

SOCIAL VALUES IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

MANITOBA 1910 - 1930

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
I. THE CREATION OF A SCHOOL OF THE MAJORITY . .	10
II. PUBLIC EDUCATION STRUCTURES.	39
I Some Remarks	39
II Administration	47
III The School Unit	63
IV Financing the Schools.	67
V Development of Secondary Education . . .	70
VI Manual and Vocational Training in Manitoba Schools	76
III. SOCIAL VALUES IN PUBLIC EDUCATION.	86
IV. CONCLUSION	125
V. APPENDIX	130
BIBLIOGRAPHY	139

INTRODUCTION

A common approach in social history is a single institution perspective.¹ The particular interest of the educational institution as an area of study lies in the fact that education of the young is a crucial task in any society. The successful education of the young assures the perpetuation of a society. In a simple social organization, the education of the young may take place mainly at the knee of the mother or the side of the father in forest and field, with help from the shaman or priest. In a more complex society, education of the young takes place to a large degree in a special social institution.

The concern in this study is with the social values that may be found in the public schools of Manitoba from 1910 to 1930. Through an analysis of education in the province we may get an image of society at large, but the prime focus of this study is the education institution itself. The questions provoking this study were, which social values, which cohesive

¹The stimulus for this study came from a series of provocative essays on education and social structure in Europe.

Walter Laqueur and George L. Mosse, editors, Education and Social Structure in the Twentieth Century, (Journal of Contemporary History: 6, N.Y.: Torch Books, Harper and Row, 1967).

and cementing social ideas, may be found in the education system in Manitoba? What socially-valued ideas, beliefs and ideals may be seen in the education institution? What can be learned about social values by examining the education structure? What may be learned about social values by a study of the content of education?

Contrary to an initial hypothesis of a congruent and systematic relationship among social values in public education, closer study showed a different picture. A detailed analysis revealed interesting incongruities, tensions and conflicts among the social values in the school.

There is only one sense in which the social values which were present in the schools of Manitoba may be seen as consistent and congruent. The values present in both the structure and content of the schools stem from the ideals and priorities of the majority group in the population of Manitoba. It was in 1916 that secure control of public education came under the aegis of the English speaking and Protestant majority. A school system based on a single language, compulsory attendance, and non-sectarian religious content was demanded. These goals were stoutly pursued and finally gained by the majority group. In addition, implicit social values acceptable to the majority characterized the public school system.

Public schooling in Manitoba became a uni-lingual, religiously non-sectarian and compulsory system in 1916. The development of the necessary mechanics to implement such a system took a few additional years. This development was a departure from earlier arrangements in the province. The education institution after 1916 reflected a change in the social composition in Manitoba. A dominant group, which had not only a numerical superiority but social and economic ascendancy, recast public education to its tastes and views. The story of the consolidation of education to conform to the social values of the majority group, and to this group's ideal of single language, non-sectarian and compulsory education, constitutes the first chapter of this study.

The social values present in the education institutions may be viewed as consistent only in the sense that they derived from the majority group of English speaking Protestants. Tensions, incongruities and discontinuity characterized the social values found when viewing the structures of the education system and the content of the materials taught.

The period 1910-1930 was one of rapid growth of education in Manitoba. Decisions about the future direction of the rapidly growing schools were made in many areas of the education structure and an organized and complex administration was developed

to administer the system of public schooling. The school operation covered roughly twice the student enrollment, employed twice the teachers, and administered twice the number of school districts at the end of the period under study as at the beginning.

The decisions about the direction of the growing education establishment were made by men subject to two conflicting social ideals. A democratic social outlook and a hierarchical one may be found underlying the practical decisions involved in building a school system for Manitoba between 1910-1930. The ideal of a society whose members all have equal social worth and importance, contrasted with the co-existent view that a social order with members ranked as to their value or importance was a proper social scheme. These contradictory social ideas informed decisions taken to meet the conditions of growth. Administrative organization, distribution of decision power, innovation in administrative units, finances and curriculum changes are some aspects of the educational structure to be examined. In analysing these areas of public education in Manitoba between 1910-1930 two factors were salient. The first was that this period was one of rapid growth. The second factor that stood out was the curious contradiction between hierarchical and ranking qualities of the education structure and a democratic, equalitarian ideal. These incongruent social ideas co-existed in

the many areas of the school structure but created few problems in the way the schools functioned.

These contrary social ideas of hierarchy and democracy were held by adult members of the community who were in positions to make decisions about the direction of the schools. The professional opinion of Manitoba educators was influenced by both American and British developments in education and, in an interesting manner, these two social values of hierarchy and equalitarian democracy may be traced to both the American and the British national sources.

After noting the manner in which social values affected or underlay the development of a particular education structure in Manitoba between 1910-1930, this study attempts to determine which socially valued ideals, which cohesive and cementing social ideas may be found in the process of education. What were the young told?

There were many relevant social ideas providing justification for the cultural patterns of the adult society and a means of identification for young members with the larger society. Three such values seem outstanding. These three social values were a complex of ideas and beliefs dealing with national identity, socio-economic relations and religion. Stated another way, cohesive and cementing ideas and beliefs

were provided by the schools prescribing the relation between men and the state, man and man, and man and God. Within each of these three areas, the lack of internal continuity can be found.

One idea which found expression between 1910-1930 was nationalism. Within twenty years, the concept of nationalism underwent significant changes. From slogans and symbols of nationalism which were primarily related to the British Empire, the nationalist theme of 1930 became a more varied and many-stranded web. The romance and glamour of the British Commonwealth was an appealing theme. The celebration of Canada and her diverse people was a theme which lent itself very well to symbols and slogans. In addition, a purely provincial nationalist theme also began to emerge at this time. The prairie crocus was one symbol to focus sentiment and identification. The presentation of these materials on nationalist themes was intended to provide a source of ideals to the children of Manitoba. The young were provided with prescriptive material describing the relations of the individual and the state. In 1910 the material relating to nationalist themes dwelt on allegiance, primarily to the British Empire. In 1930, the prescribed national identity was varied or multi-faceted - an identification with the British Commonwealth, Canada and the province of Manitoba.

A second set of important social ideas found in the schools had to do with socio-economic relations. Within the context of the curriculum, whether in physical education, manual and industrial training programs or music, a prescribed and accepted idea of "proper" socio-economic relations may be traced. At times, two conflicting values, "co-operation" and "competition", co-existed. The school playing field was often the place where these two conflicting socio-economic values were evident. It was in discussions about "playing the game" that sharp contrast between co-operation and competition became clear.

A third statement about socio-economic relations was also available. This third idea received a good deal of attention as the first World War drew to an end. In this period, a theme which stated that current socio-economic relations were going to be revised as a result of the war became apparent. These relations were to be revised in the direction of greater social justice. A critical note was sounded about the kind of economic and social relations which then prevailed. A special role was occasionally suggested for the school.² In view of the social

²Western School Journal, Vol. 13, No. 8, 1918. This journal was published from 1893 for those involved in education in Manitoba. The journal contained a section which was the official organ of the Department of Education. It had a section which was the Trustees' Bulletin. The Manitoba Education Asso-

and economic realities of the day, the school was seen as an arbiter of conflicting interests and classes. In addition the school was viewed as a force for a more just and equalitarian society.

The most pervasive social values evident in the schools of Manitoba between 1910-1930 were, however, those which derived from the Christian religion. In addition to a Christian aspect to the school, the two other values examined, those of nationalism and socio-economic relations, were often imbued with a Christian texture or tone. This Christian colouration seems pervasive. Its particular theme was an emphasis on Christian morality and on individual responsibility to live the moral life. Christian ritual and ceremonies had a place in the schools but the emphasis was on morality.

The conclusions reached after an extensive search of the social values in public education evident in both structures and content may be briefly stated. Incongruency, tension, and contradiction characterized the social values in the public education process rather than symmetry and systematic connection. These

ciation also had space in the journal. In addition there was material directed at children and items for teachers in the classroom. The editorial board and contributors to the journal in the twenty year period, 1910-1930, were involved in education at other levels. Contributors included class room teachers, advisory board members, normal school staff and administrators from the Department of Education. The points of view expressed in the journal reflected the variety of opinion and leadership of Manitoba educators.

incongruent and often contradictory social values were found to exist in both the structure and content of education in Manitoba between 1910-1930. Although the matrix of social ideas and ideals lacked unity and exhibited substantial contrasts, the education process developed without undue friction or conflict.

CHAPTER I

THE CREATION OF A SCHOOL OF THE MAJORITY

One of the issues that dominated Canadian politics in the 1890's was the Manitoba school question. It was a crucial matter, revealing and encompassing the basic conflicts of Canadian history. It crystallized the 'racial' and religious tensions, the problem of provincial and Dominion jurisdiction, and the definition of the proper spheres of church and state. On the national level the school question climaxed the disintegration of the long-standing Conservative coalition. It contributed to the development of a national political rhetoric by Liberals such as Wilfrid Laurier, Israel Tarte and O.D. Skelton, a rhetoric which advocated mutual tolerance of religious and 'racial' differences. Laurier claimed that "sunny ways" would ease the tensions between the protagonists. The bitter antagonisms of French Catholic militancy and English Protestant bigotry were dealt with by hard bargaining and by political expedients.

The schools of Manitoba became a political football within both the provincial and federal levels of government. In addition the school question was used for political leverage between the two levels.

The school question in Manitoba must be viewed with the

conceptual outlook offered by both political history and social history. In terms of the former the school question emerges as primarily a constitutional and libertarian issue. A second perspective, and a useful one, may be developed with the tools of analysis used in social history - a new social environment was created on the prairie by a rising British-Canadian nationalism combined with a sweeping population movement of Ontario people to a hinterland.¹

A synthesis of both political and social perspectives helps to describe the situation in Manitoba after 1896. The contravention of the civil rights of a beleaguered minority can be seen as a political result of a changed social situation in which the ascendant population group gained control of the educational system, effectively removing both the religious and language rights guaranteed by provincial and federal law. Control of the education of the young in any social system is crucial for the self perpetuation of the ruling group and in that sense the outcome of the protracted fight over the nature of the public school was an inevitable victory for the new majority. The lack of tolerance exhibited by the new majority in the question of the schools may perhaps be an indicator of the extent of the social insecurity of

¹W.L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 250. Also see W.L. Morton, "The Manitoba Schools and Canadian Nationality, 1890-1923", Canadian Historical Association Report, Society Annual Meeting, June 6-8, 1951, p. 51.

the newly dominant group.²

In tracing the consolidation of the Protestant English majority's hold on the school system of Manitoba, one must begin at the point just prior to the disappearance of the Manitoba schools from the centre of the national political scene. A federal-provincial agreement was eased in by the new Laurier government in late 1896 and became provincial legislation in August, 1897. Under its terms the French Catholic minority in Manitoba lost its repeated claim to a publicly-supported school that would daily immerse a Catholic child in a total Catholic environment. This sort of Catholic education was still possible but only at private expense. The double cost of education to Catholics was an understandable irritation as the settlement meant no share of public education grants to Catholics and no exemption from taxation for support of public schools.

Under the terms of the Laurier-Greenway agreement, public schools were not necessarily secular, and could provide religious instruction on prescribed days for a half hour at the end of the school day where parents wanted religious instruction and where a resolution of the elected trustees was passed.³ For every forty

²J.E. Rea, "The Roots of Prairie Society," Prairie Perspectives, Papers of the Western Canadian Studies Conference, edited by David P. Gagan, (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1970), p. 50.

³Manitoba, Statutes of Manitoba 1897, Section 1-4.

Catholic children in urban areas and twenty-five in rural areas, a Catholic teacher had to be hired. In the same way a Protestant teacher had to be hired in an area where Protestants formed the minority.

Following from the Laurier-Greenway agreement as well, the French minority's claim to language rights was more generously appeased. The French language could be used in areas where French students were in the majority. Under Section 10, clause 258 of the amended Public Schools Act, French or any other language which was the native language of the pupils could be the language of instruction along with English. Section 10 stated:

. . . when any ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language or any language other than English, as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French, or such other language and English upon the bi-lingual system.

It has been pointed out that the phrase in the legislation, "bilingual system" implied an equality of French and English languages. This suggests effective pressures on the legislators by both groups interested in the language question. The vagueness of the wording left the time assigned each language to the discretion of the teacher in the classroom.⁴

There was no provision in the amendment to train bilingual

⁴M. Spigelman, "Bilingual Schools in Manitoba and Their Abolition," Provincial Archives of Manitoba, (PAM), student paper collection, p. 3.

teachers. The right to a bilingual school was used by the largest minority in Manitoba, the Germans, after 1903 and by the Ruthenians in 1906. Whether a case of government sincerity or simply government response to effective political pressuring, implementation of the settlement was soon evident. In 1903 the Conservative government of Rodmond Roblin established a Mennonite Teacher Training School in Gretna in the German language, and Ruthenian Teacher Training Schools in Brandon and in Winnipeg. When free texts were issued by the province in 1903, bilingual ones were also printed. The availability of texts and teacher training facilities supplied by the province reflected the political balance in Manitoba. To a limited extent the Liberal government of Greenway and the succeeding Conservative one of Rodmond Roblin met the demands of a French-Catholic pressure group. With the tremendous influx of immigrants to Manitoba after the turn of the century, the immigrants and their education became an added irritant in a difficult situation.

An amalgam of local groups who shared an easy assumption about British 'racial' superiority, a quickened patriotism when the British lion was jeopardized, a perception of immigrants as barbarous hordes and a deeply ingrained suspicion and fear of "popery" were not at ease with the results of the Laurier-Greenway agreement. This amalgamation wielded formidable political pressure because its members came from the majority, its leadership from prominent figures of the British and Protestant community. For example, Reverend Doctor Bryce was a typical spokesman for a school on "our

lines". He was a Protestant minister, historian and pamphleteer, long a leader in the Winnipeg community and in Protestant education. The press, particularly the Manitoba Free Press, was aligned with the sentiments and particular aims of this faction. The Manitoba Free Press led in forming sentiments and aims. Organizations such as the Sons of England, the Canadian Club, the Orange Lodge and the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Orange Lodge held the same views on how education of the young should be conducted.⁵

This Protestant and British majority felt that they held a "divergent ideal (from) the Catholic Church as to religious instruction in the schools and the Protestant principles of national non-sectarian instruction."⁶ The aim of Protestants and Catholics was the same really: a Christian child, but with a different and particular brand of Christianity.

A movement to undo the Laurier-Greenway settlement was underway immediately after its inception. It was completed nineteen years later with the election of the Norris government. The Norris election platform included the three expressed aims of this movement: a one language school, a non-denominational, but not a secular school and compulsory public education.⁷ Upon victory,

⁵Spigelman, op. cit., p. 16.

⁶Canadian Annual Review 1919, p. 520.

⁷L.G. Orlikow, "A Survey of the Reform Movement in Manitoba 1910-1920," (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1955), p. 21.

the Norris government legislated these aims and created a significant social change. The most crucial instrument of socialization, after the family, was now in the hands of the English-speaking Protestant majority. Its particular social values could be inculcated in the young without interruption. R.S. Thornton, the Minister of Education in the Norris government, was eminently suitable to spearhead the thrust.

Much of the leadership of both the Protestant English majority and the Catholic French minority came from their respective clergy. Consider the positions taken by these leaders in the early 1900's in controversy over education of the immigrants who were such a visible new element in Manitoba. In 1900, the Roblin government received a delegation of four clergymen, each associated with Protestant education in Manitoba. Their concern was compulsory education for the 'foreigners'. The foreigners were a " 'menace to the State if they are not educated along our lines.' 'Education should not only be offered them, . . . but (be) forced upon them.' "⁸ Premier Rodmond Roblin's answer at that time was that provincial finances were limited. Compulsory education was not feasible. To undertake the education of so many foreigners at public expense was impossible. Extended education could be feasible only with Dominion government support, Roblin maintained.⁹ Roblin held this

⁸Canadian Annual Review, (C.A.R.), 1901, p. 362.

⁹Ibid., p. 362.

position on compulsory education not only for the stated financial reasons, but also because compulsory education might jeopardize his Catholic support.

At the time Roblin was receiving delegations urging more effective schooling "along our lines" from Protestant groups, the Catholic clergy led by Archbishop Langevin of St. Boniface were pressing for better conditions in which to sustain a Catholic educational experience. Archbishop Langevin had been the leading spokesman on the issue of education since 1894, the year he succeeded Archbishop Taché. From the time of his appointment he saw himself as defender of a traditional Roman Catholic view on education, at times against threats from within his own group. He insisted that the school must be a Catholic school. In an address given early in his career in Manitoba he stated,

Comme hommes libres, comme chretiens surtout, nous devons maintenir les droits inaliénables que la loi naturelle confère aux pères de famille pour l'éducation de leur enfants . . . moi a votre tête, nous rangés tous ensemble autour de mon baton pastoral, nous résisterons a l'orage et nous vainerons. Après l'autel, c'est l'école . . . le rempart de notre foi et de notre nationalité. 10

Catholic leadership in Manitoba came from the Ultramontane stream of Canadian Roman Catholicism, terrorizing those who feared popish plots and lived with shades of Guy Fawkes. The foreign immigrant element often was Catholic, and were seen as co-

¹⁰G.L. Comeault, "Archbishop Langevin, Schools and Politics in Manitoba, 1895-1915," P.A.M., student paper collection, p. 5.

religionists by the French Catholic leaders. An alliance with them was attempted by French Canadian Catholic leaders to gain what they saw as full and just religious rights.

In 1902 the province received a delegation which desired to obtain aid in areas heavily populated by Galicians. It stated that these immigrants from the Austro-Hungarian empire wanted education but lacked sufficient funds. Archbishop Langevin claimed with some belligerence that the Galicians were being interfered with by Methodists and Presbyterians and added that Catholic education received no aid. At the same time a Protestant delegation urged an English school for Galicians.¹¹

In response to the effective pressures of both religious groups and their outspoken leaders, Roblin was forced to act to satisfy them. In a typical Macdonald-Conservative way he tried, first, to outlast political pressures; the pressures remained. He then tried a strange combination of interests.

In 1903 a tentative feeler was sent out by the Roblin government. A discussion on a possible amalgamation of public and Catholic schools received some publicity.¹² This plan was proposed on the grounds that it would relieve the double taxation of Catholics for schooling. In 1912 a full blown position embodying this kind of an amalgamative solution, known as the Coldwell amend-

¹¹C.A.R., 1902, p. 466.

¹²C.A.R., 1903, p. 538.

ments, was quickly passed by the Roblin government. It proved to be a disastrous political move for the Manitoba Conservatives. These amendments of 1912 aroused much opposition, and were an effective focus for those elements in the majority group which had opposed school compromise in 1896. The legislative tactic doubtlessly contributed to Roblin's loss to Norris in the election of 1915.

The Coldwell amendments treated every classroom as a school and in this manner an opening was made so that more Catholic teachers could come into the schools. The previous Act stipulated one Catholic teacher for forty children in urban areas and one Catholic teacher for every twenty-five in rural areas, per school. Secondly, by the amendments, the school board had to accommodate all the children of school age in its jurisdiction regardless of religious affiliation. In this way the costs of private schools and their staffs would be covered by local school boards.¹³ A third amendment implied segregation of children by religious affiliation during the regular school work.

