, and its membership is defined by a myth of common ancestry. The second type of nationalism is founded on the liberal political theory underlying western democracy. Although often initially molded around a dominant ethnic group, it is eventually able to transcend ethnic ties in favor of a shared set of civic ideals.⁵ Studies of nationalism in Canada assert

Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada 4th series, 14 (1976), 83-88; Sharpe, "Citizenship, the Constitution Act, 1867, and the Charter," 221-244.

⁵ Walker Connor, "A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group, is a ..." in Nationalism, John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 36-38; Jurgen Habermas, "Citizenship and National Identity: Some Reflections on the Future of Europe" in Theorizing Citizenship, Ronald Beiner, ed. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 256-271; John Hutchinson, "Cultural Nationalism and Moral Regeneration" in Nationalism, John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 122-124; Michael Ignatieff, Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism (Toronto: Viking, 1993), 3-9; Kaplan, "Who Belongs?," 248-249; Alasdair

that this country has historically maintained divided ethnic loyalties. Before the Second World War the division was limited to English and French Canadians. The former were loyal to Canada and the British Empire, the latter to Canada and the French presence within the country.

In the second half of the twentieth century the fragmentation of Canadian nationalism accelerated. Quebec separatism, the federal government's official multiculturalism policy, and the growing demand for First Nation self-government created a crisis of Canadian identity.⁶ This crisis has been distilled into a debate about the viability of a multi-ethnic state. Supporters of Canada's mosaic model hope to cement the country's various distinct groups through clearly defined citizenship rights and vaguely worded statements of shared values.⁷ In contrast, the model's opponents insist that a common Canadian culture must be forged out of a collective intellectual and cultural heritage.⁸ Both sides rely on civic rather than ethnic nationalism. Moreover, in their efforts to develop workable solutions

MacIntyre, "Is Patriotism a Virtue?" in Theorizing Citizenship, Ronald Beiner, ed. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 219-226; Anthony D. Smith, National Identity (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 71-98.

⁶ Neil Bissoondath, "A Question of Belonging: Multiculturalism and Citizenship" in Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship, William Kaplan, ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 371-373; Ramsay Cook, "Nation, Identity, Rights: Reflections on W.L. Morton's *Canadian Identity*," Journal of Canadian Studies 29, no. 2 (Summer 1994), 8-13; Desmond Morton, "Divided Loyalties? Divided Country?" in Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship, William Kaplan, ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 51-60; Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century" in Readings in Canadian History: Post-Confederation, R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, eds. (Canada: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1982), 123-139; Reg Whitaker, A Sovereign Idea: Essays on Canada as a Democratic Community (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 286-288, 323-325.

⁷ Cairns, Reconfigurations, 315-348; Cook, "Nation, Identity, Rights," 18; Kymlicka, Multicultural Citizenship, 173-192; Will Kymlicka, "Recent Work in Citizenship Theory" (Ottawa: Corporate Policy and Research, Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, 1992), 25-41; Charles Taylor, "Shared and Divergent Values" in Options for a New Canada, Ronald L. Watts and Douglas M. Brown, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 66-76.

⁸ Robert Fulford, "A Post-Modern Dominion: The Changing Nature of Canadian Citizenship" in Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship, William Kaplan, ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's

to the current Canadian identity crisis both sides tend to dismiss late nineteenth and early twentieth century Canadian society as a period of ethnic assimilation during which a relatively homogeneous national identity was maintained.⁹

A few studies in the field of education history have recently begun to re-examine citizenship training in early western Canadian schools. They have approached the available sources by asking what was taught, how it was taught and what was actually learned? Their work has shown that Canadian citizens were created during the years framing the First and Second World Wars through a process of negotiation between the school, its teachers and their pupils. Assimilation into the dominant British-Canadian social order was the state's primary goal, but the medium through which the message was presented and the manner in which it was received often both worked to subvert the outcome.¹⁰ Although these studies have begun to challenge the perception that assimilation was a passive process, their emphasis on the method through which citizens were created has ignored the impact of assimilation on the ideals underlying the state's citizenship training agenda.

The detailed examination of course material undertaken by this thesis suggests that negotiations between the Manitoba Department of Education and the students attending the province's public schools caused a subtle shift in the emphasis placed on civic and ethnic nationalism in the formal curriculum. The syllabus and textbooks authorized by the Manitoba Department of Education

University Press, 1993), 104-119; J.L. Granatstein, Who Killed Canadian History? (Toronto: Harper Collins Publishers, 1998), 3-17; Desmond Morton, "Divided Loyalties? Divided Country?," 60-62.
⁹ Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice, 17-90.

between 1916 and 1927 undoubtedly strove to assimilate foreign immigrants. English instruction, Manners and Morals lessons, and History and Geography classes worked to instill fluency in the English language, a code of moral conduct based on secularized notions of British character, loyal conformity to British cultural traditions, and respectful obedience to British institutions. A purely ethnic view of national identity was not, however, capable of meeting the reality of the growing ethnic diversity within the province. Ironically, the Department's very efforts to transmit British qualities to non-British immigrants forced it to present these qualities as both cultural and racial characteristics. Ethnicity continued to define Canadian identity, but an emerging civic nationalism based on a universal ideal of socially responsible citizenship permitted the Department of Education to accommodate a wider variety of ethnic groups within its idea of good Canadian citizenship. The problem of sustaining a homogeneous national identity in a multi-ethnic state was encountered in western Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Manitoba schools of this period worked to assimilate the children of foreign immigrants into the dominant British-Canadian culture. At the same time they planted the foundations of the western liberal nationalism that would allow the idea of Canadian citizenship to move beyond assimilation.

¹⁰ Axelrod, *Promise of Schooling*, 69-87; Bruno-Jofre, "Citizenship and Schooling in Manitoba," 26-36; Osborne, "Education is the Best National Insurance," 33-40.

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