It was charged that Roblin's legislation on schools was brought out as a political trade of favours for votes. The Coldwell amendments, combined with earlier Conservative promises of better facilities for Catholic education such as French texts, a

¹³Manitoba Free Press, August 13, 1913, reported that the legality of this second amendment was questioned. A legal opinion was requested of Alfred J. Andrews by the Minister of Education.

semi-Catholic reader, a Normal School in St. Boniface, and a Catholic school inspector for Galicians, may be viewed as a realistic political quid pro quo by the provincial political incumbents with an active political pressure group - Catholic French Canadians.¹⁴

A Catholic French Canadian interest group was a factor in federal politics also. An insistent papal representative applied pressure to Wilfrid Laurier over the matter of Catholic school rights in Manitoba and in the new western provinces. Laurier had a firm conviction that the Manitoba schools must not become a central national issue again and tried to negotiate with the provincial Conservatives out of the public limelight.¹⁵ In a curious irony, a Manitoba Conservative politician, Robert Rogers, who publicly railed against federal politicians dealing with the Catholic faction's demands as somehow sinister and devious, was the very man who, in Manitoba, was cognizant of the Catholic interest group and was often in direct negotiations over favours for voters.¹⁶ There was, thus, an uneasiness among the Protestant majority over the visible evidence of the Catholic Church as a

¹⁴Comeault, op. cit., p. 12.

¹⁵Ramsey Cook, "Church, Schools and Politics in Manitoba, 1903-1912," Canadian Historical Review, 1958, pp.1-23.

¹⁶Comeault, op. cit., p. 15.

factor in the political affairs of the Dominion.¹⁷

The Coldwell amendments became law in 1912, and were applied. Under the terms of the amendments, the trustees of the small rural community of St. Claude intended to use a Catholic school staffed by nuns for the 1913 school term.¹⁸ There was an instant uproar. "Barred out from Public School" screamed an August 25, 1913, Manitoba Free Press headline. The Minister of Education, Mr. Coldwell, came out very firmly in support of the local school board of St. Claude. The Free Press immediately portrayed him as an iron-willed man.¹⁹ Local residents quickly organized against the school board decision to use the Catholic facilities and the Free Press diligently reported each development.²⁰ The Orange Lodge joined the fray and demanded attention from the provincial government. The Free Press reported on a meeting in the Scott Memorial Hall in Winnipeg. The Minister of Education, Mr. Coldwell, was given an ultimatum.

It is said that he (J. Willoughby, the Orange Grand Master) told Mr. Coldwell that the government would not be supported by the Orangemen unless they pass a

¹⁷This is evident in the response of the Manitoba Free Press to the success of the Catholic faction with the Roblin government. G.L. Comeault, op. cit., p. 16.

¹⁸Manitoba Free Press, August 25, 1913.

¹⁹Ibid., August 28, 1913, August 29, 1913, Norquay, Bella, Clippings on Education 1896-1913, p. 5, P.A.M.

²⁰Manitoba Free Press, September 1, 1913, September 2, 1913, September 10, 1913.

compulsory education act, repeal the bilingual provisions of the existing law and also repeal the amendments made to the legislation in 1912 . . . loud applause . . . the Minister of Education . . . was visibly disturbed by the evidence of the unpopularity of his educational policy.²¹

In the city of Winnipeg, there was another hard fought battle between Catholic spokesmen and the Winnipeg School Board over implementation of the Coldwell amendments. This was a protracted fight which ended in a victory for the majority group and maintenance of majority control in Winnipeg schools.²²

The Coldwell amendments had been tried in both rural and city centres. The resulting political repercussions were tremendous and swift. All the forces opposing compromise were on alert. Both in the city of Winnipeg and in the rural areas issues arose which thrust education policy before the public. The Roblin government reacted immediately to the consolidated opposition which appeared. The Coldwell amendments were not used again. These arrangements, which were intended to extend the interests of the minority, ironically contributed to the further curtailment of constitutional rights of the minority. With the repeal of the Coldwell amendments in 1916 by the Liberals, the result was a unilingual school. The attempt at extended religious rights led directly to truncation of language rights.

²¹Manitoba Free Press, September 27, 1913.

²²Ibid., October 15, 1913.

At this time, the Catholic minority was disastrously fragmented. Their interests were not effectively put forward by the leadership of the Catholic clergy and the different Catholic ethnic groups. Certainly there was no single organization or organizing opinion. The French community was divided. The outspoken demands of Archbishop Langevin for legal rights and for the absolute necessity of Catholic education were not the concerted position of the French community. His successor, Archbishop Beliveau, took a more moderate stance. Within the Catholic community the issue of schools created a conflict. There were those who insisted that schools must be completely clergy controlled. There were others who saw a place for the lay Catholic in the school system. In addition there was friction among English Catholics chafing under the leadership of Archbishop Langevin. His demands were considered extreme and his manner injurious to the Catholic cause.

But there was a more serious matter than the division in the French Catholic community and rifts with English Catholics. There was a difference in the importance of Catholic education to the French Catholic leadership compared with the leadership of the Catholic immigrant groups. The leaders among the new immigrant groups placed language and nationality as their first aim - not their common Catholicism.²³ A likely alliance between these

²³ Report of a Committee for the Recommendation of a Series of Polish Readers for the Province of Manitoba, Dec. 15, 1913. Minute Books Advisory Board, 1910-1914. The subsequent action can be traced. See Feb. 10, 1914 minutes, P.A.M.

Catholic co-religionists did not occur. If an alliance had been successful, a more ugly fight would have resulted as the growing Protestant majority became more articulate and firm about the future of the schools of Manitoba.

Those concerned with minority education had one last resort. The minorities in the province turned to litigation, appealing for their rights in the courts. Such actions were tried by the French, as in a case brought from Union Point in 1911 over use of school facilities.²⁴ The Mennonites also claimed special education privileges granted in 1873 by an Order-in-Council.²⁵ They wanted their religion and German language instruction in the schools. In the case brought by the Mennonites the Manitoba Courts upheld the government. After the passage of the necessary legislation which insured compulsory school attendance and English language education, the minority groups still tried for redress in the courts.

The French and the other groups got some relief for their grievance. This relief came in the manner in which the solution to the school question was enforced.

In practice the use of French language in the schools after 1916 was much less restricted than the law implied because of the tendency of the Francophones to congregate in distinct . . . communities. Through the election of French officials, they were able to ignore or at least temper the law. Since the children usually first arrived at school understanding no English at all, the use of

²⁴C.A.R., 1911, p. 556.

²⁵Spigelman, op. cit., p. 28.

their native tongue was essential and the Government's appointment of Francophone inspectors as well as their goodwill tended to facilitate this arrangement. ²⁶

The Protestant English hold on education was assured with the Norris victory in 1915. The Norris government, once elected, hesitated briefly and then fulfilled its election promise. Three pieces of legislation legitimized and institutionalized the aims of those who opposed any compromise on education in the province. With the repeal of the Coldwell amendments, passage of an additional bill to repeal clause 258 of the Public School Act,²⁷ and the passage of the compulsory attendance legislation, Manitoba finally had an educational system comparable to those in the other prairie provinces and in Ontario. These provinces had been held up as enviable examples by spokesmen urging a change in the Manitoba school system. With slight variations, each of these provinces had successfully circumscribed French language instruction and made English the real language of the schools. This finally happened in Manitoba in 1916. The Throne Speech of that year stated that the repeal was made in conformity with the views of a large majority of the people of the province.

Public support for compulsory school attendance, the second piece of legislation which created an uncompromised public school,

²⁶Spigelman, op. cit., p. 22.

²⁷M.A.R. Denton, "The Abolition of Bilingual Schools in Manitoba in 1916", P.A.M. Student Paper Collection, p. 4.

had been thoroughly formed. Various voluntary associations such as the Orange Lodge, its Ladies' Auxiliary, and the Canadian Club had publicly stated their view that education must be compulsory. The Free Press was instrumental in the formation of public opinion on this question. Consistent and articulate leadership on the question of schools also came from the natural leadership of the Protestant and British community, its clergy.

Compulsory education was a main issue in the 1915 campaign. For the Conservatives, forced attendance had always been a delicate matter contingent on satisfying minority pressures, majority demands and limited funds. It was not feasible for Roblin's government to force attendance and although legislation had been passed in 1909 regulating attendance, it had not been enforced. For the same reason, political impracticality, the control over minorities' education given to the government by the trusteeship legislation was not used. Trusteeship legislation permitted the provincial government to take over education in a school district if that district did not meet the standards set by the education department, or if a district could not raise funds to support a school. The terms of the Truancy Act of 1909 were vague, defining the truant in such a way as to make him a law offender. The effect of the act was similar to using a cannon to shoot a fly. The Free Press had brought public attention to the fact that the act was not being enforced in 1913. This was another issue which the newspaper brought to public attention and used to promote its views on the problems

of schools.

The Free Press conducted a campaign for a school "on our lines" which included a long series of articles on the editorial page and throughout the newspaper. Figures of truancy, absenteeism and attendance in Manitoba schools became weapons of contention for the two provincial parties. The Free Press made the matter of attendance into a political confrontation.²⁸ The shocking "fact" of 8,000 Winnipeg children "roaming in the streets of province" was a challenge to the government and the educational system. J.T. Haig, School Board member for Winnipeg, picked up the challenge and the political battle over compulsory education created by the Free Press was reported in full by the newspapers in Manitoba.²⁹

Support for compulsory education came from the groups who were not satisfied with the compromises of 1897. The dissatisfaction was often voiced by the leaders of the English speaking community. The demand for compulsory education was unequivocal.

The Chinese government has passed a compulsory school law but we still trail behind in disgrace, overshadowed by the blind ignorance and stagnation of the dark ages. Is it right? It (sic) is just, is it tolerable, that we in this country should bear this stigma of incapacity and backwardness at the dictation of St. Boniface . . . eight to nine thousand children . . . roam the streets growing up in ignorance of the very primary truth that

²⁸ Manitoba Free Press, March 18, 20, 29, 1913.

²⁹ Ibid., December 1, 1913.

makes for good citizenship.³⁰

Compulsory education in a public school was also seen as the solution for the social problem of immigrants and their children. The immigrant had high visibility for the majority member. Strangeness of dress, language and gross poverty set the immigrants apart. Natural feelings of suspicion and fear³¹ were heightened by a growing national xenophobia connected with the outbreak of the first World War. A social leader in the majority group voiced the need for compulsory education to speed up assimilation of the foreigners into national life.

What are we going to do to Canadianize them? If we do not lift them up they will drag us down . . . I cannot tell how amazed I am to find that it is not necessary for these people to send their children to our schools . . . (The public school) is the mill that gathers all into its hopper and turns them out with the stamp of the king and of the maple leaf.³²

Organized labour added its support to compulsory education.³³

This group considered the Conservative education policies as a

³⁰Manitoba Free Press, October 20, 1913. Archdeacon Octave Fortin was rector of Holy Trinity Church in Winnipeg and Archdeacon from 1875. He was a participant in Anglican Church affairs and many civic ones.

³¹Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted, (New York: Grosset's Universal Library, Grosset and Dunlop, 1951). This is a vivid account of the difficulty of the immigrant in a new, North American setting.

³²Manitoba Free Press, March 21, 1913. Bella Norquay collection, op. cit., p. 38, address by Reverend Gordon of Queen's University.

³³Ibid., Dec. 1, 1913.

handicap to the future development of the province. Entering the fray at the close of 1913, the Ladies Orange Benevolent Association added to the public demand for compulsory schooling.

. . . we, the mothers and sisters of the rising generation of Canadian citizenship view with alarm and strong disapproval the manner in which our public school system has been mutilated, until it has become a menace to the free and efficient education of the masses.

We believe it is necessary for the good of the community and the upbuilding of our Canadian nationality that we should have our present school law replaced by a national non-sectarian school act, with a strong available compulsory clause as one of its most important features, and providing for only one language, and that English.

We appeal to all right thinking people, and more especially those of our own kindred associations, to stand shoulder to shoulder to this end and we promise that all the influence that we may possess will be exerted on their behalf. 34

In addition to compulsory education being a public issue, a discussion about the quality of the bilingual schools was publicly conducted with heated political partisanship. Within the budding educational bureaucracy the school inspectors reported on conditions in the schools in assuring tones about a smooth and steady improvement. Progress was a key word, describing the condition of facilities and curriculum and the upgrading of teachers' qualifications.³⁵ An investigation into bilingual education had been

³⁴Manitoba Free Press, October 16, 1913.

³⁵Manitoba Department of Education Annual Reports, 1913-1920. For example, Sessional Papers No. 2, p. 180, "There are, as everyone knows, certain difficulties in the way, but these difficulties are being steadily overcome, and the progress made in this important feature of public instruction is encouraging and satis-

urged by the Free Press. The newspaper indicated that conditions in the present system were grim, leading to grossly inhuman occurrences. For example, a widow with numerous children in Marquette, Manitoba, was cited as a victim of the school system. Increased hardship for herself and her handicapped children had resulted from the condition of the school. The issue was immediately political as the Conservative Telegram refuted Free Press charges.³⁶

In response to effective pressure on the issue of the quality of the schools the Norris Liberals had a special committee on education appointed by the new Liberal Minister of Education. The report found that in the bilingual schools, English was stressed in the senior grades. By the eighth grade a child was fluent in English and in his mother tongue. In the lower grades the level of English was low. The problem, this study pointed out, was that only a small number of children stayed in school up to the senior level, that is, beyond grade five.³⁷ In addition to the question of the quality of English in the multilingual schools there was a larger problem. The population of the province was ethnically too

factory;" Sessional Papers No. 3, 1915, p. 319, "Everything considered the school year 1913-1914 saw many improvements;" Sessional Papers No. 2, 1917, p. 297, "In spite of the severe winter the transportation was carried on successfully and these schools continue to give complete satisfaction."

³⁶Telegram, March/May 29, 1913.

³⁷Spigelman, op. cit., p. 12, quoting Special Committee on Education, Chairmanship of Superintendent of Education Charles K. Newcombe reporting to the Provincial Legislature, January 15, 1916.

diverse to allow for any economic efficiency in school operation on the basis of the 1897 agreement. The cost of providing school facilities for so many different groups was a problem the Roblin government had skirted for years. The increasing demands of ethnic groups for a school in their languages under the terms of the 1897 agreement led to an impossible situation. This was the rationale accepted by the Liberal government, and on the basis of this claim action was justified.³⁸

R.S. Thornton, the Liberal Minister of Education, in the new Norris government, reported on one community in which rate-payers presented a petition to the school trustees requesting a bilingual teacher in Polish and English. A second group of rate-payers requested a teacher who could speak Gaelic and English. Dr. Thornton stated that as the trustees could not find one teacher who spoke Gaelic, Polish and English, the school continued to operate as a straight English school.³⁹

The creation of a unilingual and compulsory public school was followed by some additional steps by the Norris government. No more bilingual teaching certificates were awarded, and the bilingual normal schools were closed. Students at these schools could qualify for registration at the English normal school. The public was

³⁸Denton, op. cit., P.A.M., p. 1.

³⁹Spigelman, op. cit., p. 13.

informed that this was a decision that would contribute to an improvement of teacher quality in the province.⁴⁰ Teacher certification was only given to a British subject or naturalized citizen. An oath of allegiance became necessary for a teacher in the public school system. In the atmosphere of heightened patriotism and increased suspicion of the foreigner created by the first World War this measure seemed an important safeguard.⁴¹ A non-British subject in the classroom was seen as a serious threat. A last step against the bilingual system was the removal of multilingual texts in 1919.

At the same time as the rapid dismantling of the apparatus of the bilingual system proceeded, the structures for an effective one-language system were being developed. A policy of provincial aid for construction of teachers' residences in immigrant settlements was taken. The intent was to make a job in these areas attractive to English-speaking teachers. The teacher in these immigrant areas was portrayed as a pioneer or missionary.

Our forefathers came into these primal wildernesses and laid the foundation of a new nation. Shall their descendants fail in erecting the superstructure? The

⁴⁰C.A.R., 1917, p. 727.

⁴¹Minute Advisory Board, September 1, 1916-December 31, 1925, Oath of Allegiance, p. 25. " 'That all teachers holding certificates be required to take and subscribe the oath of allegiance in the form provided under the Public Officers Act . . . not later than the first day of August A.D. 1917. That any teacher hereafter qualifying for a certificate shall be required to take and subscribe the oath of allegiance and forward the same to the Secretary of this Board before such certificate shall be issued,' " March 22, 1917.

immigrant comes from rural Europe . . . He makes no complaint of his lot or the severity of the climate . . . He needs instruction in the finer arts of living, instruction on how to save his children, how to maintain a healthy home, how to use his powers as a free Canadian, and his fellow Canadians have the information to give. A thousand new teachers in as many teacherages would mean the beginning of a new day. Let not any of us refuse because perchance it might mean five or ten years of our life devoted to the cultivation of a national spirit. Fifty thousand of our superiors laid down their ALL in Europe that a national spirit might be possible.

An example of the kind of man the task required was given:

He was Canadian-born . . . In one winter he conducted day and night classes and taught both old and young, so that many who in autumn knew no English by spring were able to recite and sing in the English language at the closing exercises of the term. The following year saw even greater efficiency and progress, and then came the scourge of influenza. . . Obtaining what medicine he could at Theodore, and using to the utmost his scanty store of medical knowledge, the community teacher went in a car from door to door, throughout the settlements with food, medicine, advice, working alone in a district extending seventy miles. But even his giant's strength gave way, and influenza made rapid conquest of a depleted constitution. After a few days of delirium during which he kept repeating 'the foreign problem can be solved', Peter Yemen joined the ranks of the immortals.

'There's a legion that never was listed,
That carries no banner nor crest,
But split in a thousand battalions⁴²
Is breaking the road for the rest.'

The teacher was bringing civilization to willing subjects.

The function of the teacher as an influence on the mores and moral tone of the district was seen as an important part of the teaching job.

⁴²W.B. Smith, A Study in Canadian Immigration, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1920), pp. 397-400.

In an address delivered to the Women's Canadian Club in 1919 Dr. R.S. Thornton took as his theme the work of the teachers in non-English speaking settlements. Dr. Thornton stated that as these settlements only touch the fringe of the Canadian current of life, the aim had been to plant some machinery in each centre which would radiate outward the ideals and language of Canada. "How the new schools . . . were realizing this aim was the story told by the speaker."⁴³

An understanding of the immigrant's background and an appreciation of his social customs and values was not very common on the part of educators or community leaders from the majority group. The attitude expressed by Salem Bland, Protestant minister and educator at Wesley College, was rare. He looked forward to the day when the richness of the "Slavic soul" would combine with the Anglo-American qualities to create a true Canadian.⁴⁴ At the annual meeting in 1917 of the Manitoba Educational Association the following resolution was taken indicating that in some isolated cases, an appreciation of the assets of immigrant groups existed.

⁴³Manitoba Free Press, January 21, 1919.

⁴⁴Western School Journal, Vol. 9, No. 6, pp. 129-132, address by Rev. Bland before the Manitoba Educational Association, April 15, 1914. Rev. Bland claimed that the Anglo-American race was the embodiment of practical efficiency: man is a tool. The wisdom this race needed was the wisdom of the child, where feeling predominates. "Those who know his history (of the Slavonic element) and have looked into his deep and not easily revealing soul wonder if . . . he, beyond all others . . . will help the Canadian to recover the child heart." " He concludes that the true Canadian will blend both qualities.

Moved by Miss Osmond, seconded by Inspector Willows, that in order to foster a deeper sympathy between teachers of non-English speaking children and the parents of these children, this association deems it advisable to provide a series of lectures on the History and Ideals of these Nationalities in connection with the summer classes to be conducted for the benefit of the teachers of these schools. Motion passed unanimously. 45

Living in a residence on the school grounds the teacher would be an example to the immigrant people who could emulate the life style of the teacher. A policy of provincial aid for school construction increased the education budget in the first few years of the Norris government. Most of the effort was concentrated on the immigrant. Although the French Canadians did not acquiesce quietly in the conspicuous growth of an effective English and Protestant school in the province, they did not bear the full brunt of an education program which was being carried on with such purpose and missionary zeal.

Dr. R. S. Thornton had been appointed Minister of Education in the Norris government. He was in full accord with the majority view on education in the province. From his position of authority

⁴⁵Minute Book, Manitoba Educational Association, General Elementary Section, 1916-17, p. 37, P.A.M.

See also Lysecki, J.E. taped interview side 1, footage 92-147, Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Winter, 1973, for an account of an immigrant boy in the public school; Whiteside, R. taped interview side 1, footage 280-366, Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Fall, 1972, the immigrant child in the public school setting; Gow, M. taped interview side 1, footage 384-428, Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Spring, 1973, teaching Ukrainian children.

and with a clear notion of his aims for schools he was a determining influence in the developments after 1916. He was an astute publicist for his policies. In a short time he could report an increase in enrolment in the province, with 94.1% in the elementary division and 5.9% in high schools.⁴⁶ He announced each measure that indicated a growing school along "our lines". The oath of allegiance of teachers and certification of British subjects only, became public knowledge. He addressed himself to the 'foreign problem', indicating a grasp of the importance of rapid acculturation.⁴⁷ He also publicized the increase of school facilities after the Norris victory, not only through such channels as department reports, but by speaking from numerous platforms he received widespread publicity.

In conclusion, it may be claimed that the consolidation of the majority hold on education in Manitoba reflected developments on the Canadian national scene - a growing sense of British Canadian nationality. This nationalism was linked to the climate of the world war.⁴⁸ It was evident that in this atmosphere, toleration of

⁴⁶C.A.R., 1917, p. 728. For an indication of the response of some in the French Canadian Community, the remarks of Godias R. Brunet, a French school inspector between 1911 and 1913 are valuable. See G. Brunet taped interview, side 1, footage 270-568, and addendum footage 790-915, Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Winter, 1973.

⁴⁷Ibid., 1918, pp. 678-61.

⁴⁸Mott, "The Foreign Peril: Nativism in Winnipeg in the 1920's," (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970).

differences by a majority which felt its way of life in grave jeopardy, declined to the point where no recognition of minority rights was acceptable to them. Conformity and consensus were necessary.

The response of minorities to the new status quo was to continue the battle in spite of the unlikelihood of reversing a state of affairs clearly having the approval of the majority. The leadership of the French community was in the hands of an ailing man without the assertive personality of Archbishop Langevin. Archbishop Beliveau was left with little real alternative. He claimed that the existing school system was hard on his people. He stated that the new system was an attack on French Canadian national life.⁴⁹ But the French Catholics had little political currency with the new Liberal government. The Conservative Joseph Bernier spoke up for the French Catholics. At one point he made a three day speech for the re-establishment of state supported separate schools.⁵⁰ The state of opinion in the legislature was perhaps best reflected when it was stated in debate that the official Trustee System was a defence against an insidious return of bilingualism. An eloquent appeal for the use of an ethnic group's own language was also made by a representative of German Mennonites of Manitoba. The minority interests in the matter of

⁴⁹C.A.R., 1921, p. 774.

⁵⁰Ibid., 1921, p. 774.

language and school attendance carried no force in the face of consolidated British Canadian and Protestant public opinion on these two matters and the determination of the majority to have a school system in its own image.

CHAPTER II

PUBLIC EDUCATION STRUCTURES

I

Accounts of education in Manitoba and Canada tend to be descriptive narratives. There is a plethora of detailed information on finances, growth problems and changing content of curricula. The education profession has substantial sources of information on these matters. Social historians have not ignored the nation's schools in their narrative accounts. Public education in Manitoba, viewed with analytical, and socio-political constructs rather than as a developmental narrative, open up an interesting additional perspective on this important social institution. An application of concepts such as hierarchy and equalitarianism to education reveal a basic tension in the public school structure.

Tension existed within the educational structure of Manitoba between a hierarchical and elitist principle and a democratic, equalitarian principle. This conflict did not seem to disrupt the educational structures but, in a curious way, defined the educational system in Manitoba from 1910 to 1930. The decisions taken to develop an educational system in these years were made primarily by Canadians who saw themselves as British Canadians. Their professional viewpoint was influenced by both British and American

developments in education. It may be argued that the British views of education were built on an assumption of a social hierarchy with educational goals appropriate to various social levels.¹ But there

¹Sir Hector Hetherington, Some Aspects of the British Experiment in Democracy, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), pp. 19-26.

The following is a thumbnail historical sketch of British education development:

" 'England . . . spent its effort mainly on the education of its elite, whether of birth or of talent. In that sense its outlook was aristocratic. . . (there was) a high degree of selection or of early specialization . . . '

'It is to be remembered also that every national scheme of education, like other elements of a social structure, is very much the outcome of an historical experience . . . (the structure is) . . . always sharply affected by an experience of crisis . . . Britain, England especially . . . free from violent changes So its educational history has been one of slow development . . . no great stimulus to change . . . it differs from the systems more or less deliberately created by the new nations of North America, that were able, as it were, to start from scratch as they faced the task of establishing their homeland over the length and breadth of a vast continent . . . '

' . . . as with many other countries, education began with the Church In 1833 Parliament for the first time showed a concern for education But not until 1870 did it accept a measure of direct state responsibility by setting up and aiding a system of local authorities charged with the care of elementary education . . . 1944 . . . a fully comprehensive public educational service, available without cost to everyone who wished to use it. Obligatory attendance . . . ends at fifteen, We have made so late a start, have not hitherto really believed in the importance of educating beyond fourteen any but the fairly well-to-do whose parents kept them at school, and that group of talented youngsters who forced themselves on our notice. They have been well enough. But we have been too little concerned about our ordinary citizens.' "

also was an influence that was democratic in British education.²

²The change in British education as traditional scholarship available to an elite, to education fitting the many and on an individually tailored basis was stated in this way in a 1938 report:

" ' What are we trying to test by School Examinations -- progress in general education or progress in subjects especially selected by the pupil as being appropriate to his tastes or abilities? In the past, emphasis was laid on general education and the object of the First School Examination was to test progress towards that ideal. Today the pendulum has swung over, and, with a shift of emphasis from the subject to the pupil, there is a tendency to concentrate on special tastes and special abilities . . . ' 'In spite of criticisms, that curriculum was a good one and it was greatly to the credit of our Secondary Schools that, in the decade or so between 1904 and the Great War, they had succeeded in establishing so valuable an instrument of education. But in the past twenty years many considerations, educational and sociological alike, have emphasized the importance of individual tastes and abilities and the folly of compelling pupils to persevere in studies for which they have no aptitude.' " Education in 1938, being The Report of the Board of Education and the Statistics of Public Education for England and Wales, presented by the President of the Board of Education to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, May, 1939, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1939), pp. 19-20.

With the growing political influence of labour in British society educational opportunities for large numbers and suited to the needs of working people became an issue of national concern and national experiments. Western School Journal, Vol. 17, No. 8, 1922, p. 316.

On the demand of organized labour, a "school destined for the people" was the aim. One such example was the Dalton laboratory plan. The intention of this particular experiment was education that was not only useful to the majority's children, but intended to suit, be tailored to the individual child of the majority. Western School Journal, Vol. 17, No. 9, 1922, pp. 330-334.

There was a clear intention among British educators to integrate studies with experiences of the individual child. Western School Journal, Vol. 17, No. 7, 1922.

This trend was clearly linked to the growth of the British trade union movement. The American views of education which seemed to influence Manitoba educators were also of two kinds and were from the two diverging streams of American educational philosophy.³

³Clarence J. Karier, "Elite Views on American Education," Education and Social Structure in the Twentieth Century. Journal of Contemporary History: 6 Harper Torchbooks, (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1967), p. 151.

"The remarkable thing is that while Dewey was being feted by young and old alike, American culture was rapidly building an educational system which in many respects was the very antithesis of what he was talking about. While he was writing Democracy and Education, forces in American society were at work creating an educational system which was to fall far short of the needs of democracy in the second half of the twentieth century. The social, racial, and economic bigot of today in New York, Cleveland, Chicago, and Los Angeles was born, bred, and educated in that pious era of progressive educational reform. Perhaps the greatest irony in this situation is that John Dewey, the great pragmatist who asserted that the meaning of an idea can be tested only in action, was ultimately to have so little effect on action. While he spoke of flexibility, equality of opportunity, tolerance, and growth, American education was becoming standardized on the basis of white Protestant middle-class values.

Although many educators talked about Dewey's ideas, when it came to practice they seemed to follow Thorndike. Indeed, while Dewey wrote and taught philosophy, Thorndike wrote the dictionaries, textbooks, and teacher manuals used in the elementary and secondary schools of America. He published some fifty books and four hundred and fifty monographs, and taught thousands of teachers and administrators. From his tireless pen flowed a prodigious number of prescriptions: educational maxims and scales of achievement in arithmetic, reading, English, drawing, composition, and handwriting. In short, Thorndike not only influenced what was taught and how it was taught; he also supplied the criteria for evaluating and standardizing the process. To Thorndike everything had magnitude, and he spent his life trying to assess it. Almost anything, he believed, from intelligence to the 'goodness' of a community, was susceptible to 'scientific measurement.'

One strong American influence was "scientific testing and measurement" as a prime aim of "good education". Associated with the work of Edward L. Thorndike, the intent of this movement in American education was to define and measure individual performance. The measurement of performance was contingent upon standardization of the whole school process, -- from texts to tests. Standardization depended on a system of ranking. It was claimed that these measurements were scientific. But the standard or criterion underlying the testing arose from the murky non-objective, non-measurable area of values. In essence, the social values inbedded in the scientific and standards tests of Thorndike were Protestant and middle class.⁴

The other influence in American education was John Dewey. The intention of his educational philosophy was to teach each individual child in such a manner as to develop him physically, emotionally and intellectually. In this philosophy there was no ranking. There was a recognition of individual worth and a notion of non-competitive individualism that may be termed the ultimate goal of the democratic ideal.⁵

These two American educational trends presented conflicting democratic and ranked hierarchical strains and were both apparent

⁴Karier, op. cit., p. 152.

⁵Ibid., p. 151.

in Manitoba education.⁶ As previously indicated, democratic trends in British education arising from British unionism, and hierarchical tendencies stemming from a firm British class society were the two British influences seen to work on Manitoba educators.

Decisions about the educational system that was being formed were made by men buffeted by two different social ideals. One ideal was that men in society have a definite role set by their place in a social hierarchy. There were privileges and duties at each social level which were clearly defined. The same ideal was alternately expressed in this way. Ranking and the hierarchy it created depended on individual performance on "objective" tests. The opposite social ideal, often attributed to frontier conditions

⁶On testing, Western School Journal, (W.S.J.), Vol. 17, No. 2, p. 81,83.
 Testing criteria, W.S.J., Vol. 17, No. 3, p. 98.
 Tests in use in 1922, W.S.J., Vol. 17, No. 10, pp. 374-376.
 Ranking teachers; the Duluth scheme, W.S.J., Vol. 17, No. 10, p. 402.
 Measurement and efficiency, W.S.J., Vol. 22, No. 1, Jan. 1927, p. 21.
 Thorndike and Ayers Scale, W.S.J., Vol. 22, No. 2, p. 74, 1927.
 A discussion on Thorndike's approach, "less on tradition more on laboratories," W.S.J., Vol. 24, No. 2, p. 79.

The Dewey influence was present as explicit educational theory. For example, Dewey's philosophy, W.S.J., Vol. 17, No. 3, 1922, p. 96; W.S.J., Vol. 22, No. 2; W.S.J., Vol. 22, No. 8, pp. 240-42, but also in an adapted form, a melding of Dewey and fundamentalist Christianity, for example, W.S.J., Vol. 17, No. 7, p. 244; W.S.J., Vol. 22, No. 2, p. 46.

An acceleration of Dewey's influence is evident after 1920 although references may be found as early as 1905. References to other and earlier educators in the manner of Dewey, such as Froebel and Pestalozzi of international repute, and local educators' adaptation of this educative approach are substantial. For example, Manitoba E.R. Smith's adaptation of Dewey, W.S.J., Vol. 17, No. 3, 1922, pp. 97-99.

of North American in its first 300 years of white settlement, was of equality among all men. Social practices in an open frontier society were not tradition-bound. Physical conditions in pioneer settlements were a further democratizing influence. In a pioneer setting, the democratic, social ideals of education for all and a free education were possible. In addition, an impetus towards the social ideal of acceptance of the individual worth of the majority of society's members, the working men, came into play. The proposition of equality of all men was asserted by the union movement in those days.

In Manitoba's frontier society the hierarchical and democratic social principles and social ideals became apparent in the manner in which the construction of the educational machinery for the society took place. In 1891 the educational organization consisted of 774 school districts, 866 teachers, and a student enrollment of 23,256.⁷ At the beginning of the period under study, the growing school system had 1,551 school districts, 2,774 teachers and 80,848 students.⁸ The educational structure consisted of a two-branch administration with a separation of legislative and executive functions. Very few people were involved in school administration. In 1910, a ten member Advisory Board had legislative

⁷D.S. Woods, Education in Manitoba, Manitoba Economic Survey Board, Province of Manitoba, Feb. 1938, Table 6, p. 46; Table 7, p. 47, Part I.

⁸Ibid., Table 3, p. 21; Table 7, p. 47, Part I.

authority, and the executive power was lodged in a small provincial Department of Education. The operation of Manitoba education was carried on by a limited, effective, and apparently compatible coterie. By 1930 the administration of Manitoba schools was a large and well-functioning bureaucracy with written regulations, stable and effective communication channels and a well defined chain of authority.⁹ The educational institution had a school population of 153,553, 2,232 school districts, and 4,427 teachers.¹⁰

Connecting the earlier period with the developed bureaucracy of 1930 were crucial human links. The long tenure of key personnel in the various levels of the educational structure, over the twenty year period, particularly at the administrative level, meant a consistent influence of a few men. Particularly important because of long tenure and key positioning were the influence of R.A. Fletcher, Deputy Minister for 40 years; and W.A. McIntyre who was head of the Normal School for 50 years. He was a long time associate of the Western School Journal, editing, writing, and on the editorial staff. Daniel McIntyre, Superintendent of Winnipeg Schools and Advisory Board member for 40 years, was a third key human link

⁹R. Bendix, Max Weber - an Intellectual Portrait, (New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Co. Inc., 1962), pp. 423-430. In a commemorative item describing the work of the Superintendent of schools, Daniel McIntyre, The Free Press, Oct. 30, 1971, said that Daniel McIntyre defined the duties of principals, those of teachers, of board officers - " 'clarifying a confused situation'."

¹⁰Woods, op. cit., Table 7, p. 47; Table 6, p. 46, Part I.

in the educational structure. By their long tenure in these commanding positions their influence through personality and philosophy was important. There were others also who, because of long service in important posts and cross-levels of service, gave stability and continuity to the educational system, for example, L.K. Newcombe who was superintendent in the department of education for many years. An examination of educational organization such as school administration, the financing of public schools, the growth of the education system in terms of operating units, secondary education developments, manual and vocational training programs and the personnel of the educational system serves two purposes. First, it defines a relevant background. Further, these structures themselves convey an understanding of the social values of Manitoba society. Such an examination, therefore, defines the institutional setting within which the educative process took place and affords another perspective on the social ideals, social principles and social realities of Manitoba society. It is suggested that these ideals and realities may be understood in terms of a sustained tension between hierarchical and equalitarian principles.

II

ADMINISTRATION

The Public School Act of 1890 had set up a two branch administrative organization for Manitoba education. One branch

was the Department of Education.¹¹ It had an executive function controlling expenditures of public funds for education and administered the legislative decisions taken by the second branch of the administrative organization, the Advisory Board. The Head of the Department of Education was a minister of the Crown. In 1908 this position became a full time cabinet position. The Deputy Minister of Education was a civil service appointment. He was second in the hierarchy. In practice he had a great deal of authority conferred on him by virtue of his professional status and function. He was both an ex-officio member of the Advisory Board and had executive duties as secretary of the administrative branch which implemented the legislative body's decisions. R.A. Fletcher assumed the job in 1908.¹² The long 40-year service of R.A. Fletcher suggests that his personal effect was considerable. In early years his decision powers included many diverse matters such as purchases of firewood, books, and property.¹³ His personal

¹¹In 1890 the Department of Education was supervised by a committee of the executive council and by the Provincial Secretary who acted as Minister of Education. The department had a chief clerk as head of the administrative staff who was a civil servant. He also sat on the Advisory Board. This position linked the two administrative branches. After the post of Minister of Education became a separate portfolio, the linking of the administrative staff and the legislative body in the functions of a civil service appointee remained. This link was the Deputy Minister post, held by R.A. Fletcher from 1908 for 40 years.

¹²Denton, op. cit., p. 28, P.A.M.

¹³R.A. Fletcher, Letter Book, May 2, 1905-June 12, 1911, p. 913, P.A.M.

intervention in matters which were under the jurisdiction of the Advisory Board was common. For example, in correspondence with the principal at Treherne, Manitoba, he advised giving a student a "fighting chance".¹⁴ His personal opinion influenced hiring practices.¹⁵ With regard to employing Englishmen: "(I) have not found that they are able, generally speaking, to give satisfaction."¹⁶

R.A. Fletcher came from Ontario. He had taught for some years in Ontario and Manitoba before assuming the deputy minister's job. From his correspondence a portrait of an able and confident administrator appears.

The Chairman and Secretary of the Advisory Board were ex-officio members of all committees.¹⁷ As Secretary of the Board in his capacity as administrator of legislative decisions by the executive branch, Mr. Fletcher was ex-officio member of all sub-committees of the Advisory Board.

The third-ranking member of the Department of Education was the Superintendent of Schools. This was also an appointed position. He had regular contact with schools, a position in the Department

¹⁴Fletcher, op. cit., p. 667.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 737.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 766.

¹⁷Advisory Board Minute Book, September 1928 - April 1937, p. 45, P.A.M.

of Education and in the second branch of the administrative organization, the Advisory Board. In the years under study this post was held by Daniel McIntyre. He had access to policy levels and supervised the classrooms where policies either were practiced or ignored. The views of what constituted a "good education" were in large measure at his discretion when it came to actual implementation.¹⁸ His own penchant was for education that had practical application. He felt that a system of testing separated the able from the less able. He favoured the idea of departmental teaching. He expressed the view that the school as a community health agency would increase community efficiency; a healthy people were a productive people. That is, he saw the school as serving both the child and the community without difficulty or friction.

Daniel McIntyre came into the Winnipeg school system in 1882 - then a school system of 43 teachers and 10 schools - and was involved in Manitoba education for the next 43 years.¹⁹

The key figure in a school system is, of course, the superintendent. On his advice and guidance depends the effectiveness of the board and on his proficient leadership depends the effectiveness of the teachers. And in 1885 when the system might be said, in a sense, to be emerging from its "cocoon" stage of development a superintendent appeared on the scene who for 43 years was to be its guiding light . . . (He) defined duties of principals, teachers, board officers . . . clarifying a confused situation Almost from the day Daniel

¹⁸Western School Journal, Vol. 17, No. 6, 1922, pp. 208-210.

¹⁹Winnipeg Free Press, December 16, 1946. Daniel McIntyre was chairman of the Advisory Board from 1927-30.

McIntyre became superintendent a new spirit entered the school system, especially, it seems, among the teachers. 20

The desire to regard educators as specialists, and the general impetus to give teaching in the province a professional status were his main objectives.²¹ These three - the Minister, the Deputy Minister and the Superintendent - with a small staff of clerks, were the executive level of the administrative organization of public education.

The Department of Education controlled all public money for education. This executive branch, by law, provided all the personnel to carry out the work of both the Department of Education and the Advisory Board. Inspectors were salaried by the Department and reported to the Department of Education. Forms for school registers and school reports originated at, and were returned to, the Education Department. The Model and Normal Schools were supervised by the Department of Education, which also set exams for teachers, graded them, and had authority to cancel teacher certificates. In addition, school plant improvement was left to the Department of Education which had the administrative personnel to oversee this area of school development. The Department of Education recommended members for appointment to the Advisory Board to the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council.

²⁰Winnipeg Free Press, October 30, 1971.

²¹Ibid.

Legislative power for the administration of education rested with the second branch of the educational administration, the Advisory Board. This Board had ten members in 1910, six of whom were appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council on the recommendation of the Department of Education. The other members were elected representatives from the teachers' organization, a member of the University of Manitoba, the Deputy Minister and the Superintendent. By the 1925 School Act amendment, the Minister of Education could attend the Advisory Board meetings, but rarely did in practice. This branch of the education institution was responsible for policies. The regulations of the Board were binding on the Department of Education. By law the Minister of Education could initiate legislation and suggest improvements in his annual reports to the legislature. The possibility of conflict in these parallel jurisdictions of the two branches was not the pattern evident in the history of operation of the Advisory Board.

The Advisory Board also regulated the curriculum for the schools. It reviewed and proposed curriculum changes which most often arose out of deliberations of the teachers' organizations. This Board set standards and regulations on examinations, and reviewed standards and problems of teacher certification in the province. Internally, it operated by a system of sub-committees with chairmanships.

Authorization of texts and text revision was another area of decision for the Advisory Board. A sub-committee of the Board

received materials from text book manufacturers and heard opinions of teachers about necessary revisions to make books suitable for Manitoba. The average life of texts, once accepted into the public school system, was twelve years.²²

In its jurisdiction over curriculum and texts, the Advisory Board paid close attention to regulation of religious materials in the schools. The Board set up a list of religious exercises intended to safeguard minority opinions, and, once established, the list stayed in effect and was not changed. Texts were carefully screened for their religious content by the Board. The intention seemed to be to choose non-offensive materials. In its membership the Board reflected the Christian religious variety of the community. Each of the major denominations such as the Catholics, Anglicans, and the three major Protestant groups were represented.

In the years when the Board did exercise control of texts, they also controlled and regulated final examinations. Since both teaching and examinations in these early years were focused on the text, the role of the Board in influencing the content, quality and standard of education in Manitoba was considerable.²³

²²The Advisory Board sub-committee on Texts reviewed a proposed botany text. Objection to the proposed text arose because the plant illustrations were not of plants common to Western Canada. Advisory Board Minute Books, June 1914-Sept. 1916, p. 40.

²³Michael William Wall, "The Advisory Board in the Development of Public School Education in Manitoba", (M.Ed.Thesis, University of Manitoba, April, 1939).

The Advisory Board set standards for school buildings and equipment and school inspectors from the Department of Education were responsible for ensuring that local boards met these standards of safety, hygiene, and progress. By law the Advisory Board had legislative power in all these areas - curriculum, teachers' standards, texts, examination and the physical school plant. The Board also had power to make suggestions about administrative problems, and by law was the body of appeal on educational matters, such as failed examinations, or teacher and local board problems. All regulations of the Board were subject to approval of the Legislative Assembly. In practice, regulations set by the Board went through without opposition by the Legislative Assembly.

There were additional areas of shared powers by the two administrative branches. One area was teacher candidates. The Advisory Board set the standards for certification and the Department of Education had inspecting powers over teachers' performance. They exercised joint control of teachers' performance and quality. The Board set the curriculum for the class rooms but its enforcement was left to the control of the Department of Education which appointed the schools' inspectors. The Advisory Board retained its authority over curriculum, curriculum changes, examinations and problems relating to them, regulation of teacher certification, standards and teacher problems, texts and text revision in the

whole period under study.²⁴

How did the administrative machinery in Manitoba compare with those prevalent in the rest of Canada? The initial division of executive and legislative powers on matters of education that existed in Manitoba was a feature shared with the Province of Quebec.²⁵ In that province legislative powers were in the hands of an appointed committee. A non-political and appointed superintendent was head of the executive administration of education in the Province of Quebec. In Manitoba, executive administration was in the hands of a political person, that is, a responsible cabinet minister. The Ontario education system, by comparison, was at first headed by a professional and non-political superintendent of education. Government responsibility for educational matters evolved from the earlier pre-Confederation period in Ontario. The Maritimes and British Columbia did not have a division of legislative, executive and administrative authority between a political body and an appointed body, and education was the responsibility of cabinet ministers. In the delicate situation attending education matters in Manitoba, the cushioning effect of an Advisory Board of

²⁴The role of the Advisory Board in matters of curriculum is indicated by the following. Text Book Committee meeting to "consider the teaching of formal grammar might be covered in Grades VII, VIII and IX using one text or whether it should begin in Grade VI as at present." Advisory Board Minute Book, September 1928-April 1937, October 26, 1928.

²⁵M.W. Wall, op. cit., p. 106.

public representatives seemed to have been necessary.

The Advisory Board had a total of 67 individuals in it from 1890 to 1937, a 47 year period.²⁶ Of this group, fourteen men served from 10 to 40 year terms.²⁷ Five of these were clergy; two were Anglican, one a Roman Catholic and two were from the major Protestant groups. Of this core of fourteen, seven were in education, one was a doctor and one a farmer. The reason for long membership of these fourteen could not be traced. One could surmise that aside from being good Board members willing to serve additional terms, these men were representative of groups in the community who felt that the nature of public education was very much their concern. The high representation of clergymen on the Advisory Board may be attributed to the recognized leadership of men of religion in all community affairs in early Manitoba, as well as the historic connection of education and religion in the province. The

²⁶M.W. Wall, op. cit., p. 218, Table 1.

²⁷Appointment was by Order-in-Council for members other than those elected from teachers' organizations and the university. For example, Orders-in-Council, 1912-1932, p. 108. "'On the recommendation of the Honourable Minister of Education that the following be appointed as Members of the Advisory Council of the Department of Education for the regular term of two years terminating on July 31, 1915, Rev. David Christie; His Grace, Archbishop Matheson; W.J. Bulman (August 15th, 1913).'"

Advisory Board Minute Books, 1910-1914, March, 1914, p. 134. "The Secretary read a letter from Inspector Parker reporting the election of Mr. T.M. Maguire as the representative of the Inspectors on the Advisory Board for the regular term of two years beginning August 18, 1914."

lengthiest terms of consecutive service were the terms served by the representatives of the clergy, except for Daniel McIntyre who served from 1890-1930 without a break.

For example, after the 12 year term of Anglican Metropolitan Reverend Robert Machray, Anglican Archbishop Matheson served on the board for 27 years. There was a two year overlap in which they both sat. In a similar arrangement, the records show that the 28 year term of a Roman Catholic priest, Mgr. Cherrier was followed by a term by Reverend Father Bourque. Reverend D. Christie, a Presbyterian minister from Winnipeg, served 16 consecutive years. His term followed that of Reverend T. Hart, a Presbyterian minister who had served a 12 year term on the Advisory Board.²⁸

The seven men from the education field who served from 10 to 40 years on the Advisory Board must be recognized as having established their indelible mark on the schools of the province. A few men were in a position to make the important decisions, for example, Dr. D. McIntyre, superintendent of Winnipeg schools. The scope of that job has been described. He was a member of the Advisory Board for 40 years, and briefly, for a three year period, the chairman.²⁹ His potential to influence the schools was only

²⁸Manitoba Library Association, Pioneers and Early Citizens of Manitoba, (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers, 1971), p. 96.

²⁹Personal memories of D. McIntyre abound. They create a picture of an astute man with personal warmth.

See also, Garland, A., taped interview, footage 1508-1540, Fall and Winter, 1972-1973; Hamilton, J.V., taped interview, footage 142-148, Fall, 1972; and Tipping, F., taped interview, footage 713-739 - "a sterling character" - Fall, 1972, Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

matched by the long term in a key post of Mr. R. Fletcher, the Deputy Minister of Education for many years.

Other educators also served on the Advisory Board, and simultaneously as school inspectors, the university president and as school principals. In addition, members from the Advisory Board who were educators and were on the Board from one to twelve year terms served on the editorial board of the Western School Journal. Crucial human links tied the various parts of the education institution into a unity.

An analysis of the membership of the Advisory Board revealed some other interesting material. The membership were primarily city people. From the rural areas, the southwest corner of the province was well represented, with a sprinkling of members from other areas. In addition to clergy and educators, membership was drawn from business, medicine, law, farming and homemaking. The five women who served on the Board in the period studied were homemakers. Organized labor representation was absent. The surnames of the members suggested a predominance of representatives from the Anglo-Saxon community. The three members with French-Canadian names were all priests. There was a single name suggestive of Germanic origin. It may be concluded that the Advisory Board membership reflected the intention of the majority to have education moulded by men and women from the majority group with their particular views.

The unit of school administration at the local level was the school district. The area comprising a school district had to

have ten children in it and the size of a school district therefore varied from 15 sections (or 15 square miles) to 24 sections in frontier areas.³⁰ The people in the area had to petition for the establishment of a school district. The boundaries of school districts were not the same as those for municipalities.³¹ A school district could be composed of areas in two municipalities. One school district for the large land area of the municipality was rare. The local school districts had grown out of the parish schools of the early Red River colony.

An elected board of trustees was responsible for the finances of the school district. The board took decisions on hiring and firing the teaching staff. Hired staff had to be certified by the province at the standards of qualification established by the Advisory Board. The trustees decided upon expansion or improvement of the school's physical facilities. The local school district board took decisions in some areas of curriculum not standardized by the Department of Education. These decisions involved curriculum innovations. For example, when manual and vocational facilities became recognized as a goal for schools, the

³⁰C.A. Dawson, E.R. Younge, "Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces: The Social Side of the Settlement Process," Vol. VIII, Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, W. A. Mackintosh and W.L.G. Joerg, (ed.), (Toronto: MacMillan Co. Ltd., 1940), p. 174.

³¹A municipality is a local improvement district of a square with sides of 18 miles, varying to fit geographic features of an area. Ibid., p. 282.

decision on their inclusion came from the local boards. The district trustees set the school tax or fee and collected it. They were to ensure adequate school buildings and maintain them at the standards set by the province. The trustees hired the teachers, arranged their pay and outlined teachers' duties.³²

These small units of administration carried on a tradition of local involvement which was a British tradition and American as well. This tradition of local involvement was strengthened as more settlers poured in from Ontario where this kind of school administration was general.³³ Local school units were neither funded nor supervised by any intermediate body of control such as the system of intermediate control by Ontario township systems or Ontario county boards. In Manitoba a more centralized scheme existed, with local school authorities responsible only to a provincial Department of Education. The rapid settlement of large land areas precluded the development of any sort of intermediary organizations such as those that had developed in Ontario. Local involvement in education was regarded as a political right by the Ontario

³²Typical budget between 1920-1930:

debenture payment	\$300	secretary treasurer	\$50
salary	1000	fuel	50
janitor	100	miscellaneous	300

This was covered by a government grant of \$1.00 per teaching day or \$200 per year. Local areas raised \$1600 by taxation. Dawson, op. cit., p. 174.

³³Ibid., p. 162. The tradition of local participation in education is both a British and Eastern American influence.

settlers.³⁴

Rate payers' ignorance, trustees' indifference³⁵ and repression of innovation³⁶ by trustees were a few of the hazards inherent in local participation in the educational structure. There were two possible methods of countering incompetence or inertia at the local level. The Department of Education could urge innovation by propaganda and financial inducements. In a provincial organization of school trustees there was a second possibility of information and encouragement to those directing matters in the local areas. The trustee section of the Western School Journal consistently impressed upon the elected trustees the high purpose and responsibility for education which the locally elected representatives had.³⁷ In the occasional flight into purple prose the trustee was pictured as a prophet, not only a money saver.

It may be concluded that school administration in Manitoba in the period 1910-1930 had three effective levels. The elected

³⁴Woods, op. cit., p. 20, Part I.

³⁵"Increased and widening influences were brought to bear upon the average Trustee's indifference, the average ratepayer's ignorance, and the absence of proper sanitary conditions." Canadian Annual Review, 1917, p. 727.

³⁶Western School Journal, Vol. XIII, No. 6, p. 229.

³⁷Western School Journal, Vol. XIII, No. 8, p. 314.

school trustees of the local school district were democratically elected and controlled the functioning of the local school. There was a democratic process in operation. The parents themselves through their elected representatives chose the teacher, maintained the school plant, and set the taxes. They made decisions in areas of the curriculum not standardized by the Department of Education. There was often indifference among elected trustees to their school responsibilities and ratepayer ignorance on school matters. That is, all the accompanying pitfalls of public participation in important social matters were evident. The quality of local education could be influenced by the decisions of a democratically elected body even if the broad outlines of what constituted education were laid down at a different level of the school administration.

Educational policy, that is, prescribed curriculum, texts and religious instruction, was made by the appointed Advisory Board. An element of democracy is evident here too, albeit very much tempered by the clique-like nature revealed by the Advisory Board's history in Manitoba. This body in time deferred to the members of the Department of Education. This came about via the creeping bureaucratization inherent in the physical growth of the educational institution. The size of the job to be done led to specialization. The belief in the need for professional opinion or specialists facilitated the transfer of decisional authority from the citizens' representative to the specialist in the Department

of Education, a body that functioned in a hierarchical manner. To conclude, two antithetical principles, a hierarchical one and a democratic one, are clearly visible in administrative aspects of the educational institution. This same tension was visible in other areas of school structure and of the education process.

III

THE CHANGE IN THE SCHOOL UNIT

As educational objectives expanded, additional facilities were necessary. Small district unit schools were pressed for adequate financial resources. Local districts looked to the province for additional financial assistance and explored the possibility of creating larger units in the local rural areas. This trend to larger school units was called the consolidation movement. A counter pressure to consolidation of local school districts came from the local school districts themselves. The tradition of direct involvement was seen as a political right and any centralizing moves that might remove control from the local area were regarded with suspicion. A fear of higher taxes for education from a centralized authority was part of the motive for maintaining the traditional units of school administration. The consolidation movement did proceed from 1905 to 1921. The economic depression which descended on the provinces in 1921 curtailed consolidation, but in any case in the twenty year period 1910-1930 the movement had not been

extensive. In 1912 there were 40 consolidated units out of approximately 1551 school districts.³⁸ In 1930 there were 110 consolidated units.³⁹

The Department of Education encouraged the consolidation movement. The school inspectors in the province promoted the larger school units. The inspectors were a two way link, informing the provincial level of the problems of the school districts and influencing the local school district representatives by the authority of their expertise. Propaganda for consolidation came from the Department of Education through its publications, such as special pamphlets and the departmental reports. The teachers' journals also urged consolidation. For example, a publication by the Department of Education in 1912⁴⁰ put the consolidation movement in the larger context of the problem of rural progress and rural social problems. The consolidated school was seen as a possible intellectual and social centre for the community it served. Furthermore the better facilities available in a consolidated school unit would exert a favourable social influence on the community.

³⁸ Pamphlet, Consolidation of Rural Schools in Manitoba, Special Report, Department of Education, 1912.

³⁹ "Sixty Years of Education in Manitoba", an address delivered before the Historical Society of Manitoba on March 3, 1930 by Dr. W. A. McIntyre, of the Provincial Normal School, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Western School Journal, Vol. 25, No. 4, p. 136.

⁴⁰ Consolidation of Rural Schools in Manitoba, op. cit.

In promoting consolidation the Western School Journal returned again and again to these two themes.⁴¹

The spokesmen for the consolidated school movement underscored the fact that the present age was one of increasing specialization and complexity. An equal chance for the rural child in the new age lay in the consolidated school. There he would be provided with a better and enriched program. A consolidated school would have a graded system equal to the system of city schools, and would equalize the educational experience of the rural child with the advantages received by the city child. Absenteeism was seen as a further drawback of rural education. It was hoped that the attractive consolidated school would end that difficulty. The steps for consolidation of rural school districts were provided by amendment to the Public School Act under section 91A taken by the provincial government. To further help the consolidation movement provincial grants to units undergoing consolidation were promised. Legal steps for consolidation and fiscal aid to consolidation came from the province, but the initiative for a move to consolidation had to come from the districts.

Other forms of school units developed in the years under study. One form was that of the municipal school district. The municipal-district and the rural school district boundaries were

⁴¹Western School Journal, Vol. 8, No. 11, p. 420; Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 1; Vol. 13, No. 10, p. 388, 1918.

coterminous in a school unit called a municipal school district. The first municipal district was formed in 1919 in Miniota.⁴² These units were directly under the authority of the Department of Education with no local involvement in the education of the children. This type of unit did not become extensive.

A third form of school unit in the rural areas was the official trusteeship -- an administered unit. Legislation for this type of school unit was enacted in 1916. When an area could not provide facilities for education because of economic reasons, or for the combined reasons of economic straits and the fact of settlement in an area of immigrants unfamiliar with the English language and school administrative traditions, the Department of Education stepped in. There were approximately 300 such units of school administration by the end of the thirties, as the depression which hit rural Manitoba in 1921 deepened.⁴³

Again, it is suggested that a democratic and hierarchical strain are both apparent in the evolution of the three kinds of school units in rural Manitoba. From the top levels of education came direction towards larger school units, as expectations rose about what constituted a good education for the young. From the

⁴²Gow, C., taped interview, footage 217-300, Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Spring, 1973. Mr. Gow taught in Miniota.

⁴³Woods, op. cit., p. 29, Part I.

local level of school administration came a resistance to the movement for larger school units as local people resisted additional taxes and feared loss of a role in the schooling of the children.⁴⁴

IV

FINANCING THE SCHOOLS

The finances for schools came in part from the provincial treasury and in part from each local school unit. In rural areas, municipalities also provided funds for the operation of schools within its boundaries. At the level of the rural school district the local board of trustees prepared the annual school budget and acquired the money by collection through the machinery of the municipal council. This became the practice once municipal governments became extensive in the rapidly occupied frontier of Manitoba. The tax was laid and raised without much knowledge of the ability to pay in a given school district or municipal area. In effect, in the rural areas, there was a double taxation. One tax was called the special school district tax and was based on an assessment of real property in a school district. A second tax for schools was laid on all real and personal property in a municipality. It was called the general municipal levy. Whether the taxes were collected

⁴⁴Woods, op. cit., Part II, p. 134, for a discussion on the trusteeship program.

See also, Lysecki, J.E. taped interview, footage 339-440, Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Winter, 1973.

from individual residents or not, the amount of the municipal levy had to be met by the municipality. The tradition of local control of purse strings gave control in part to the local people who felt an "inherent right to control"⁴⁵ the schools.

The elected school trustees allotted funds for the physical plant and school equipment. These items had to meet minimum standards set by the Department of Education. The cost of teachers' salaries was a flexible expenditure and varied enormously from one school district to another. The law of supply and demand operated in setting the rate of teachers' salaries. Exploitative practices were adopted by local school boards to keep down teachers' costs.⁴⁶ One such practice was to have applicants for the teachers' job state the expected salary. Once established, the provincial teachers' organization tried to curtail such practices.⁴⁷

There were schools in areas with chronic economic problems. The indiscriminate land settlement had led to the opening of land soon found unsuitable for agriculture. Rapid turnover of land ownership and abandonment of newly opened lands resulted. The unstable population which occurred, was reflected in the problem of maintaining a school. The older settlements and more fertile

⁴⁵Woods, op. cit., Part II, p. 134.

⁴⁶Wallace, M., taped interview, footage 469-490, Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Spring, 1973.

⁴⁷Lipsett, F., taped interview, footage 904-939, Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg, Manitoba; a past chairman of the Manitoba Teachers' Society discussed work of the organization.

lands of the southwest corner of the province demonstrated the double advantage of economical operation of schools in good districts with homogeneous population. Potential revenue and expenditures varied considerably throughout Manitoba depending on the wealth of a district. To straighten out the discrepancies a policy of provincial grants was begun as far back as the 1870's.⁴⁸ But the policy worked in a manner to increase the advantage of the already more viable school district.

The provincial grants to aid education began as equal payments to all districts. In addition, provincial money was used to cover educational services of a special nature such as a school for handicapped children. Provincial funds were also made available to stimulate innovation. For example, the province granted money to districts undergoing a voluntary process of consolidation.⁴⁹ The importance of the voluntary aspect of this program was not lost sight of by an astute government. The size of the legislative grants for education varied and were subject to an annual vote. The method of provincial aid to school districts in the early 1920's led to a graduated scale of provincial grants. The size of the grant was inversely proportionate to the amount of local assessment for a rural school and this meant a variation from 25¢ to

⁴⁸Woods, op. cit., Part I, p. 7.

⁴⁹Woods, op. cit., Part II, p. 10.

\$2.25 per teaching day. These payments still left a considerable discrepancy from district to district in available operating revenues. As depression conditions settled over Manitoba, the existing policy of provincial aid led to increased impoverishment of poor areas.⁵⁰ Areas which managed to maintain or improve educational facilities in times of general economic distress in the province still benefitted more by the plan. Economic conditions determined how much revenue was available for the schools and in difficult years extensive school shutdowns took place. Between 1911 and 1921 school facilities and revenues were both steadily increasing in the Province of Manitoba. From 1921 to the end of the decade an attrition of educational services took place due to the increasing economic distress.⁵¹

V

DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

The term secondary education was first used to designate grades nine to twelve. With the introduction in 1919 of the 6-3-3

⁵⁰Dawson, op. cit., p. 183. The provincial grant of \$15 per month and the municipal levy of \$12 per month covered about 60 per cent of the average cost of operating a one-room school.

⁵¹Woods, op. cit., Part II, p. 11.

system in Manitoba,⁵² - six grades of elementary, three junior high grades and three of high school - the term applied to grades seven to twelve. Secondary education in Manitoba started with the teachers in small schools simply teaching additional grades to students who requested instruction. These additional grades were necessary to young people who intended to enter Normal School and themselves become teachers. As additional grades were added and became more common throughout the province, free access to secondary education became the expected pattern in Manitoba. In the matter of free secondary education the Ontario model of secondary education was not followed. The pattern was determined by the improvised conditions of frontier Manitoba. The result was a free school from grades one to twelve in Manitoba.

In the evolution of secondary education in Manitoba there was an element leading to exclusion of some children from secondary schooling.

The secondary schools of the sixties and those of the nineties were operated for the purpose of preparing candidates for admission to the University. The curriculum was academic and the classical studies formed a most important part of the programme. Just as Bishops Taché, Anderson and Machray, and the Rev. John Black had selected those best adapted for further academic study, so did secondary school men in the eighties and onward.

Preparation for admission to Arts and Science, Medicine, Law, Pharmacy or Theology, and scholarly

⁵²J.W. Chafe, An Apple For the Teacher, (Winnipeg: Hignell Printing Ltd., 1967), p. 95. This is a centennial history of the Winnipeg School Division.

attainment were the dominant aims of secondary education. It was a selective secondary school and in its own way did excellent work. 53

Initially, secondary education in Manitoba was not thought of as a universal facility, but was a socially selective one preparing students for professional and high status careers. Only later, in the aftermath of the First World War when employment conditions changed, did the notion of secondary education as a "general education for the many"⁵⁴ take hold. The University no longer was the sole goal of secondary education. Secondary education had a broader objective.

In addition, another excluding element existed. Different districts could support a secondary school system with varying degrees of success. The growth of secondary education in any given district depended on economic conditions of the area, the age of settlement and the ethnic composition of the community. The new immigrant communities as one might expect, lagged behind other areas in the growth of high schools, although they adopted the aim of high school education with some alacrity. The pattern throughout the province remained one in which high school education was available in areas that could afford it. The provincial scheme of aid did not offset this pattern.

⁵³Woods, op. cit., Part I, pp. 43-44.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 44.

The small one-room high school and two-room non-rated high school form the typical secondary school department for areas whose people are largely of non-Anglo-Saxon racial extraction, and for areas in which the lands are probably either marginal or sub-marginal. 55

The high schools that developed in the years 1910-1930 were not all of one design. Various kinds of high schools paralleled each other. One was called an intermediate school which was common in small towns. An intermediate school had eleven grades and taught no languages. By 1930, there were 124 of them. The teachers who taught in intermediate schools had an inferior certification to teachers who taught in high school, the second type of secondary school. In 1930 there were 21 of these. There were also units staffed with teachers with the same level of certification as a collegiate but connected with an elementary school. They were not in an independent and separate physical plant as a collegiate. There were 10 such secondary schools in 1930 which were referred to as collegiate departments. In addition, after 1912, there were technical and/or vocational high schools in Manitoba. The variety of high schools was related to the ability of different districts to meet the costs of the various standards of teacher certification.

There seemed to be a consensus across the province of Manitoba and the whole country about the relevance or utility of increased education for children. There was a recognition of the accelerating advent of a more complex technology. The farmer on

⁵⁵Woods, op. cit., Part I, Conclusion, unnumbered.

the land, the trade union man in the city, the manufacturer, saw that with increasing mechanization and the changing demand of the labour market the education process must be altered to better fit the youth of the country for the new situation. The new technology displaced a whole group, between the ages of 14 and 17, from the labour market. This was a recognized fact, and it was also recognized that the schools might be used not only as a place to prepare youth for the changed labour market, but that the schools might be used as a storage place for people from ages 14 to 17 whose labour was no longer needed because of new machinery. The idea of the school as a substitute for the labour market was heard in the community as the economic crisis and unemployment deepened on the prairies from early 1920 to 1930.⁵⁶

⁵⁶In an editorial discussing the problem of mass education in state schools, the author cites an American source. H.C. Morrison of the Chicago University stated that $4\frac{1}{2}$ million children were now in school who in 1800 would have been in the labour market. The editorial writer concluded that state schools were the " 'only permanent solution of the unemployment problem'," that the state school could take up the surplus caused by new machinery. Western School Journal, Vol. 25, No. 4, p. 128.

The Manitoba educator, D. S. Woods made this statement in a study for the provincial government. "It may be added that if opportunity for employment in industries formerly engaging a great amount of manual labour is displaced by machinery, and employment in commercial and service occupations increased, as has been the case, then that part of the population not formerly secondary school conscious will seek change of occupation for its children and will develop faith in the secondary school as an instrument for transfer. Further, it may be said for agriculture and rural occupation that, if soil depletion has reduced production and if competition in marketing has reduced prices, the solution does not lie in making an escape to an over-crowded wage-earning market of the city but must be sought through the application of more scientific methods to rural industry. In either case, the public will eventually turn for a sol-

Such diverse groups as the Canadian Manufacturers Association, trade union leaders and educators on both the federal and provincial levels concurred in the deployment of the schools in meeting the labour conditions of a burgeoning technological society. Extended and changed secondary school facilities were needed.

Furthermore, in this period the need for increased secondary schools was put in other terms. An idea was current that increased secondary schooling would do something for the quality of the lives of working people. The notion was around that changed working conditions, product of the new technologies, made machines out of people. Something had to be done to counter this phenomenon. Perhaps the working man could see new relevance in the work he was doing if he was exposed to the theoretical aspects of the work through more education. In addition, extended education beyond the elementary level would open new interests to the working man and so make his life more meaningful and dignified. Personal enrichment by an extended education period was not applied only to the working man.

(the). . . function of education is not primarily to produce technicians . . . but to produce men and women All citizens probably require a common background of culture that stresses human values before specialization is emphasized . . . this general education . . . better obtained through a study of the modern humanities, especially English Literature? (sic) . . . Cannot secondary education be at one and

ution to the secondary school and to such other agencies as the state may provide.'" Woods, op. cit., Part I, p. 54.

the same time both cultural and practical without being unduly vocational in a materialistic or sordid sense? 57

It was intended that a secondary education which would include subject matter other than the traditional academic subjects would develop a better kind of people. The idea of a better and improved mankind was a goal held with distinctly missionary zeal by the Manitoba education establishment. A fervency was attached to the promotion of all education by the education leaders in Manitoba.

Secondary education began in Manitoba on an exclusive basis, yet frontier conditions led to the introduction of universal and free secondary education. In turn this development was modified by economic conditions and financial arrangements so that free and universal secondary education was significantly curtailed. Again, the parallel democratizing and hierarchical patterns seen in other areas of the educational structure are evident in this part of the educational system.⁵⁸

VI

MANUAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN MANITOBA SCHOOLS

The introduction of manual and vocational training programs

⁵⁷ Western School Journal, Vol. 22, No. 8, October 1927, p. 295.

⁵⁸ Woods, op. cit., Part I, Conclusion, unnumbered.

in the Manitoba educational system paralleled a trend in the rest of Canada, and in North America. Manitoba educators who promoted the inclusion of these programs in the school system also looked to experiments in manual and vocational training in Great Britain. The terms, manual training and vocational training were not synonymous. The educational ideas underlying the promotions of these programs were many. The manual training program was promoted with two underlying and divergent ideas. The program was intended for the last years of the elementary school. There was a division of the elementary school in 1919 into a 6 grade unit and a 3 grade unit. Manual training was intended for the latter, grades seven, eight and nine. In the promotion of manual training before the general public, local school boards and provincial educational authorities, one rationale or idea used was an idea associated with John Dewey, the American educational philosopher. Dewey put forward the notion that the aim of education was the development of a total child, an integrated individual without a gap between cerebral and manual activity. The ideal of educating a total child required the use of a special educational technique - practical experience. In a letter quoted in the Western School Journal, by Miss Anne Mansfield Sullivan, teacher of Helen Keller, support was given to this educational technique:

I find it much easier to teach Helen things at the appropriate moment rather than at set times . . . It occurred to me the other day that it is absurd to expect a child to recite certain lessons at certain times, . . . The editorial staff notes in parenthesis, "(Teachers in Primary Grades and non-English school,

please make note !)" The letter continues, "Let him come and go freely, touch real things and combine his impressions for himself." 59

The project method as a means of practical experience was constantly promoted.⁶⁰ The manual program in the schools would provide the means for the same educational goal. This particular aspect of Deweyism was very popular with Manitoba educators.

It was also claimed that the manual work program would reclaim areas of mental power now unutilized in children.⁶¹ This sort of exuberance about the human potential was the common tone among the intellectual leadership in Manitoba education. With the same enthusiasm, the ultimate effect of manual training for children was held to lead^{to} a new regard in society for the manual worker, the craftsman. Some Manitoba educators saw a further implication of such a development. A new respect for the worker would arise from an education which included manual training. A whole new restructuring of society would occur. The present hierarchy which gave lower rank to the working man would end.⁶²

The idea of the Good Society found in Deweyism⁶³ was one in

⁵⁹Western School Journal, Vol. 22, No. 3, 1927, pp. 116-117.

⁶⁰Western School Journal, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1927, p. 46.

⁶¹Salem Bland, "Wisdom of the Child", Western School Journal, Vol. 9, No. 6, p. 129.

⁶²Ibid., p. 129.

⁶³Laquerer, Mosse, op. cit., p. 151.

which the social order would eventually not be pyramidal but radically altered in its shape. It would be brought about by the means envisioned by Manitoba educators. To sum up, the manual training program was promoted in Manitoba with the use of ideas of John Dewey. A total child, a more integrated human being would be the result. Some idealists conjectured that eventually the new respect for manual endeavour would be translated into a social consensus about the dignity of the working man. And a new improved status for those who worked with their hands in the whole society would result.

There was another element in the promotion of manual training in the public schools. This second idea about the use of manual training in the school emphasized the fact that such a program would explore student skills which lead to jobs. Manual training would fit people for "unlimited production".⁶⁴ A manual training program increased efficiency of the upcoming workman in the real world of production.

The manual training program included a special program for girls in homemaking. The homemaking programs were promoted in terms of the practical skills to be gained. The social implication of homemaking programs was the importance of well run homes for all

⁶⁴Western School Journal, Vol. 9, No. 6, 1902, p. 142.

of society.⁶⁵ Homemaking programs were also a means of helping immigrants adapt to the ways of Canada.⁶⁶ Changed diets, sanitation standards and marketing were a few of the areas to which the immigrant must adapt.

The extension of the school curriculum in Manitoba to include vocational training was part of a Canada wide movement.⁶⁷ The term vocational training included technical training such as drafting or stenography and industrial training such as metal and woodworking skills. Vocational education was to help students make job choices and prepare them for the labor market.

A Royal Commission investigated and made recommendations for vocational education in Canada. The Commission published a three volume report in 1913. In the report there was an important discussion about whom the technical and industrial training program served. This new program was designed to promote a particular social value. There was an acceptance of a view or social value that society is arranged in some sort of layers of hierarchy. This particular educational program was not intended to make a more

⁶⁵"Scope of Home Economics", an M.E.A. address by Miss Myrtle Hayward, Director of Home Economics Extension Work. Western School Journal, Vol. 17, No. 8, 1922, pp. 296-299.

⁶⁶Manitoba Free Press, January 21, 1919.

⁶⁷Robert M. Stamp, "Technical Education, the National Policy of Federal and Provincial Relations in Canadian Education, 1899-1919", Canadian Historical Review, December 1971, p. 404.

equalitarian social situation, that is to facilitate individuals in an upward movement on a social ladder. The intention of the program was not viewed to be egalitarian, that is providing the same for all society's members so all will be equal. The commission report was premised upon a tacit assent to a hierarchical social value and a fixed class system. The commission spoke of Equal Opportunity. It was in terms of opportunity for a particular class to better the condition of the members:

Sometimes an idea prevails that a scheme of education provides equality of opportunity by letting all who desire have access to the same classes. Equality of opportunity, to mean anything real, must have regard to the varying needs, tastes, abilities, and afterlives of the pupils. To be able to attend schools, whose courses are provided chiefly for those whose education can be continued until 18 or 20 years of age, does not ensure any sort of equality or preparation for occupation or for living to those who are compelled to leave at 14. Equality of opportunity to enter a school designed to prepare leaders, is not what is needed and is not what is wanted by parents of most of the children. Equality of opportunity, to be sincere and operative, must offer opportunities of education which will serve the pupils not all the same thing, but will serve them all alike in preparing them for the occupations which they are to follow and the lives which they are to lead. 68

In Canada, and in Manitoba, discussion of this educational innovation focussed on the commission report and some reservations about technical education were echoed in the Western School Journal. The Ottawa Citizen put the question in this way:

⁶⁸Canada Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, Report of the Commissioners, Part I and II, (Ottawa: King's Printers, 1913), Sessional Papers, No. 191d, p. 22.

Will technical education benefit the monopoly interests and the wealthy producers?

The Citizen also expressed the view "that labour should not be trained to greater efficiency until the increased wealth is assured to the producer."⁶⁹ Technical education would not end poverty, and the article claimed that the question was "whether the subjects taught and the mode of teaching at present in vogue are calculated to turn out the most intelligent children with a thorough knowledge of their economic position in relation to privileged monopoly."

In Manitoba, a local body including labor representatives, women's groups, small businessmen, and manufactureres and craftsmen, prepared a submission for the federal commission on technical education. The report included an investigation into the conditions of working youth. The report also contained the statement that all classes of children deserve a fuller and rounder development.⁷⁰ Vocational training would answer this aim. A second aim would also be met. The report stated that through the provision of technical and industrial courses in the high schools, a choice of occupations would be open for the future to students and their parents. By participation in the courses a student could assess his or her capacities. A third effect of these programs would be an

⁶⁹Western School Journal, Vol. 9, No. 9, pp. 261-262.

⁷⁰Report of the Royal Commission on Technical Education and Industrial Training, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1912, pp. 12-20.

understanding of scientific principles by the working person. The intellectual status of the working man would be elevated by this particular knowledge and in addition the development of a broad range of interest would open up to the individual by participation in the general education of a high school program. To sum up, "social betterment of intelligence and outlook" plus increased earning power of the working man was the promise in high school technical education.

The recommendations put forward by the Manitoba Commission suggested development of courses suited to different communities. They suggested evening courses to provide opportunities for youth already at work. It was recommended that the Department of Education appoint a special officer to advise schools on the inclusion of these programs in existing structures. A special training program for suitable teachers was recommended as was the advice for special provincial grants for this program. The Manitoba Commission suggested that future development include a technical college. The submissions were brought before the commission by those working in the various trades, light industries and commerce included binders, dressmakers, plumbers and lithographers. Trade union opinion was favourable to such programs in the public schools.⁷¹

The extension of technical education in Manitoba came about by the Technical Education Act of 1919. A director of tech-

⁷¹The Voice, Jan. 13, 1911; Dec. 8, 1911; Dec. 29, 1911.

nical education, L.W. Gill, was appointed. Federal funds became available to the provinces who developed these educational programs. A federal grant of \$10,000,000 was made. It was available for a ten year period ending March, 1929. Any participating province received \$10,000 yearly. The balance of the federal money was doled out in quarterly payments to participating provinces on the basis of population in the province as of the last Federal Census. The additional federal payments had to be met by a matching outlay by any province that applied for payments.⁷²

In an interesting way the introduction of manual and vocational training again mirrors hierarchical and democratic tendencies in the motivation and rationale given for this program. A rounded student with an integration of cerebral and manual skills, a realized working man with a new status in his own estimation and in society's eyes, a more productive and efficient cog in a production chain, a better deal for the children of the labour class -- all these were evident in the discussion surrounding the introduction of the new program. Both hierarchical and democratic principles were evident.

Conflicting principles of hierarchy and equalitarianism were present throughout the educational structure. The school administration was a stratified affair which developed in the twenty years under study into an organization with a well defined

⁷²Canadian Annual Review, 1919, p. 530.

chain of authority, and clear regulation between the provincial and local levels, and between the executive and legislative branches of the Department of Education. A democratic element -- popular participation by tradition, or by deliberate legislation, was traceable throughout the school administration. In a similar way examination of other educational structures such as the operating unit, the secondary education program, the manual and vocational programs and school finance indicated the existence of incongruent hierarchical and equalitarian streams.

The men involved in building the public educational structures were aware of the British and American trends in education and often referred to these currents when developing the education system of Manitoba. These tendencies in British and American education reflected ranking and democratic trends. These same currents appeared in the schools established to serve Manitoba society and its social ideals.

Hierarchical and democratic principles may be discerned within the public education structures and may be used to define the education system from 1910 to 1930 in Manitoba. These incongruent social ideals did not produce intolerable friction within the education institution. In a similar way, the lack of symmetry between other social values found in the education system did not cause grinding impasse or explosion. An examination of the school structure defined a relevant background or field within which education took place. Now, let us see what the children were told.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL VALUES IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

Social values may be considered as the ideas or beliefs that cement together an on-going society. Many ideas are present as the cohesive force in any society; directing and condoning the various aspects of social behavior and social activity. These generally-held beliefs and ideas may be viewed as providing the legitimizing rationale to the established patterns of a society.¹ In other words, cultural patterns of a given society derive their justification in the minds and hearts of society's members by explicit articulation of cementing social values.² If these ideas are generally held, and with some intensity, that society will be cohesive.

Societies differ in terms of their social structures and social processes. Social values will differ accordingly. But common to all societies is a supra-empirical, metaphysical tone in the articulation of social values. This holds as true for societies with a rational science and an industrial economy such as Canada in

¹John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 457-460.

²Woods, op. cit., Part I, p. 35.

the first decades of the 20th century as for traditional societies. The expression of social values has different levels of intellectual sophistication and subtlety. As John Porter points out, "the evangelical preacher is not the same as the Anglican priest,"³ although both adhere to common premises. The key concepts of these cementing ideas are frequently used. Concepts such as "freedom", "equality", "citizenship", "country" lack precise meaning because of frequent use and because of differences which individual users attach to the meanings of these key ideas.⁴ In order that the value system, the conglomeration of cementing ideas or beliefs does not become so vague as to lose its cohesive function, the frequent restatement of these linking values must take place.

The necessity to articulate these social values, reinforce them by restatement, and inculcate them in the young are prime tasks in any social order. The task is particularly necessary in times of social change.⁵ This job is entrusted to shamans and priests - and teachers.

Three cementing values had outstanding salience in the Manitoba schools of 1910-1930. These were moral, Protestant Christianity, a multi-faceted nationalism, and an endorsement

³Porter, op. cit., p. 459.

⁴Ibid., p. 459.

⁵Woods, op. cit., Part I, p. 35.

of the economic system - small-holder capitalism. The degree of relationships among these ideas or beliefs is an interesting problem. Rather than exhibiting a comprehensive unity there are intriguing discontinuities, partial congruities and curious incongruities among these three social values which were available in public education.⁶

I

One cementing social idea present in the school rooms of Manitoba was nationalism. In the period 1910-1930 a series of interesting changes can be traced in the content of nationalism in the schools. In 1910, nationalism was 'Britishism'. By 1930 nationalism was a blend, a more diffuse concoction. The slogans and symbols of nationalism as presented in the school room underwent considerable change in this period.

In 1910, and peaking in the first world war period, nationalism and Britishism were synonymous. British monarchy, British traditions of liberty, British notions of fair play, British "racial" assumptions were all present in the school program. However, all these aspects of a British nationalism were clearly tangential to the use of the symbols and slogans of Empire. The Empire was presented in the schools not merely as some superficial overlay, appearing in the curriculum as an afterthought confined to

⁶Laqueur and Mosse, op. cit., p. 3.

the content of a course for senior civic students. It penetrated every aspect of the school.

The theme of Empire entered many curriculum courses. Empire building added significance to a physical education program in rural Manitoba. The teacher was admonished to remember, that as he marched the children around the school yard, he was building a strong empire. The physical education teacher trained and disciplined students as part of "not only a national but an Imperial work."⁷ "You are in very truth an Empire builder"⁸, the teacher was told. Clean up programs were advertised as "Love Your Empire, and Clean Up Your Own Small Corner."⁹ Garden programs in rural Manitoba were connected to the cause of the British Empire. Raising food during the first world war in a school garden was seen as a real help to solve food shortages in the empire. Literature was suggested as a tool of nationalism. English Literature was a "consummate expression of the spirit of the English people . . ."¹⁰ Poems were often on nationalist and British themes. For example,

Boys and girls of the British Empire,
Children who'll soon be women and men,
In the days to come when people ask you
"What did you do for your Empire then? . . .

⁷Western School Journal, Vol. 9, No. 5, p. 103.

⁸Ibid., p. 103.

⁹Western School Journal, Vol. 17, No. 5, p. 175.

¹⁰Western School Journal, Vol. 8, No. 12, p. 447.

Will you be able to answer truly,
Boys and girls of Canadian breed,
"I did my part in the Great World Battle
When I helped to plant and hoe and weed."

. . .
I've done my part for the British Empire
By trying quietly to be good.

Boys and girls of the British Empire,
If you can look up and answer so,
You'll find that the British Empire's soldiers¹¹
Will say, "You're a brave little soldier, too."

Empire themes were present in geography lessons. A test in geography at the close of a study on Africa contained the following question:¹²

A certain wealthy Englishman named Cecil Rhodes had become interested in the development of an African railroad. What arguments would be used to induce investment? Trace a route for the railroad and give reasons for the choice. What labour problems would Rhodes encounter? Where would skilled workers come from? Where would unskilled labour come from and why? What dangers are there to the health of the workers? Describe the sources for material for building the railroad. What would be the cost per mile compared to the United States? Where would the rolling stock be gotten? Would the railroad be for passengers or freight? What would be the principal articles of freight? The answer required stating four or five ways the railroad would benefit England. What

¹¹Western School Journal, Vol. 13, No. 4, 1918, p. 176.

¹²Western School Journal, Vol. 8, No. 12, 1914, p. 438.

effect the project would have on Canada was the last question.

A positive value was placed upon Empire. The Empire was seen as one big family.

Empire Day is . . . the day when we center all our thoughts on the British Empire, of which we in Canada are a part. The Empire resembles nothing as much as a big family. The mother England; and the sons and daughters, Scotland, Canada, India . . . ; and the great family name for all these children is the Empire . . . do we ever consider what poor miserable things we would be outside the Empire? . . . what good would we be by ourselves? . . . And yet as one great family or Empire we are the ruling nation of the earth, and the most powerful. 13

The links of Empire were being maintained by programs such as teacher exchanges. Imperial unity¹⁴ was a significant by-product of such exchanges, besides the other benefits accruing from an exchange such as an improved, larger outlook on the part of participating teachers.

In arranging the details of an exchange the co-operation of the school board of Brandon made it possible for all three New Zealand teachers to be provided for on our staff this year As a scheme for the promotion of the imperial spirit it has much to recommend it. 15

In the materials examined only one article questioned

¹³Western School Journal, Vol. 17, No. 4, April, 1922, p. 145.

¹⁴Western School Journal, Vol. 17, No. 2, p. 78.

¹⁵Report of the Department of Education for year ending June 30, 1914, p. 71.

See also the reminiscences of an exchange teacher, M. Wallace, taped interview, footage 1164-1297, Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Spring, 1973.

Empire and imperialism. This article was written by G.J. Reeve, who was in the Manitoba school system as a teacher, secretary of the teachers' federation and, later in his career, as a high school principal. He was acknowledged by the Western School Journal as "something of a radical". In an article, he stated that Imperialism "connotes a policy that aims at controlling as large a proportion of the earth's surface as possible."¹⁶ Its foundation and expansion were due to enterprise, desire for gain, defence of religious and political liberty, philanthropy, desire for a new home, needs of national security, the necessity of going forward by a race with power to replenish the earth and subdue it, and that race's capacity for administration. The growth of the Empire was suggested in this article to be a kind of national growth. He further described nineteenth century imperialism as an undignified scramble motivated by nationalism and love of gain. Imperial policies took attention away from problems internal to nations.

G.J. Reeve stated that there were demerits to imperial policies. Imperial policies caused the first world war and were an obstacle to peace. The second demerit was its effect on subject races. Natives become "cogs on the wheels of commerce".¹⁷ The disruption of their traditional culture takes place and the native has no "right in determining his destiny." On the other hand native

¹⁶ Western School Journal, Vol. 17, No. 10, 1922, p. 390.

¹⁷ Western School Journal, Vol. 17, No. 10, p. 393.

people are helped to improve order and government by the imperial representatives. They establish regular food supplies when their own culture is superseded by the Empire's culture. The article concluded by stating that the British Empire justified its existence. The benefits of British rule were apparent in all parts of the Empire. "Britain on the whole has done a great work and has honorably discharged her duty to the subject races."¹⁸

The Empire Day program was an annual event to which the Department of Education, the schools, and the Western School Journal gave a good deal of attention. Materials for plays, pageants and programs originated with both the education department and the magazine.¹⁹

On the Children's Page, a section in the Western School Journal which was addressed to the pupils, materials for the Empire Day took the following expressions:

¹⁸ Western School Journal, Vol. 17, No. 10, p. 393.

See also, Tipping, F. taped interview, footage 2229-2344, "Land of Hope and Glory", Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Fall, 1972. Mr. Fred Tipping taught in Manitoba schools during both world wars. He was a pacifist and a man with international rather than national sentiments.

¹⁹ Garland, A., taped interview, Vol. 1, footage 1625-1719, Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Fall and Winter, 1972-73.

The Official Organ of the Department of Education; " 'Copies of the Empire Day booklet have been forwarded to all teachers, . . . It is hoped that the material provided in the Empire Day booklet will prove of assistance in mapping out a program for this important day.' " Western School Journal, Vol. 13, No. 5, Departmental Bulletin, p. 167.

(Empire Day) is a day set aside . . . to learning about the glorious Empire to which we belong. In these days of great danger, when all the best that our Empire stands for is being threatened by that terrible and fearful enemy -- the German . . . we must waste no moment of the day given us for this study, but must learn all we can A little study of the lives of some of the Empire's sons and daughters, published in the April number of the Journal, will show us one reason for our love and pride. Our history studies, our story reading and the words of many of our songs will give us further reasons to think of our mighty Empire . . . Lands where the mighty elephant and lion thunders through the jungles; lands where the polar bear lives in a cave of ice -- all these form part of our Empire; one king, one flag, one battle line! . . . In such a country as Germany, the King does what he wishes, no matter what his parliament desires, and if he makes a cruel or unjust law the people have no power to change it. It is against this unfair and terrible form of government we are fighting; . . . It is because England is a great democracy that she became the mother of such countries as Canada, India, South Africa, Australia, and now these countries have become grown-up children of the great mother, they are each little democracies themselves, but altogether they form the British Empire. It is these countries and their work in the world, their heroes, their wonders and their wars that we must study on Empire Day so that our pride in our Empire and our love of her may grow stronger and finer. 20

The conclusion that the Empire was a pervasive nationalist theme in the school, providing a cementing social idea for children, is perhaps more readily substantiated by the following quantitative study. An examination of the Western School Journal at five year intervals produced the following tabulations. Nationalism was the theme of 83 articles in the 1910-1930 period. In 58 articles nationalism as British Empire was the theme. In 13 articles nationalism was conceptualized as abstract patriotism and love of

²⁰ Western School Journal, Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 177.

country. In five articles nationalism and Canada were connected. In two articles, Manitoba was the focus of national identity and the territorial focus. In five items the British Commonwealth was the object of nationalist sentiments. The years of the first world war marked the height of nationalism as British and Imperial, in the Manitoba schools.

In the post war years the theme of nationalism continued to be present in the school material. The manner in which nationalism was treated in the school reflected the changed status of Canada in the British Empire. The empire gave way to a concept of commonwealth and as a result the status of Canada received a new glamour or a new relevance. Some Canadians involved with education and schools began to consider their national identity as composed of equal parts of British and Canadian ingredients. No longer was national identity primarily British and imperial in its nature.

The new post-war expression of the theme of nationalism in the schools perhaps reached a particularly sharp focus as the Diamond Jubilee of Canada drew close. In this period national identity was seen among Manitoba educators as a double-stranded theme. The juxtaposition of these two strands is easily illustrated. For example, in preparation for Empire Day in 1927, the Western School Journal suggested the following point of view in its "Child's Page". The editor stated: "You should all know so much about your own country and the British Empire that you should be

prouder than ever to be Canadians . . . "21 This item was pre-
ceded by a Canadian poem which urged that Canada is not loved
for its nature but,

Nay, were my land a wilderness,
Still here would I abide,
It is the soul of Canada
That lifts my head in pride.
Mothers of half-a-million men
Who tyranny defied. 22

1927 was the Diamond Jubilee of Canadian Confederation. The
Department of Education report for that year carried information of
this event in the province's schools. A committee of the Depart-
ment had been set up to

encourage and to assist . . . the organization of
suitable programs for July 1st, 2nd, and 3rd in as
many centres as possible The response of the
teachers was splendid . . . they were the centre of
the organizations and of the celebration. 23

The Inspectors' reports carried mention of the celebrations in
their various areas. For example,

Following the wishes of the Minister of Education,
the Jubilee celebration in the schools was combined
with Empire Day celebrations The ceremonies
were more or less elaborate, according to the loca-
tion of the schools, but the spirit that inspired the
participants was everywhere a spirit of intense and
exuberant loyalty.

²¹Western School Journal, Vol. 22, No. 5, 1927, p. 186.

²²Ibid., p. 185.

²³Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Reports 1921-1929, Report for 1926-1927, p. 71.

. . . .
 The school districts have gladly ordered the framed picture, 'The Fathers of Confederation', which was obtained at a minimum cost through the Department of Education. The magnificent picture is a beautiful decoration as well as a constant inspiration to teachers and pupils. 24

We have noted the development of a stronger Canadian strand in the theme of nationalism in the schools. The British strand underwent an interesting change with marked acceleration. As the Empire gave way to Commonwealth, the British strand of nationalism often became a celebration and a romanticizing of the Commonwealth. The interest was placed on romance of the diverse member nations. The ideas for the Empire Day celebration suggested the theme of a rainbow as a fitting way to celebrate the event. Another theme was suggested -- as a rope is strengthened by its separate parts so is the Empire by its diverse units.

Information sent to teachers for the Empire Day celebration set out a pageant for the children and step by step instruction for its implementation.

-
2. Each strand represents one of the Dominions, and a child (dressed symbolically) is in charge of each strand.
 3. They open by singing a little march winding in and out and thus weaving the strands into a rope -- maypole fashion.
 4. Then after they unravel again each pupil tells the

²⁴Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Reports 1921-1929, Report for 1926-1927, p. 74.

story of his strand . . .

5. During this all will unite in singing songs -- English, Scottish, Irish, Canadian or songs of Empire.

6. Then there may be speeches on such topics as:
"What if a strand should break, gathering up loose ends" on settling difficulties.

"The rope and its work" -- a story of the Empire at work, in the world.

"How each part of the Empire helps the remainder."

"The children's part in Empire building."

"The new members of the Empire" -- a song of welcome.

7. The pupils end by using the rope to bind themselves into a group.

8. Close with "O Canada and God Save the King."
. . . 25

The theme of empire changed to a romantic celebration of the British Commonwealth. In an interesting manner, a new note reminiscent of, or perhaps echoing, the celebration and romance of diversity in the empire can be traced in the content of Canadian nationalism in the post war period. Canadian nationalism in the schools of Manitoba may be seen as consisting of not only more mention of Canada as the focus of national identity and sentiment; but Canadian nationalism in the schools often took the form of a great celebration and romanticizing of Canada's diverse people.

A repeated theme is the blend of "the world's best blood", a celebration of the blending of nations to make up Canada. In

²⁵Western School Journal, Vol. 22, April 1927, No. 4, pp. 128-129.

preparation for Confederation Day by the end of the period under study the teachers and pupils in the Manitoba schools may have heard the following:

We have blended in us all these great races with histories that reach as far back in the past as we can trace.

. . . When Canada's hundred jubilee comes, we will find not different people living under our flag, but one people, the Canadians, with a history reaching far back into the long ago day of history. 26

There is also a marked upsurge of national identity themes which mark out purely provincial symbols, human or natural, in the materials studied. The provincial floral emblem received some mention:

The little grey crocus that comes in the springtime
Has grown under banks of the whitest snow
Has come to a world that is weary of winter
Where snowflowers only could flourish and grow.

She has come 'gainst a background of whiteness and grayness
When hearts with spring longing are full to the brim
She holds us a cup into which we may pour it, -
A lavender cup with a six-pointed rim.

Inside of the cup is the gold of the sunshine -
And outside the gray, that she stole from the sky.
The stem of her cup will hold up, 'tho the four winds
Should whistling pass o'er her in mad hue and cry.

The crocus our emblem, is strength men, and beauty,
She's happiness, youth and the hope of the brave,
The beginning of life, and the joy of beginning, 27
The rising of summer from winter's white grave.

²⁶Western School Journal, Vol. 22, June 1927, No. 6, p. 219.

²⁷Western School Journal, Vol. 22, April 1927, No. 4, p. 156.

A brief item on Crocus Day followed with an explanation of why the crocus was suitable to be the provincial emblem. The men instrumental in installing the flower as the symbol of the province were congratulated for their contribution - "to create and preserve for us a beautiful Canada."²⁸

The cementing social idea of nationalism underwent a change in the schools between 1910-1930. Nationalism as a valued identification with the British Empire, nationalism in the schools became a more diverse theme - a three stranded theme by the close of the period under study. The prescribed national identity was with the British Commonwealth, Canada and the province of Manitoba.

In this instance, the change in the content of nationalism in the schools mirrored an attitude of the larger Canadian scene with some alacrity. The shift in the focus of national sentiments towards Canada at the close of the first world war may be explained by a consensus view among Canadian historians. It is often stated that Canadians went to fight the war as sons of the Empire or as individual adventurers. But they came back Canadians. A national sense of identity was forged in the flames of battle. This new sense of identity came into play at the negotiations of the League of Nations. To the irritated annoyance of the British delegates the Canadians had insisted on a protocol and procedure which symbolized a new status. Post war relations between Canada and

²⁸Western School Journal, Vol. 22, April 1927, No. 4, p. 156.

Britain were changed as evidenced in the Canadian response to the Chanak incident.²⁹

How does the theme of nationalism relate to the analytic construct of hierarchical and democratic tensions described in the preceding chapter as characterizing the educational institution? Democracy was found to be directly related to Britishism.³⁰ The British phenomenon of parliamentary democracy was a proud heritage of all Canadians.³¹ In another sense nationalism as presented in the schools was democratic. Each and every person had a contribution to make to the national welfare by membership in the Junior Red Cross, participation in physical education, clean up programs, or victory gardening during the war period. After the war with the new celebration of the diversity of Canada and the blend of the "world's best blood", a social equality of all men was implied.

Simultaneously, a note of hierarchical attitudes, of ranked and ordered relations between society's members informed discussions of nationalism in the schools during the wars. This attitude towards the national state was not the dominant one in the material examined. A prescription of obedience to the state was present.

²⁹E. McInnis, Canada, A Political and Social History, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p. 467.

³⁰Western School Journal, Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 177.

³¹Western School Journal, Vol. 8, No. 12, p. 447.

For example,

From the earliest childhood of each individual and each race the law of obedience stands out as one of primary importance, reaching farther and farther in its scope, obedience to parents, to teachers, to the state, to some divine authority dimly guessed at or distinctly recognized. There can be no government without law. There can be no government unless there is obedience to law.

. . .

What we want is a trained will, a will which has been taught to distinguish right from wrong and to choose the right. 32

II

A second cementing social idea that was present in the schools dealt with prescriptions about socio-economic relations - socially valued attitudes about economics and attendant social relations. This social value was not expressed as a single theme. Just as the theme of nationalism had many threads or strands, so did the prescriptions on socio-economics. If the social value of national identification underwent considerable change in the twenty year period under study, the prescribed ideals of "good" socio-economic relations showed a sustained incongruency over the twenty year period. In addition, a third thread appeared in the schools of Manitoba during the last years of the first world war, and immediately after the close of the war, providing an additional possible way for young people to view socio-economic

³²Western School Journal, Vol. 9, No. 6, p. 143.

relations of the existing society. The claim was made among educators that economics and attendant social relations would be revised in the direction of greater social justice. The war to end all wars would usher in a new and better social order.

Two prescribed ideals of "good" socio-economic relations may be traced in the schools of Manitoba. These two ideals were based on contradictory assumptions. One prescribed ideal stated that socio-economic relations are essentially competitive. The task for the schools therefore was to prepare the children for competition. The second ideal stated that socio-economic relations are basically co-operative and the children should learn to take part in a society where socio-economic relations hinged on responsible participation.

The prescriptions about socio-economic relations available to children in school were communicated by curriculum materials. At another level these socio-economic values were avidly discussed among educators and those members of the community connected with education. The annual conferences of trustees, or teachers, were commonly a time to air the broad objectives of education, and simultaneously, to discuss implementation of these broad objectives through the curriculum. In addition, the pages of the Western School Journal were open to discussion about the aims and ideals of education, and among the many issues raised could also be found the question of "good" socio-economic relations and their inculca-

tion in the young people of the province.

The view that public education should prepare children for competitive economic life was often heard. This opinion stated that public education must equip children so that they will not be unemployed, that they be properly fitted to the economic realities of the market place and production.³³

Often British and American educational experiments in preparing children for economic life were cited. Schemes of combining practical work with study, in England and Eastern United States, were often described.³⁴ The task of the school was variously seen as aiding the working person to be better equipped for the work world and aiding the general welfare by the increased efficiency and higher production of the new work force. The interest of the business community³⁵ was also noted in discussions of fitting the child for economic life. An "industrious democracy" was supported by commercial and manufacturing groups.

Using the new curriculum item of technical education children could be prepared and fitted for the world of production.

³³Winnipeg Mayor Deacon's address at 9th Annual Manitoba Teachers Association, General Session, Opening Meeting, Western School Journal, Vol. 9, No. 5, 1914, p. 82.

³⁴Western School Journal, Vol. 9, No. 6, p. 142.

³⁵H.J. Russel, "Industrial Education", Western School Journal, Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 216.

Support for technical education as a means of preparation for economic production was found in this way.

As I understand it, the teachers . . . are endeavouring to plan an education suited to the needs of an industrial democracy, that's to say an industrious democracy . . . During the past year dozens of associations of standing in the Dominion have declared their belief in the necessity of renewed efforts in the furtherance of technical training. Among these, I might mention the Retail Merchants Association, the Industrial Bureau Municipal Organizations, the Canadian Manufacturers Association, boards of trade and civic research leagues. . .

As educators . . . we have first a duty to the student, but we have a further duty to the business, industry or profession that is to receive that student, . . . How can we best bring together our industrial, commercial and human resources so as to produce the maximum results? . . .

Teach a man to do something well. Help him become a master of his art and he, above all others, is the most likely to acquire an increasing respect and reverence for his Maker and his God. 36

The school had one possible role in fitting children for economic life. The school could prepare them with skills to increase efficiency and productivity. The school could also prepare children for other realities of economic life such as compet-

³⁶Russel, op. cit., p. 216.

This opinion was general across Canada. In the 1919 Canadian Annual Review the new Technical Education Act of 1919 was described. The author went on to state that the object of the new program was " 'to fit young persons for useful employment in vocational technical or industrial pursuits.' "

In the same volume of the Canadian Annual Review, educational problems of the day were discussed. A statement by the United States Commissioner of Education, P.P. Claxton was noted. " 'Education is not education until it becomes vocational. It has everything to do with the production of wealth . . . to overcome the losses occasioned by the war there must be a more concentrated educational programme.' "

" 'The old educational ideal was to teach children how to live; the new and powerful tendency in Canada as well as the United States, was to teach him how to make a living,' " p. 522.

ition and private accumulation. The arithmetic in the curriculum was seen as a useful tool for communicating a particular outlook on economic relations in society. In one article the teacher is asked to indicate to the child how arithmetic may be applied to the problem of business.

Let the discussion show that all business transactions arise out of the desire to acquire, or the desire to protect property or value, and the means by which these may be obtained; also that time is the equivalent to money.³⁷

This article suggested using imaginary business situations so that "arithmetic will become a part of the child's everyday interest." Arithmetic occasionally was a vehicle to initiate the child in the competitive aspects of the modern market place and some of its other attendant values.

The arithmetic curriculum in Manitoba schools contained an arithmetic study which prepared the young for the competitive economic system. In grade 5, a study of weights, bills, accounts and averages was made. In grade 6, the arithmetic program included taxes, insurance, duties, commission, stocks, trade, discount, interest, bank discount and partnership. The grade 8 arithmetic program included a study of partnership, bills, accounts, percentage, duties, taxes, insurance and stocks.³⁸

The role of the school in a competitive socio-economic system

³⁷Western School Journal, Vol. 8, No. 11, Jan. 1914, p. 403.

³⁸Ibid., p. 399.

was to fit the child for the race. With the school experience under his belt the boy will be ready for adult life.

. . . he will welcome competition as an opportunity to put himself to the test. He is no weakling, for in school he made his independent way in spite of the lions in his path, and so gained fiber and courage for the contests of daily life. And because he has industry, thrift, perseverance and self reliance the gates of success swing wide open and he enters into the heritage which he himself has won. 39

A counter-claim about education in relation to economic matters could also be heard. An assertion was made that education that led only to a place in the economic society, a place in competitive production or in the general market place was not enough. In a keynote address to the ninth annual convention of the Manitoba Teachers Association this opinion received prominence.⁴⁰ It was said that education must be more than a preparation for economic life. Education must be geared to prepare for "social life and civil relations." Participation in leisure activities must also be an educational goal. Pointing to one program in the curriculum, manual training, one speaker indicated that manual training should not be for economic ends alone but should be a program geared to development of interests. Manual training had the additional potential of being a program allowing for creative expression.

In the view of some educators, the music program in the

³⁹Western School Journal, Vol. 17, No. 7, 1922, p. 280.

⁴⁰Western School Journal, Vol. 9, No. 5, May 1914, pp. 85-89.

schools was an instrument for healing the rifts caused by harsh economics of the society.

In the school of the people, of the rich as well as the poor there should be the opportunity for the voice to reveal itself.

Music was seen as a relief in "business, statesmanship or scholarship."⁴¹ The discussion of the place of music in the school and curriculum in relation to economic realities to which the children were destined in later adult life was explained in the following terms. The fact was that the multitude must toil. The role of the school was to teach the "universality of joy", available to the multitude of toilers. Music was a joy available to all.

The contrary view that socio-economic relations would also be co-operative was present among educators. "Teaching to pass" was a phrase used in conceptualizing the role of the school in preparation of children for a socio-economic society hinging on co-operation. The playing field was often seen as the area of school life where the lesson of co-operation could be best learned. In a discussion on football, the world was seen as a football field.

I have won the battle, not only for the boy as a member of the team but really for his whole life-job when I have taught him to pass. 42

⁴¹Western School Journal, Vol. 9, No. 4, June 1914, p. 69.

⁴²Western School Journal, Vol. 22, No. 4, April 1927, p. 129.

That socio-economic relations were essentially co-operative and children should be prepared for such relations, was well stated in a keynote address to the Manitoba Educational Association in 1918. The address also carried the theme that that socio-economic relations which were more just was a working goal of post war Canadian society.

There is only one great human problem, that of living together efficiently . . . Living together is what we have to do. Education means to teach boys and girls their part in the great human enterprise and saying to them 'Let me show you how to get into the great big scheme and how to contribute your part'

Nobody can live alone. We must be concerned in what our neighbour is doing . . . The great fundamental . . . for teachers is to teach the boys and girls that they are a part of the community and that they have got to help built (sic) it up We have got to recognize that the people who build a community have the right to say what it shall be like. It is no use saying because they are poor, therefore they do not want things beautiful; it is too often the case that they can't have them. We turn up our noses when we speak of the great unwashed, but in many instances it is because those people have nowhere to wash We have got to get some new real estate philosophy. We are about 500 years behind the times. We have got to invite people to come and help us build up a community fit for all to live in . . . we have got to give these people who help to build a community the right to live decently in it. 43

The school as some sort of neutral yet positive social arbiter between conflicting class or socio-economic interests was present. The school could be a force for promoting the more just

⁴³Address of Dr. T.G. Soares, University of Chicago, to the Manitoba Educational Association, Tuesday, April 2, 1918, Western School Journal, Vol. 13, No. 5, 1918, pp. 187-189.

and equal state.

. . . the vocations are incessantly urging the schools to send out pupils better fitted for industrial and commercial life. That however, is not the great need of the State at the present time If the school can do anything to better economic and social conditions it should not shirk its manifest obligations School should teach attitude to these (economic and social problems). . . emphasis . . . upon the 'necessity of social equality and economic justice; . . . right attitude towards all classes, races and creeds;' information was systematically given with regard to what is going on in the world . . . we are convinced that society would be much happier and better The school must have as its object a better condition of society. 44

The school playing field as an educative device has been mentioned.

The playing field as a means of learning "life's lessons" of competition or co-operation was often raised. For example, the Manitoba Educational Association section of the Western School Journal featured an item by a rural Manitoba teacher. On the playing field in the rural school the children learned fair play. The children learned co-operation.

4. (sic) In play children learn to co-operate, irrespective of the position occupied in the game. They learn the valuable lesson of doing their bit thoroughly wherever they find themselves placed On the playground the boy begins to learn how to fight life's battle . . . how important it is that this playful spirit of happy childhood should be developed and turned into right channels. Honest and honourable play disciplines the character. A child trained to play his best for the honor of his school is developing a true spirit of patriotism and the child who is learning to co-

⁴⁴Western School Journal, Vol. 9, No. 10, p. 271.

operate with others becomes the good citizen.⁴⁵

The playing field as a moral influence for the game of life was a common notion. The "game" was seen as played by fair rules.

One of the best moral influences in our school life is a well played game of football or hockey. If the players can go through a game of this kind, under intense excitement, and refrain from unfair acts; if they can take the hard knocks which come in the natural course of the game, and keep their tempers, such players are getting an experience that will be of wonderful value as a moral safeguard in the battle of life. ⁴⁶

In the Manitoba schools in 1910-1930 socio-economic values were present and communicated to the children by various parts of the curriculum such as physical education, technical training, arithmetic or music. The social values were those of competition and co-operation. These values seemed to be under some discussion among those involved in education in Manitoba. A particular responsibility for the school in social and economic matters was assumed. Educators were seen as preparing children for a better tomorrow variously conceived as a more efficient production process, a culturally enriched future, or a more equitable and just community.

An inference may be drawn from the various debates and discussions on socio-economic values among Manitoba educators. Again, hierarchical and democratic ideals were implied. Men were

⁴⁵Western School Journal, Vol. 17, No. 9, p. 345.

⁴⁶Western School Journal, Vol. 17, No. 8, 1922, Manitoba Education Association section, p. 301.

ranked by economic worth after keen competition for a share of the economic pie. Children must be prepared for the race. On the other hand it was also stated that children were best prepared for a role in society by learning to co-operate, share and develop their abilities for membership in a harmonious society, 'of social equality and economic justice and right attitude towards all classes, races and creeds.'

III

A particular feature of Christianity provided significant social values within the public school. The social values presented were linked to Christian morals. The Christian social values were present in prescriptions concerning good and correct human character and human action. Within the public schools, social values were also conveyed by means of Christian rituals and ceremonies but these were less prominent than the instruction available in morality. In a school which was primarily staffed by Protestant people and which served mainly a Protestant community it is perhaps not surprising to find that moral instruction - that is methodical, systematic and active implementation of a Christian ethic - was prominent.⁴⁷ Moral behavior was taught by means of the various subjects of the curriculum. In addition there was direct instruction in the school program in moral behavior. Moral instruction was prescribed by the Department of Education until 1927, and implemented at the discretion of the teachers in the classroom.

⁴⁷ Weber, op. cit., pp. 95, 138, 139.

The victory of the majority to have a school stamped with its own image was perhaps most crucially successful with regard to the specific Christian context of the school.

What made the moral instruction particularly Protestant? It was an emphasis on the individual's responsibility to fulfill the duties set out in the valued morality. The moral values in the Programme of Studies for the Manitoba Schools in the 1913-1927 period emphasized the individual's obligation in becoming disciplined and controlled. From the earliest years in the school the child was to be molded in self-control and self-discipline. Besides the emphasis on individualism the moral instruction available in the schools had other features which linked to Protestantism. The emphasis in the prescriptions was upon a methodical, systematic and active implementation of morals in daily life. There was a firm, unbending emphasis on achieving a Christian moral life without any cushioning against human weaknesses and shortcomings. Failure in reaching the moral roles laid out was not compensated for by any mechanisms of absolution for the individual. Prominent by their absence were other Christian concerns such as sin, repentance, or resurrection, or Christ in mystical formulation. The emphasis was on direct instruction to the individual about behavior in the present life.

There was formal religious instruction in Manitoba schools and it may be reconstructed with some accuracy. A cumulative graph

of religious exercises was collected by the Department of Education from 1893 to 1910.⁴⁸ 1910 was the last year religious instruction was graphed.

The graph indicated that in the 1421 school districts in the province in 1910, 130 schools closed with religious exercises and 308 schools had closing prayers. The Bible was in use in 199 schools. The cumulative graph shows 1904 to be the last year with temperance instruction as part of religious exercises in Manitoba schools. In 1910, 413 schools taught the Ten Commandments and 1260 schools gave moral instruction to their pupils.

The prescribed material for religious exercises in public school was set out by the Advisory Board of Manitoba in 1890 and the readings were divided between the Old and New Testaments. There were 71 items from the Old Testament, and 66 from the New Testament.⁴⁹

Records of religious exercises in the schools were not collected by the Department of Education after 1910. If formal Christian religious education fell off after this period a strong Christian impetus nevertheless may be traced in the twenty years studied.

⁴⁸Sessional Papers, No. 9, Department of Education, 1885-1911, p. 441.

⁴⁹Regulations of the Advisory Board Regarding Religious Exercises in Public Schools, Adopted May 21, 1890.

An examination of the program of studies for the Manitoba School which was issued annually by the Advisory Board helped show the place of Christian values in education and the form in which these values were present in the schools. In the first few pages of each program of studies the following appeared:

Note: 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 his Commandments. 50

Christian values were presented through prayers or religious studies, rituals and ceremonies, but mainly by moral instruction. Moral instruction appropriate for each grade level was laid out in the programme of studies. For each grade there were prescribed "Morals and Manners" and there were brief descriptions of how to fit a moral to the level of the child's understanding. The Manners and Morals prescribed for grades 1 to 6 were the same from 1913 to 1927. In these years the Manners and Morals for grade one included Cleanliness, Tidiness, Kindness, Truthfulness and Courage. In the second grade and third grade in the 1913-1926 period increased detail of the morals and manners set out in grade one were found. Courage, in grade one is described as courage in the dark; in grade two courage is related to pain; in grade three courage means following the good example and resisting the bad. Self Reliance was added as were Industry, Honesty, Justice and Self Control in

⁵⁰ Programme of Studies for the Elementary Schools of Manitoba, 1913, p. 4.

the third grade. Self Control was related to many areas - in food, in bearing, in speech, and in thought. In grade four Truthfulness, Order, Patience, Obedience, Humanity, Perseverence were the morals prescribed. And in grade six Zeal, Thrift and Patriotism were added. The "Morals and Manners" set out were morals common perhaps to Catholics, even Moslems, Buddhists and Jews, but the emphasis on systematic implementation in daily life and the responsibility of the individual to be a good man or woman, that characterized the morals, revealed a Protestant quality. The emphasis in the prescription set out was upon individual responsibility of action, and orderly methodical living. There was little allowance for frailty or foible. It may be surmised that a teacher rooted in a similar Christian tradition would be amenable to developing some of the programme of Manners and Morals in the classroom.⁵¹

The view that education must be moral instruction was well expressed in one of the annual reports sent to the legislature by the Department of Education.

Let us go into a school and watch the institution at work. Certain subjects are being taught - arithmetic, reading, history, geography and the like. Recitations are being conducted. Perhaps a period is given to hand work of some description; the boy with a chisel and saw, and the girl with rolling pin or needle. Recess comes with its games, and again to books. "For what good?" you ask, the day's work done, "What moral instruction here?" Yet throughout the day, if the teacher be competent, the

⁵¹See Appendix describing the composition of the teaching body 1910-1930.

children have lived in an orderly, disciplined world, where honest industry meets its reward, where obedience is the bond of law, where righteousness is exalted, where the various forms of dishonesty are scourged and scorned, and where, not too obviously, literature and history point the moral and adorn the tale, with perhaps a Bible reading and simple prayer in the last half hour of the day. 52

In 1927-1928 there was a revision of the school curriculum.

There was some consideration among educators about the purposes and ideals of education. A preliminary report by the committee revising the curriculum contained the following statement:

Before dealing with the actual work of programme revision, it may be well to consider briefly what society demands of its educational agencies, or what are the objectives we should keep in view.

The good citizen must have some degree of social efficiency which may be expressed as: -

- (a) Economic; connoting ability and willingness to earn a living.
- (b) Domestic, i.e., ability and willingness to perform duties as one of a family; and
- (c) Civic; ability and willingness to do duty as a citizen.

It is generally recognized that social efficiency cannot exist without moral character. The good citizen is first of all a good man or good woman, and therefore moral education must be recognized as the supremely important feature in all child training. The ability to see oneself as part of a group is essential, and they follow only from a recognition of the moral law and the fear

⁵²Report of the Department of Education for the Year End 30th June, 1919, p. 11. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Reports, 1913, 1920.

of the Lord which is the beginning of wisdom.⁵³

The view that education is moral education and that the morality stemmed from a particular religious outlook was expressed in this same period by Manitoba educators in the following manner -

Man has three main relations. The first is to God, his Creator; the second to his fellow-men; the third to his physical world. Given reason and conscience, it is for man to determine as best he may what those relations are, to realize the place they should have in his life, to adapt himself to them, to find his place and his purpose; to fill the one and to fulfill the other.

Man's relation to God is his first relation and his last. Yet it is the relation regarding which the boy receives no direct guidance in our schools. Consciously, or unconsciously, we recognize this lack as through the whole course we endeavor to supply it indirectly by emphasizing, by encouraging, and by inculcating those virtues, characteristics, qualities and habits, which derive their sanction from our relation to God. Experience has taught, and keeps teaching us, that in the interest of good citizenship that is essential, that the permanence and well-being of the state rest, not on the intelligence only, but mainly on the character of those who compose it." 54

In addition to the Christian moral aspect from which stemmed the social values of individual responsibility and right daily action, a Christian texture or tone affected some of the educational ideals available to Manitoba teachers. The connection of

⁵³ Report of the Committee on the Review of the Program of Studies, Winnipeg, 1926, Department of Education, p. 6.

⁵⁴ Report of the Committee on the Review of the Program of Studies, Gr. VII-XI, 1927, Department of Education, (Winnipeg: King's Printer for Manitoba), p. 11.

Christian ideals and educational ideals stemmed from the Western School Journal, edited for many years by W.A. McIntyre. The ideal of the teacher as a Christian missionary, or an actual embodiment of Christian love, was a common theme.

In an article written by a Western Canadian authority on immigrant education, the author urged Christian love of the alien,⁵⁵ and claimed Christ as his authority. The author went on to state that the job of turning immigrants in Western Canada into citizens depended on a certain frame of mind.

It is for you to discard from your vocabulary - if it ever had a place therein - the designation "white people" . . . and to encourage all other means for the healthy and helpful intermingling of established Canadian citizens with alien newcomers. It is for you and for all of us to realize that our foreigners are Canadians born away from home and that to them we owe the English language, British fair play and Christian neighbourliness. Our own immediate likings and prejudices must not determine our conduct. The question "Am I my brother's keeper?" has never since the time of Cain befitted the lips of any but a traitor or a heathen. 56

The ideals of education and the aim of Christianity were seen to be synonymous; to bring light to the world and moral betterment.⁵⁷

The teacher who was guided by Christian love was an ideal often held up by the Western School Journal. For example, in a

⁵⁵Western School Journal, Vol. 9, No. 5, p. 95.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Western School Journal, Vol. 17, No. 4, p. 127.

review of a book entitled The Way to the Heart of the Pupil the reviewer noted that the book's author "protests against formalism and a study of appearances, which produce mathematical exactness of movement but no intelligent appreciation of, or interest in, work done."⁵⁸ The reviewer claimed, ". . . the old fashioned drill master must give place to the teacher who rules by love and the force of character and personality." In a similar vein, the editor of the Western School Journal suggested that the ideal teacher was motivated by Christian love. Each individual teacher should put forward dedicated self effort; a consecrated approach to work, be an inspiration to the student not a spy; a positive force. In teaching, the "work is of God and for man," fulfilling "the greatest of all commandments." "I am in the year which is coming, going to realize that the work is of God and for man and that in teaching, as in perhaps no other calling, can I fulfill the greatest of all commandments."⁵⁹ Time and again the ideal was presented of the teacher as an inspiration and example.

There are a number of strands stemming from a Christian source. Social values arising from Christian morals, and social values related to Christian love were present as cementing ideals in the content of education in Manitoba. In addition, a Christian flavour or texture was linked to other social values in the schools,

⁵⁸Western School Journal, Vol. 8, No. 12, p. 460.

⁵⁹Western School Journal, Vol. 9, No. 7, p. 158.

nationalism and more tenuously, to socio-economic relations.

The link of Christianity to nationalism was clear. As the first world war led to a heightened sense of nationalism the tie of nationalism and a religious value became apparent. It is interesting to focus on the end of the war years for a moment to see in what way nationalism and religious values coincided. Just as the world war ended an editorial stated with some dismay that children were sent to school by their parents not for cultivation of habits, tastes or ideals but simply to develop money making ability. Education should be based on three tenets - Love Thy Neighbour, Fear God and Honour King.⁶⁰

In a special article at the time of the close of the war, a prescription was set out to the teachers;

Pupils should feel something like this: that God watches the world, that right is better than might, that it is a precious privilege for the strong to help the weak, . . . there is nothing lovelier than the sacrifice made by our women, that the burdens of the empire must fall on the shoulders of the young, - the articles said that the League of Nations is necessary to prevent war; that the balance of the world is restored. The cause of the war was German ambition. The last point in the article suggested, "Stand for Right and trust in God." 61

The tie of nationalism and religion were evident. The congruence of some of the ideals arising from such is nicely caught in a poem, "Wanted a Man."

⁶⁰Western School Journal, Vol. 13, No. 10, p. 387.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 395.

Wanted - a Man

What we lack and sorely need,
 For want of which we bleed, and bleed,
 Is men of a more Godly breed. -
 Honest men in highest places;
 Men with single aims and faces;
 Men whose nobler thought out paces
 Thought of self, or power, or Self; -
 Men whose axes need no grinding;
 Men who are not always minding
 First their own concerns, and blinding
 Their souls' eyes to larger things. -
 Men of wide and Godly vision;
 Men of quick and wise decision;
 Men who shrink not a derision; -
 Men whose souls have wings.
 O for one such man among us, -
 One among the mobs that throng us,
 And for self-advance do wrong us!
 Him we would acclaim; -
 Reverence with consecration
 As the saviour of the nation,
 Shower him with fame.
 Lord, now RAISE us such a man, -
 Patriot, not partisan, -
 And complete thy mighty plan! ⁶²

When the war broke out an explanation was offered.⁶³ War
 was the greatest evil. One of the parties concerned was not
 "possessed of the Christian ideal" of "right and truth eternal".
 The war was seen as the "crime of the ages perpetrated by a 'fiend
 of history'." Canada, as the Empire, was in the war not for selfish
 gain but to support a weaker power. Children may learn the ideal
 of the strong helping the weak and the need to sacrifice for
 principle during the war period.

⁶²Western School Journal, Vol. 22, May 1927, No. 5, p. 162.

⁶³Western School Journal, Vol. 9, No. 7, p. 158.

The links between socio-economic values and Christian values were less evident than the ties between Christian and nationalist values. A link was expressed in one forthright item. In that item, religious and Christian education was seen as crucial. It provided youth with another base or reference point. Religion provides a higher authority than the state with its constituted social and political injustices. A religious base or point of reference if provided in education lets youth see "with unclouded eyes . . . the actual processes and results of our social order."⁶⁴ Religious education, "habitualizes the young to judge all social relations, processes and institutions, the state included, from a standpoint of the command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

The manner in which nationalism, socio-economic relations and Christianity informed the content of education have been outlined. Some links between these three values have been traced. Further connections exist between these three salient social values and a hierarchical and democratic tension. The implicit equality of all men sharing a deep allegiance to a British nationalism was mentioned earlier. There was a second democratic implication in the notion of the joining of the "world's best blood". An equality of common brotherhood was an ingredient of the new Canadian nationalism described. The view of a nation state arranged

⁶⁴Western School Journal, Vol. 17, No. 10, p. 405.

in successive orders or layers, and a necessary obedience of one group to its superiors was also evident, but it was hardly the dominant note in the various nationalisms present in the schools in the twenty years under study.

It has been possible to infer an underlying tension between a socio-economic view which endorsed a graded order - a hierarchy created by the competition for shares in the economic rewards of the society, and an opposite view. The opposite outlook suggested an equal share and contribution of all society's members to the common economic welfare. The construct of hierarchy and democracy may be applied to the third value as well. The Christian values found in the schools of Manitoba put much emphasis on the worth and responsibility of each individual to create the conditions of his own moral well being. In the sense that each man counts, it was a democratic kind of influence. It may be noted that a hierarchical note also informed the Christian social value in the schools. The ultimate authority stemmed from superior and unduplicated acts of morality and love of Jesus Christ.

In the third chapter the concern has been to draw and describe the kind of explicit social values found in the content of education in Manitoba. The unity of these values lies in the fact that they are values of the majority group in the period studied.

CONCLUSION

The concern of this study has been to describe and delineate a matrix of social values found in the public schools of the province of Manitoba between 1910 and 1930. It has been maintained that the unifying element among the various social values was simply that they stemmed from the British, Protestant and English speaking majority group. Assumptions about democracy and hierarchy which underlay decisions taken in building the education system, stemmed from the ideological traditions and social experiences of the English speaking group. This was examined in Chapter 2. In a similar way, in Chapter 3, an examination of the values in the content of education, a close look at what the children were to be taught revealed three salient social values which arose out of the majority group. It was suggested that the three values found to have so much saliency in the content of education contained implicit hierarchical and democratic principles.

The success of the schools as a vehicle for education along "our lines", where immigrant children could be processed and marked with "the stamp of the king and of the maple leaf", where all children could, "throughout the day . . . have lived in an orderly, disciplined world, where honest industry meets its reward, where

obedience is the bond of law, where righteousness is exalted,"¹ depended on adequate individuals to promote and maintain these educational objectives.

In an appendix to this work there is a description of the teachers in the public schools between 1910-1930. The social background of these people showed some significant constant features. They were primarily Protestants affiliated with the Presbyterian and Methodist church. There was a very small number of Catholics and fewer yet whose church affiliation suggested they were members of one of the newly arrived ethnic groups. It is likely that teachers with Protestant affiliation would accept and propagate the kind of moral instruction prescribed in the curriculum as one of the educational objectives. Similarly, the prominence of British surnames suggest teachers who would be capable of promoting the nationalist themes of the 1910-1930 period.

At other levels the personnel in education were also drawn almost exclusively from the majority. The Advisory Board membership, the group responsible for legislation in education, had a firm core of members over a long period of years. These members came mainly from the majority group. In addition, the men who maintained key posts in education, the minister, deputy minister, and Superintendent and the principal of the Normal School were

¹Report of the Department of Education for the Year End, 30th June, 1919, p. 11, Manitoba Department of Education Annual Reports, 1913, 1920.

from the largest group in the community. Because of long tenure in important posts the influence of a few men was important. The contribution of Dr. R. Thornton, Minister of Education, in the Norris government, was crucial in creating a school in the image of the majority. The maintenance of a particular Christian influence can be clearly traced to W.A. McIntyre, principal of the Normal School and editorial board member of the Western School Journal. The specific influences of these two men is presented as a small indication of the contribution of key members of the education personnel to the creation of a school system suited to the ideals and goals of the majority.²

The unifying factor in the social values studied was that they stemmed from the majority. Incongruities and tensions characterized the various social ideals when these were examined in both the structures and content of education. The social ideal of a society whose members all have a presumed social worth and importance contrasted with the co-existent view that a proper social order had its members ranked by their value or importance. While the ideas of individual and universal education developed by John Dewey were freely voiced in Manitoba education circles, the scales and scores of E.L. Thorndike which ranked and slotted students into categories of worth were also widely applied. While the organization

²Denton, op. cit., P.A.M. See student paper on the importance of R.A. Fletcher and R.S. Thornton's roles in education.

of education contained elements of public participation and public decision powers, these were coupled with opposite trends of bureaucratic hierarchy and privileged appointment.

An examination of the content of education revealed tensions of hierarchy and democracy as implicit elements of the salient values of nationalism, socio-economic prescriptions and the particular Christian values. Internal to each of these three values were flux and tensions and in addition the three values were often in a conflict created by their internal logic. The conflicts and incongruencies of ideas did not impede the function of education in Manitoba. Within a matrix of incongruent and unsystematized ideas the education process proceeded.

APPENDIX

THE TEACHERS

Many constant features characterized the teachers in the Manitoba public school in the 1910-1930 period. They were local, young, from rural homes and Protestants with Presbyterian or Methodist affiliation. An examination of the certification records over the 20 year period¹ showed that the new personnel entering the teacher's job fitted this pattern.

Recruitment had been a chronic problem in the early years of the province. The main source of personnel had been Ontario. But by the 1910-1930 period the teachers were drawn from the prairie province.

For upward of two decades the rank and file of elementary school teachers had been recruited largely from the population within the prairie region. The same is true also of the high positions in secondary schools. Moreover, a number of the higher positions in these schools have been filled by teachers who received all their training in the Prairie Provinces. In recent years a number of school inspectors have been chosen from among the locally trained teachers.²

The big demand for teachers by the rapidly expanding school system led to development of local training centres in Winnipeg, St. Boniface, Brandon and other fair sized communities. There is

¹Province of Manitoba, Department of Education Teacher Certification and Records Office, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

²Dawson, Younge , op. cit., p. 199.

evidence that the local origin of the personnel was not only the result of supply and demand. The Deputy Minister, R. Fletcher had found the British teacher often unsuitable to the local needs. The teacher from the ethnic communities was often considered to be of questionable qualification. Careful screening of teachers from the rest of Canada was an early job undertaken by the Advisory Board of the province. The local person was the favoured one.

The rural background of Manitoba teachers was one feature found in the twenty years under study. The 1915 statistics indicated an unusually high urban group. This is seen by referral the the table:

GRAPH 1 Department of Education Certification Records:
Home Address of New Personnel

	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Urban (Winnipeg & Brandon)</u>	<u>Nil Evidence</u>	<u>Total</u>
1910	159	106	12	277
1915	64	226	—	290
1920	249	137	—	386
1925	255	142	2	399
1930	NO	RECORD		838

For the years of the sample with the exception of 1915, a rural home address outnumbered an urban one almost 2 to 1.

The youthfulness of the teachers was another constant feature. Over half fell into a 15-20 year bracket for every year of the sample.

GRAPH 2 Department of Education Certification Records:
Age Record of New Personnel

<u>Age</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1915</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>
15-20	189	166	229	215	N o R e c o r d
21-25	62	108	121	154	
26-30	8	11	20	17	
	-----	-----	-----	-----	
Total	277	290	386	399	

Minimal education was a common feature of the new teachers entering the schools. These minimal standards of education were accepted because of the chronic shortage of personnel; the low entrance qualifications to Normal School and a short training period were means of inducing enrollment³ to overcome the chronic shortage. The effort to change this feature was evident in the certification records. Over time, the minimal education gradually changed to more years of schooling for teachers. "During the 1920-1930 decade an increasing number of students completed four years of high school before they applied for entrance to Normal School."⁴ This trend of improved education may be seen in the certification records. Grade 10 standing which qualified a teacher for a 3rd certificate disappeared. Grade 11 became the common educational

³Dawson, Younge, op. cit., p. 177.

⁴Ibid., p. 199.

attainment of the new staff.

GRAPH 3 Department of Education Certification Records:
Classification of New Personnel

	<u>1910</u>	<u>1915</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>
Gr. 10 3rd Certificate	51	--	19	2	--
Gr. 11 2nd Certificate	188	217	291	229	691
Gr. 12 1st Certificate	22	51	36	120	147
Degree	3	20	23	43	
Special	2	1	2		
	<u>277</u>	<u>290</u>	<u>386</u>	<u>399</u>	<u>838</u>

The religious affiliation of newly certified Manitoba teachers in the 1910-1930 period was as follows:

GRAPH 4 Department of Education Certification Records:
Religious Affiliation of New Personnel

	<u>1910</u>	<u>1915</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>
Roman Catholic	14	17	42	35	N
Anglican	48	52	47	59	o
Lutheran	7	12	18	13	E
Methodist	66	61	93	62	v
Presbyterian	110	102	125	117	i
Cong.	6	4	1	2	d
Baptist	10	16	13	10	e
Greek Orthodox	Nil	Nil	Nil	2	n
Other Protestants	1	3	17	56	c
			(5 Untd)	(45 Untd)	e
Other	3	10	17	26	
No Religion	12	--	--	--	
Nil Evidence	--	13	13	17	

After an examination of the Census for 1911 and 1925 the figures of the various religious groups were compared to the religious affiliations of the newly certified teachers in 1910 and 1925, the two years closest to the Dominion Census. The data showed that Catholics and Greek Orthodox religious groups were under-represented among new teachers. Presbyterian and Methodist groups were over-represented among new teachers in the interval tested. See Graph 5.

GRAPH 5 Religious Affiliation of New Teachers in Proportion to Religious Affiliations of the Population of Manitoba

	I	II
Roman Catholic	16% of pop. 1911 5% of new teachers 1910	17.4% of pop. 1921 8.6% of new teachers 1925
Anglican	18.7% of pop. 17.3% of new teachers	19% of pop. 14.7% of new teachers
Lutheran	7.8% of pop. 2.8% of new teachers	6.6% of pop. 3.2% of new teachers
Methodists	14% of pop. 23.7% of new teachers	11.6% of pop. 15.5% of new teachers
Presbyterians	22% of pop. 39.6% of new teachers	22.6% of pop. 29.4% of new teachers
Congregationalist	6% of pop. 2.2% of new teachers	.3% of pop. .4% of new teachers
Baptist	2.4% of pop. 3.6% of new teachers	2% of pop. 2.4% of new teachers
Greek Orthodox	6.9% of pop. --	9% of pop. .4% of new teachers
Other Protestant	.9% of pop. .4% of new teachers	.4% of pop. 4% of new teachers
Other	2.4% of pop. 1.1% of new teachers	2.8% of pop. 6.4% of new teachers
No Religion	.47% of pop. 4.3% of new teachers	.2% of pop. --

Some implications became apparent about this profile of the Manitoba teacher in 1910-1930. Neither wide experience nor cultural attainment would characterize the teachers. This was prevented by the youth, provinciality, rural background and limited education commonly found among teachers in 1910-1930 period. On the very slender shoulders of the teachers sat an enormous task. These people were the important human conveyors of those social aims and ideals which gave cohesion to Manitoba society. Other social institutions did perform the same sort of function. The family or church also provided cohesive social aims and ideals. Only the school has a singularity of purpose; to inculcate the social values of society for society's successful perpetuation.⁵ The other institutions named have this purpose simultaneously with many other tasks.

Although lacking maturity gained by wide experience or cultural attainment and lacking broad learning the teachers were urged to face this social task of conveying social aims and ideals with missionary fervence and zeal. This was the prescribed attitude to the teachers' job. There was no way to ascertain how wide spread was the evangelical attitude. There was no possible measure of teachers to whom teaching was a mission and to whom teaching was a job. The fact that the average length of service was three years, may prove either the mission was too exhausting or the job

⁵Woods, op. cit., Part I, p. 35.

too tough.

The view of teaching as a crucial social task and teachers as men and women with a mission was held by the high level administrators. Educating the immigrant to "our ways", teaching in new pioneer areas, promoting culture and its social niceties in rural area, the role of the teachers in the welfare of the state were some of the missionary tasks. Dedication, fervency and high purpose were prescribed emotive tone for the social function of teaching the young. From the pages of the Western School Journal which was a vehicle for the Department of Education, the school trustees, the Manitoba Education Association, the teacher in the class and the children, an ideal of the teacher emerged.

The ideal teacher was seen to be engaged in a cosmic task. The Western School Journal portrayed the teacher as involved with eternal forces. The black horse of evil and the white horse of good run an uncertain race. In one instance an editorial stated it in this way. If human thought is not in vain the white horse could be made to win. The teacher rides with the white horse. The outcome of the race depended on the conquest of human ignorance. "And if such uncertainty there be, it must be due to ignorance for human reason must by its nature choose well-being in place of destruction and sorrow."⁶

⁶Western School Journal, Vol. 17, No. 1, p. 46.

The Ideal Teacher was portrayed as motivated by Christian love;

Her soul was radiant because her breast was warmed with the celestial fires of love.

Her ministry was a perpetual joy - because there is ever joy in the presence of happy and contented childhood. If they (Christian Virtues) are worthy they should find a recognition in every school. These Christian virtues are not harshness, cruelty and injustice, but love, patience and brotherly - kindness. ⁷

The key words for the Christian teacher were love, faith and hope. The love of the Ideal Teacher manifested itself by sacrifice and service. The Ideal Teacher's love spread sweetness and light.⁸ The Christian love manifested in service by the Ideal Teacher could make "the waste places glad, and deserts rejoice."⁹ The truth worth of the Ideal Teacher could not be measured by material standards.¹⁰ The teacher who cultivates the inner life compared favourably to the wealthy man.

But even the most idealistic followers of these precepts could not live by ideals alone and efforts to gain professional salaries for teachers was a long uphill fight in Manitoba. This fight for professional status and professional-scale salaries came to a head in Manitoba in 1922. A strike of teachers in Brandon

⁷ Western School Journal, Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 221.

⁸ Western School Journal, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1927; Vol. 13, No. 6, editorial.

⁹ Western School Journal, Vol. 13, No. 2, p. 44.

¹⁰ Western School Journal, Vol. 22, No. 5, 1922.

revealed the conditions of teachers in the province.¹¹

It may be concluded that dedication, service, and mission perhaps was part of an image of teachers in Manitoba. A second image for Manitoba teachers - was that of the professional properly accredited and suitably paid. This second image gained prominence after the Brandon teachers' strike stepped up the organization of the Manitoba Teachers Society and the beginning of the publication of its journal.

¹¹Western School Journal, Vol. 17, No. 4, p. 137.

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